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From engraving by St. Mémin, about 1798.

From pencil sketch by Van Huffel, 1814.

JAMES A. BAYARD.

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ANNUAL REPORT

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FOR

THE YEAR 1913

PAPERS OF JAMES A. BAYARD, 1796–1815

EDITED BY ELIZABETH DONNAN

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PREFACE.

Such a collection of papers as is here presented derives its value both from the importance of the era with which it deals and from the relation of its central figure to the events of that era. In the present case there can be no question concerning the significance of the period. The apt phrase "the critical period" might well have been applied to the years 1796–1815 when the Republic was still struggling to find herself, to adjust her relations to European countries, and to gain recognition from them as an independent nation. Nor can there be doubt of the importance of Bayard's relation to all this. Entering Congress as a member of the dominant party, he continued his service after that party's downfall and indeed, partly because of local conditions and family connections but largely because of his own character, rendered his most valuable service after the removal of the Federalists from power.

Though few families in our history have contributed so many men to public life as has the Bayard family yet little from the pens of its members or concerning them has found its way into print. The history of the Bayards in America carries us back to 1647, when there came from Holland to New Amsterdam with Peter Stuyvesant, his sister Anna, widow of Samuel Bayard, bringing with her three sons and one daughter. The James A. Bayard of the present volume was descended from the oldest of these sons, Petrus, who accumulated land in both New York and Maryland and who was for a time identified with the Labadists of Bohemia Manor. Samuel, the oldest son of Petrus, returned to Bohemia Manor, where his father had remained but a short time, and there married, first, Elizabeth Sluyter, and later, Susanne Bouchelle, and built the home which for many years remained the Bayard home. Here his son James brought his wife Mary Ashton (as the name was then spelled)[1] and here the first James Ashton Bayard was born, August 11, 1738. Of this James A. Bayard little is recorded; he became a surgeon, he married in 1760 Agnes Hodge, ten years later he died, leaving three children, John Hodge, James Asheton, and Jane. His twin brother, Col. John Bayard, who had married Margaret Hodge, a sister of Agnes, and who had become by this time a prominent Philadelphia merchant, took his brother's children at once into his home, where they were

[1] See p. 204, note 2.

raised with his own large family. James, the second of these children, was but three years old at the time of his father's death (he was born July 28, 1767), and knew, therefore, no other home.

The James A. Bayard of this book was graduated from Princeton in the class of 1784, delivering the English salutatory, his cousin Samuel being the valedictorian of the class. He at once began the study of law, first in the office of Joseph Reed, later with Jared Ingersoll. He was admitted to the Philadelphia bar September 8, 1787, but could have practised there little if at all, for not long after this date he moved to Delaware, where, February 11, 1795, he married Ann Bassett, daughter of Richard Bassett, at that time chief justice of the State. In 1797 he was admitted to the bar of Newcastle County. From May, 1797, to March, 1803, he served in the House of Representatives, during which time he was one of the managers of the impeachment of William Blount and cast the deciding vote in the Jefferson-Burr presidential contest. His service in the House was followed by his election to the Senate, where he sat from January, 1805, till he resigned in May, 1813, to go to Russia as joint commissioner with Adams and Gallatin when Alexander I offered to mediate between Great Britain and the United States.

On the failure of this commission he was appointed one of the five commissioners to treat directly with Great Britain, and did his share in bringing to a successful termination the peace negotiations at Ghent. During much of his stay in Europe he was far from well, and he unhesitatingly refused the appointment as minister to Russia in order that he might return home without further delay. He sailed from England June 18, 1815, already very ill; arrived in Wilmington July 31, and died August 6.

These are the facts of his life, told briefly, yet practically all that is of record concerning him. The letters which follow add many details, but their biographical interest lies in the insight which they give into Bayard's character. As the virtual leader of the Southern Federalists, he appears uniformly sane and moderate. Throughout the letters there is little evidence of sympathy with the radical New England group or of communication with them. Nor is there anything that smacks of self-seeking or the playing of petty, partizan politics. His attitude is that of a man who, believing his own party to be possessed of superior political wisdom, is nevertheless willing to do whatever lies in his power for the country as a whole, even though it must be done through the opposing party. His recognition of the necessity for the Federalists to give way in the Jefferson-Burr contest and his willingness to serve with Adams and Gallatin on the St. Petersburg mission, though he recognized the limitations under which he must act, are signal examples of this attitude. He was not a great statesman, he had not a mind of

marked originality or vision, but he was a careful and judicious lawyer, with a thoroughly competent grasp of the subjects with which he dealt, a sincere and high-minded public servant, and a warm-hearted and amiable man. That he gained not only the respect but also the devotion of those who came into close association with him is clearly shown in the letters, as is also his devotion to his family, the separation from which never ceased to be a source of sorrow to him.

In the wider historical field with which they deal one can scarcely expect from these papers new facts of the first importance or startling interpretations. A field already covered by the "Writings" of Monroe, of Madison, of Jefferson, and of Hamilton, by Adams's voluminous "Memoirs," and by the "Writings" of Gallatin can hardly yield a large harvest. Yet there is often fresh light thrown on well-known events, and the angle from which Bayard observes and writes is an additional help to us in our effort to gain an understanding of the period. In addition to Adams's account of the doings of the Ghent commissioners, in his "Memoirs" and in the "Writings" recently published, and to the materials published in the "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," there comes to hand just as this volume goes to press a presentation of the British reports of the negotiations in the Massachusetts Historical Society "Proceedings" for December, 1914, which may most profitably be read in connection with this volume.

The only considerable collection of Bayard's letters previously published appeared in the "Bulletin" of the New York Public Library for July, 1900, and was later published in the "Papers" of the Delaware Historical Society for 1901 (XXXI). These letters, taken from a letter book presented to the New York Public Library by Philip Schuyler, were written to Caesar A. Rodney, a distant relative and a lifelong friend of Bayard, though in politics an opponent. Extending from 1802 to 1814, and occupied largely with political affairs, they will often be found interesting reading in connection with the present volume. To these letters, as well as to other letters of Bayard in print, reference is made throughout the volume at the proper chronological points.

The majority of the papers here presented are a part of the collection of papers of Mr. Richard H. Bayard, of Baltimore, great-grandson of this first Senator Bayard, and grandson of the second, Richard Henry, and have been generously lent by him for the use of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He has also been of the greatest assistance in supplying many of the details concerning Bayard's family which have been incorporated into the notes of this volume. In addition to the letters, this collection also contains a diary of Bayard's European experiences which, while it intentionally omits official business, is of interest with respect to the social history

of the expedition and of the times. The book in which this diary is kept is of large dimensions, and probably proved inconvenient during the difficult winter journey from St. Petersburg to Berlin in January and February, 1814. Its entries stop with the arrival at Riga on February 3. They are continued, in the form of brief jottings, in two small note-books, red and green. There are also in the collection numerous letters to him, as well as letters exchanged between others connected with the two missions.

The largest group of letters other than Bayard's is a group of fourteen letters by Robert Goodloe Harper, which possess considerable historical interest. Harper, it will be remembered, was a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina from 1795 till 1801 and a Senator from Maryland in 1816. These letters were written while he was a Member of the House, their aim being to acquaint his constituents with the doings of Congress.[1] They are apparently privately printed circulars, one of which was included in his volume of "Select Works" ("Volume I") published in 1814. It seems not improbable that the corrections and additions found in this collection of prints were made for the purpose of including these letters in a second volume, which was never published.

Those letters and papers in Mr. Bayard's collection which have not been printed in this volume deal with private and family matters which add nothing to our knowledge of the man or his times or else are purely formal and ceremonial papers. Wherever no reference to the source of the manuscript is given the paper comes from these family archives of Mr. Richard H. Bayard.

To this principal collection a considerable addition has been made from the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, of Wilmington, Del. (also a great-grandson of the first Senator Bayard, but grandson of the third, James A. Bayard the younger, and son of the fourth, the late Senator and Secretary Thomas F. Bayard), who has been equally generous in affording access to his manuscripts. The papers referred to throughout the volume as belonging to the collection of his sister, Mrs. W. S. Hilles, are not copied from her manuscripts, which were not accessible, but are from copies which had already been made by

[1] Of contemporary Republican opinion of Harper's writings and speeches an idea may be gained from a paragraph in the Aurora of February 4, 1799: "What is 17,000 dollars to a man who makes speeches of so much merit that they are read with unbounded applause at Downing Street, and even in the virtuous purlieus of St. James's Court! and which run through five editions in London—printing expenses paid by *Lord Grenville.*"

That the writing of such letters by members of Congress may have been no uncommon thing may be inferred from the following sentence in a letter of John Adams to Jefferson June 30, 1813: "But, above all, shall I request you to collect the circular letters from members of Congress in the middle and southern States to their constituents? I would give all I am worth for a complete collection of those letters" ("Works of John Adams", X, 48). Yet it seems that almost none of them have been preserved. These from Harper, at any rate, are so nearly unique that it has been thought proper to treat them as manuscript.

her brother. In addition to these two sources, a few scattered letters from other places have been included. That a letter has already appeared in print has not been considered a sufficient reason for its exclusion in case it helps to an understanding of Bayard's political relations or serves as a connecting link in the story of the political life around him.

In editing, the endeavor has been to preserve absolute accuracy in spelling and capitalization, but it has been thought allowable to depart from the punctuation of the manuscript in some cases where to follow it with Chinese fidelity would result in misleading or confusing the reader.

Some words of explanation are requisite regarding the two portraits which appear in the frontispiece, and to one of them a story of some interest is attached. The first is a portrait by St. Mémin, of about 1798, and is reproduced, by the kindness of Mr. Richard H. Bayard, from the original copper-plate still in his possession. The other, also possessed by Mr. R. H. Bayard, is from a pencil portrait made in Ghent at the time of the peace negotiations. When Dr. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was in that city in September, 1912, he had some talk with a member of the local committee charged with the celebration which it was proposed to carry out on December 24, 1914, on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the treaty. This gentleman declared that it was understood in Ghent that P. van Huffel, the leading painter of Ghent and president of the Academy of Design at the time of the treaty, had made a picture or pictures of the American Commission; and he asked Dr. Jameson to see if any of them could be found in America. Inquiries were at first unsuccessful, but before long Mr. Worthington C. Ford found among the papers of John Quincy Adams a letter to Mrs. Adams, apparently from Paris, January 24, 1815, from which the following is an extract:

A few days before Messrs. Bayard, Clay, and Gallatin left this city Mr. Van Huffel, a Painter and President of the Société des Beaux Arts, took a fancy to have likenesses of the American Ministers, in miniature, drawn with a black lead pencil. Those gentlemen all sat to him each an hour or two, and after their departure I went to his house for the same purpose. But after he had begun with his pencil he persuaded himself, and by dint of importunity persuaded me, to let him put the figure upon canvas instead of paper, and in oil-colours instead of black lead. It was also understood that the picture was to be not for him, but for me; that is to say, if you think it worth your acceptance, for you. The likeness is good, and the picture not a bad one. I have it here to be finished, and then forwarded—to England or to America as the circumstances shall require.[1]

The late Mr. Charles Francis Adams knew nothing of the portrait above referred to, but with his aid it was traced and found to be in

[1] Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams," V, 272.

the possession of a descendant in New York—an oil portrait, full length, representing Adams in court costume and with the parchment of the Treaty of Ghent in his hand. Shortly after, through the kind aid of Mrs. A. L. Sioussat, a series of five pencil portraits, small but finely executed and perfectly preserved, of the Americans at Ghent—Adams, Bayard, Clay, Gallatin, and Christopher Hughes, the secretary of the Commission, was found in Baltimore in the possession of a grandson of the latter. They appear to have been presented by van Huffel to Hughes in March, 1817, when the latter passed through Ghent on his way to occupy the post of minister to Sweden. It may be conjectured that the painter originally made the sketches with a view to the execution of a large general painting of the two commissions, after the manner of the old Dutch "corporation pieces," but that two years later, seeing that he would not be able to carry out this plan, perhaps for lack of sketches of the British commissioners, he turned over to Hughes, for transmission to America, the sketches he had made.

The pencil portrait in the possession of Mr. R. H. Bayard is a duplicate of that which figures in the Hughes series. On the back is penciled, apparently by the artist, this memorandum: "Portrait de Monsieur Bayard, Ministre Plenipotentiaire des Etats unis d'amerique au Congrès de Gand. Dessiné par P. van Huffel, janvier 1815. Presenté à Monsieur Christophe Hughes (Secrétaire de la legation americaine au dit Congrès, Ambassadeur auprès de la Cour de Suède) à son Passage de Gand le 13 mars 1817, par l'auteur." The portrait is attached within the covers of a pamphlet entitled "Bouquet offert aux Bienfaiteurs de la Société Royale d'Agriculture et de Botanique à Gand; par N. Cornelissen, Membre de cette Société," to which is also affixed a letter of respectful condolence addressed to Mrs. Bayard at the same time (March 12, 1817) by Mr. Cornelissen.

In conclusion it remains only to add that in the editing of these papers I have been much indebted to the constant kindly assistance of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, who has not only collected the papers but has wisely guided every step of the work and has also from the abundance of his knowledge added many useful notes.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

PAPERS OF JAMES A. BAYARD, 1796-1815.

Robert G. Harper[1] to his Constituents.

Philadelphia, *March 9th, 1796.*[2]

Within a few days past, my Dear Sir, the Spanish[3] and Algerine[4] Treaties have been ratified by the President and Senate, and the former will probably be laid before the House of Representatives to-day or to-morrow. It is already in possession of the Indian Treaty;[5] and that with Britain[6] has also at length arrived, and been presented to the House. It will probably proceed upon all of them in a short time; except that with Spain, the ratifications of which are to be exchanged with the Spanish Court in about two months.

These four Treaties have removed all our causes of difference with other nations, and leave us at peace with all mankind, except the two small States of Tunis and Tripoli in the neighbourhood of Algiers. But they are too inconsiderable to molest our commerce in any considerable degree.

The Spanish Treaty is very favourable. It settles our dispute about boundary in our own way, by establishing the most northern part of the 31st degree as the line between us and Florida. This is the same line established by the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. It is to be run at the joint expence of the American and Spanish Governments, within six months after the ratification. The Spaniards also give up the free navigation of the Mississippi to our people, from its head to the sea, and grant us the free use of New Orleans as a place to deposit our goods at for three years. After the expiration of that period they are to let us continue there, or give

[1] Robert Goodloe Harper (1765–1825), a member of the House from South Carolina from 1795 till 1801, and a member of the Senate from Maryland from 1816 till 1821.

[2] The printed letter is headed as follows in the original print: "Letter from Mr. Harper to one of his constituents, on the 9th of March, 1796; containing a summary view of public measures, and of the situation of the country at that [time]."

[3] The treaty of San Lorenzo, or Pinckney treaty, concluded Oct. 27, 1795; ratification advised by the Senate Mar. 3, 1796.

[4] Treaty of Sept. 5, 1795; ratification advised by the Senate Mar. 2, 1796.

[5] Wayne's Greenville treaty of Aug. 3, 1795.

[6] Jay's treaty was ratified June 24, 1795; the debate on the measures necessary to give force to it began in the House Mar. 7, 1796.

us some other place on the river equally convenient. They also agree not to lay embargoes on our goods or vessels in their ports; that free ships shall make free goods; that they will, as far as possible, maintain peace between the Indians on our and those on their side of the line; and will make no treaty with our Indians, except treaties of peace. They agree further that our citizens may recover debts or property from persons in their dominions, either Spaniards or others; and for that purpose shall have the full aid of the Laws and Government. These are the principal stipulations. There are some others of less importance, and they are all mutual.

By the Algerine Treaty it is agreed that our vessels, as well as our citizens and their effects, shall pass free and unmolested; that we may trade to their ports, paying only the usual duties, and no duty on naval and military stores; that if any of our citizens, having regular pass-ports to prove their citizenship, shall be taken on board of the vessels of powers at war with the Algerines, they shall be immediately discharged; that American citizens who commit any offence in their dominions, shall be punished in the same manner as their own subjects, and not more severely; that the Dey himself shall decide all disputes between American citizens and his subjects, and the American Consul between citizens themselves; that in case of war the consul and citizens of America may depart with their effects, free from molestation; and that no American vessels taken by the other Barbary States, shall be sold in the ports of Algiers. In consideration of this treaty, which contains some other less important stipulations, and of the release of all our citizens who were prisoners among them, we pay them a large sum in hand, and about 25,000 dollars annually.

A few days ago a motion was made in the House of Representatives, for requesting the President to lay before it for its information, "all the instructions and papers relating to the negociation of the British Treaty, except such papers as relate to any negociation now depending."[1] This motion was taken up yesterday. After it had been debated some time, Mr. Madison, observing that in its present form it was liable to objections, moved that the last part of it should be struck out and the following words added, "except such papers as in his opinion cannot consistently with the interest of the United States now be made known." This amendment is to be taken up to day. Should it pass, the motion in that form will probably be agreed to.

Of the important bills before Congress, the land Law[2] is the only one that has made much progress. The quantity of land that the government has for sale is something more than 9,000,000 of acres.

[1] Mar. 2. "Annals", 4 Cong., 1 sess., 400, 424.
[2] Introduced Jan. 26. Ibid., 267, 327 ff.

It has been agreed to divide it into tracts of six miles square, one half of which to be subdivided into tracts of one mile square, for the accommodation small purchasers. These tracts are then to be numbered, and after sufficient notice to be sold to the highest bidder; the large tracts at the seat of government, and the small ones in the country where they lay. The lowest price is to be two dollars an acre; one half cash and the rest in one and two years.

It has been proposed to make three alterations in the excise laws.[1] 1st. To lay the duty in all cases, on the still, and not on the liquor distilled. 2dly. To make the collection by means of the state tax collectors; and 3dly. to direct that penalties and forfeitures shall be sued for in the state courts, instead of compelling persons sued to attend at a great distance and heavy expence, in the federal courts. The first proposition has been agreed to, as far as relates to the distillation of home materials. The second is found impossible, because the laws and constitutions of several states forbid their officers to hold any employment under the United States. The third has not yet been agreed to, but we hope it will.

The House has directed a bill to be brought in, for the protection and relief of American seamen impressed into foreign service.[2] It appears that the number impressed is not so great as formerly, and that in most cases where representations have been made, those who were really American citizens have been released. But still there probably are many cases of impressment which do not come to our knowledge, and the difficulty of distinguishing British from American seamen very often affords a pretext for impressing the latter. To remedy these two inconveniences the bill directs, in the first place, agents to be appointed to reside in Great Britain, and such other places as the President may direct, whose duty it will be to enquire into all cases of impressed American seamen, to use all means for their relief, and to give our government exact information on the subject. Secondly offices to be erected, where American Seamen on proving their citizenship, may obtain authentic certificates to protect them from impressment. This being done, the 19th article of the treaty provides that they shall not be molested.[3]

There having been a vacancy in the office of chief Justice, it was bestowed on Mr. Cushing,[4] the eldest Judge. He declined it on account of ill-health, and it has been given to Mr. Ellsworth,[5] a Senator from Connecticut. The office of Secretary at War, vacant

[1] Feb. 4. Ibid., 293.

[2] Ibid., 372, 381 ff.

[3] Note in the original print: "By stipulating that 'all commanders of ships of War and Privateers of one party and their subjects and citizens, shall forbear doing any damage to that of the other party, or committing any outrage against them.'"

[4] William Cushing (1732–1810) of Massachusetts, who had been appointed associate justice Sept. 27, 1789. The vacancy had been caused by the resignation of John Jay.

[5] Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807), chief justice 1796–1799.

by the promotion of Col. Pickering,[1] has been conferred on Dr. M'Henry,[2] of Baltimore, who was Secretary to the President while commander in chief. Mr. Charles Lee[3] of Virginia, has been made Attorney General, instead of Mr. Bradford[4] who died last summer.

A new state has lately been formed called Tenassee.[5] It is composed of the settlements on Holston, French Broad, Cumberland, and their waters. Their constitution has been sent on, and we expect their members soon. Their general assembly for chosing them was to be held the first of this month. They will be intitled to two members in the House of Representatives.[6]

A Law has been passed fixing the compensation of the Senators and Representatives.[7] It remains at six dollars a day. And by an appropriation Law which has been passed for the support of government this year it appears, that the whole expences of the civil departments for 1796, including all the salaries of officers, support of Congress, the mint, judicial departments, etc., are not to exceed 530,392 dollars, which is less than the annual allowance lately voted by the British Parliament for the Prince of Wales. Of this sum the mint costs 52,464 dollars.[8]

Considerable progress has been made in the six frigates ordered to be built by a former act of Congress. The greater part of the work is done to some of them, and far the greater part of the materials for all. These vessels, in size excellence of materials and excellence of workmanship far surpass any of the kind, heretofore built in any country; but the expence greatly exceeds the first estimate, which was 688,888 dollars. Of this sum 458,971 dollars has already been expended, and it is now estimated that to finish them all completely would cost 453,272 dollars more; making in the whole 1,142,160 dollars. The sum already expended being 458,971 dollars, leaves a balance from the former appropriation of 229,917 dollars; which, it is estimated will be sufficient to finish two, which may be ready for sea in November. It will be a desirable thing to finish them all for the better protection of our commerce, if money can be spared: but as the present revenues may not be more than sufficient to defray the annual expence, and pay that part of the public debt which is to be annually discharged; and as it will by no means be proper to lay

[1] Timothy Pickering (1745–1829), commissioned secretary of state Dec. 10, 1795, on Randolph's resignation.

[2] James McHenry (1753–1816), secretary of war from Jan. 27, 1796, until 1800.

[3] Charles Lee (1758–1815), attorney-general from Dec. 10, 1795, until 1801.

[4] William Bradford (1755–1795) of Pennsylvania, attorney-general from 1794 until his death, 1795.

[5] The convention which drafted the state constitution for Tennessee met at Knoxville, Jan. 11, 1796. Tennessee was admitted to the Union June 1, 1796, in spite of the opposition of the Federalists.

[6] Note in the original print: "This being a subject of doubt, they claimed, and were allowed, but one."

[7] Feb. 29. "Annals", 4 Cong., 1 sess., 381.

[8] Jan. 25. Ibid., 253–263, 266.

new taxes for any such purpose; it is had in view to finish only two, and reserve the materials already provided for the others, till the state of the finances will permit the whole to be completed.

The actual military force of the United States amounts to 3228 non-commissioned officers and privates, 240 of which are cavalry; 731 artillery; and 2257 infantry. Of this force 2039 are in the Army North-west of the Ohio, 222 at Pittsburg, Fort Franklin, and Presque Isle; 350 on the frontiers of Georgia; 33 in the South-western Territory; and 584 at West Point, the different fortifications of the harbours, and the several recruiting stations. The support of this force, together with the expences of fortifications at the various sea ports, of erecting arsenals and magazines, and of intercourse with the Indians, costs the United States 1,480,227 dollars annually. This expence will be diminished in consequence of the termination of the Indian war; but there are doubts about the propriety of reducing the number of troops. 2000 men are thought by many not to be more than sufficient to protect so extensive a frontier, and garrison so many posts. This subject however has not yet been taken up by the House, and it is impossible to say how it may be settled. This will depend much on the report of the committee, to whom it has been for some time referred.

By the returns into the Treasury it appears, that the nett proceeds of duties of impost and tonnage in 1794, including fines and forfeitures, were 6,683,313 dollars; in 1793 they were 6,073,512, and in 1792, 4,615,559. It must however be remarked, that between 1792 and 1793 the duties were augmented. The returns for 1795 are not yet compleat. Of the nett amount in 1794, New Hampshire paid 38,798 dollars, Vermont 1,420, Massachusetts 1,037,756, Rhode Island 89,423, Connecticut 171,828, New York 1,860,763, New Jersey 15,391, Pennsylvania 1,473,996, Delaware 24,590, Maryland 795,728, Virginia 389,970, North Carolina 78,793, South Carolina 651,916, and Georgia 88,194. Making up in the whole, after some deductions for occasional charges, the above sum of 6,683,313 dollars. The whole expence of collection was 221,090 dollars.

Of the above amount 2,699 dollars are for fines and forfeitures; 80,113 for tonnage; and the balance, 6,600,501 dollars for duties on goods imported.

The tonnage duties are paid by the different states in the following proportions. New Hampshire 601 dollars, Vermont ——, Massachusetts 18,121, Rhode Island 2,500, Connecticut 1,953, New York 14,388, Pennsylvania 12,075, Delaware 541, Maryland 5,056, Virginia 6,431, North Carolina 3,808, South Carolina 10,751, and Georgia 3,112. Kentucky having no ports, pays directly no duties either on imports or tonnage. Indirectly she pays duties on imports, because goods brought into the Atlantic ports are sent overland and con-

sumed among her citizens, who repay the duty in the price of the article.

The total amount in one year of the internal revenues, consisting of the duties on stills and distilled spirits, sales at Auction, snuff manufactured, snuff mills, sugar refined, carriages, and licences to retailers of spirituous liquors, is 528,481 dollars; of which sum stills and distilled spirits pay 357,539, Sales at auction 31,289, snuff manufactured 2,399, snuff mills 7,112, sugar refined 33,988, carriages 41,421, and retailers licences 54,731.

These taxes being all collected by one set of officers, who receive salaries, it is impossible to ascertain precisely what expence is incurred by the collection of any one tax: but the whole expence of collection on all is 84,943 dollars; which leaves a nett balance of revenue to the Treasury, of 443,538 dollars.

To shew how these taxes operate among the states it may be remarked, that of the above nett balance New Hampshire pays 2,757 dollars, Massachusetts 94,616, Rhode Island 33,513, Connecticut 10,904, Vermont 679, New York 40,582, New Jersey 14,937, Pennsylvania 98,518, Delaware 4,233, Maryland 36,097, Virginia 63,403, Kentucky 16,000, North Carolina 9,977, South Carolina 15,626, and Georgia 1,689.

The gross sum paid by South Carolina from these taxes is 20,580 dollars, of which stills and distilled spirits pay 10,557, sales at auction 5,321, snuff manufactured 5 snuff mills ——, sugar refined ——, Carriages 3,016, and retailers licences 1,680. The whole expence of collection in that state is 3,954, which leaves the above nett balance of 15,626, for our proportion of the sum actually paid into the Treasury.

In the year 1794 the quantity of shipping which entered in the ports of the United States was 828,141 tons, of which 745,525, was American. The whole amount which entered in 1790, was only 476,890. In that year the quantity of British shipping which intered in our ports was 216,914, and in 1794, it was only 37,058. From which it follows that from 1790, to 1794 inclusive, our commerce very nearly doubled, and the foreign shipping employed in it decreased more than seven fold; our own increasing during the same period nearly four fold.

On the last of December 1794 the people of the United States owned 628,677 ton of shipping. Of this quantity there belonged to New Hampshire 14,524 tons, to Massachusetts 224,743, to Rhode Island 24,783, to Connecticut 31,436, to New York 95,006, to New Jersey 7,344, to Pennsylvania 74,167, to Delaware 2,300, to Maryland 55,380, to Virginia 45,700, to North Carolina 20,573, to South Carolina 25,918, and to Georgia 4,234.

It having been long a subject of complaint that there is great irregularity and derangement in the Post Office, whereby the communi-

cation between the various parts of the Union is rendered very tedious and uncertain, a committee has been appointed to enquire into that subject, and report what legislative provision is necessary. We hope the delays and uncertainty so justly complained of will soon be remedied, some new post-roads and office erected, and the communication made not only less precarious, but more general.

The last accounts from Europe, which are not very late, give us no news of a very interesting nature. There is a great scarcity of grain in England, which has induced the Parliament to give a very high bounty on its importation. This will encrease the price of provisions in this country, already enormously high.[1] There was, and no doubt still is, great uneasiness in England on account of some very tyrannical bills brought into Parliament by the minister for preventing meetings of the people. In the meantime the government continues the war, and goes on at its usual rate of profligate expence. The Minister[2] has an immense majority in the House of Commons. He has lately borrowed 18,000,000*l.* Sterling for the expences of the present year. This is nearly twice as much as the whole public debt of America. Last year he added 27,000,000*l.* Sterling to the national debt; which he has already encreased upwards of 60,000,000*l.* by the present war against France.

The French Legislature is happily employed in reducing their finances to some order, and providing for the reestablishment of their Navy, and the interior order of the Republic. Their internal commotions, are nearly, perhaps quite, at an end; and their armies on the frontier are formidable and successful. On the Rhyne however, little has been done. We often hear of victories gained by one side and the other, but they have hitherto turned out to be only inconsiderable advantages. In Italy their success has been very great. Bread is said to be very scarce in the country. Peace in the meantime between them and the Austrians and English appears to be still distant.

We hear that Mr. De La Fayette[3] has been released, and is on his way to America; but this is not certain.

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[1] The matter from this point to the paragraph beginning, "We hear" was struck out by the author. There is a certain significance in the omission of the sentence respecting British legislation, especially if, as we conjecture, the form in which these printed letters are now found indicates preparation for reprinting in a volume nineteen or twenty years later. For in fact, though the fact has, we believe, hardly been mentioned by any historian, the Sedition Act passed by the Federalists in 1798 was closely modelled on the provisions of the British measures here alluded to, the Treasonable Practices Act, 36 Geo. III, c. 7, and the Seditious Meetings Act, 36 Geo. III, c. 8, both passed Dec. 18, 1795 (and the Alien Act, less closely, on the British Alien Act, 33 Geo. III., c. 4). In 1814 a Federalist might naturally wish to omit a sentence in which, in 1796, he had stigmatized these British statutes as tyrannical.

[2] William Pitt.

[3] Lafayette was not released until 1797.

As soon as any decision takes place on the important question now under discussion in Congress I will inform you of it. Till then believe me to be, My Dear Sir, With respect, yours etc.

HARPER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 10, 1796.*

DEAR SIR: In my last I informed you that a motion had been made in the House of Representatives, "that the President be requested to lay before the House the instructions to the minister who negociated the late treaty between Great-Britain and the United States, and the papers and correspondence attending the negociation, except such of them as any existing negociation may render improper to be disclosed." A motion was made by Mr. Madison to strike out the last part of the resolution, and insert the following words, "except such of them as in his opinion the interest of the United States may render it improper at this time to disclose." This amendment however was not carried.[1]

A very long debate then took place on the original motion. It was opposed on the ground, that the Constitution having given the power of making treaties exclusively to the President and Senate, the House of Representatives had nothing to do with them, but to judge in the first place whether they were made according to the Constitution, and secondly whether if so made the necessary laws ought to be passed for carrying them into effect: That the papers were not necessary for either of those purposes, but both points must be decided by the treaty itself; since if unconstitutional on the face of it, the instructions or correspondence could not make it otherwise, and if so bad that it ought to be broken, the instructions and correspondence could not make it good. It was admitted that the House might demand the papers for the purpose of impeaching the negociator or the President; but then this purpose ought to be avowed, and expressed in the resolution. This was my opinion and that of many others.

There were some who went further, and contended that when a treaty had been constitutionally made, it became, by the constitution, the supreme law of the land; and the House of Representatives had no right to deliberate whether it should be carried into effect or not, but was bound immediately to pass all necessary laws for that purpose, except in some extreme cases, where the greatness of the danger would justify resistance to a law.

These two descriptions of persons voted against the resolution, because in their opinion it implied a right in the House of Representa-

[1] "Annals", 4 Cong., 1 sess., 438 ff.

tives to interfere in making treaties, contrary to the express words and intent of the Constitution.

On the other side it was contended that treaties, when they relate to any legislative subjects, are incomplete till sanctioned by the House of Representatives, and that the House ought to see all the instructions and papers, to enable it to judge whether its sanction ought to be given. It was also said that though an impeachment was not intended, it might possibly appear to be proper, and that when papers or other information were called for, it was not necessary to state the purpose for which they were wanted. And further it was contended, that even for the purpose of judging whether the House would concur in passing laws to carry the treaty into effect, these papers were necessary; because they might shew that though not a good treaty, it was the best that could be made.

The first principle, "that treaties are incomplete in certain cases, without the sanction of the House," was warmly contested, and gave rise to a long able and interesting debate. Those who at first advanced it at length explained it away, and concluded with declaring that they meant nothing more than that where a treaty touched on subjects delegated by the constitution to the legislative power, it must depend for its effect on laws, which the House might concur in or not, as it should think consistent with the public good. And to judge whether it would so concur the papers, they said, were necessary. The motion was finally agreed to, by a considerable majority, and the resolution sent to the President.

He took some days to consider of it; and then sent a message to the House, in which after explaining at some length his opinion respecting the power of making treaties under the constitution, and his reasons, he concludes thus:

"As therefore it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great-Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the constitution between the different departments should be preserved; a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

This message was referred to a committee of the whole House, where the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to without debate.[1]

Resolved, That it being declared by the 2d section of the 2d article of the constitution, "That the President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties,

[1] Ibid., 769 ff.

provided two thirds of the Senators present concur," the House of Representatives do not claim any agency in making treaties; but that when a treaty stipulates regulations on any of the subjects submitted by the constitution to the power of Congress, it must depend for its execution, as to such stipulations, on a law or laws to be passed by Congress; and it is the constitutional right and duty of the House of Representatives, in all such cases, to deliberate on the expediency or inexpediency of carrying such treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good.

Resolved, That it is not necessary to the propriety of any application from the House to the Executive for information desired by them, and which may relate to any constitutional functions of the House, that the purposes for which such information may be wanted, or to which the same may be applied, should be stated in the application.

All those who had voted against the call for papers, and some others, voted against those resolutions, on the ground that they were unnecessary, and might be hurtful; inasmuch as they might tend to bring about division and dispute between the different branches of the government. They were carried by a considerable majority.

This day or to-morrow the House will enter into the consideration of the treaty; in order to decide whether the necessary laws shall be passed for carrying it into effect. This crisis is very important. Should the laws not be passed it is impossible to foresee the consequences, to our peace, our prosperity, and our national honour.

By a late report of the committee of ways and means it appears, that our present revenue is sufficient to defray all our present expenses, including the interest of the public debt now payable, and such part of the principle as the government is bound annually to pay. It also appears that there is every reason to expect an encrease of revenue, from the encrease of commerce and the sale of public lands. But as this encrease is not certain; and in the year 1801 the interest of the deferred debt, amounting to about 1,200,000 dollars annually, will begin to be payable, it may be necessary to provide new revenues by that time. The committee therefore has recommended a duty on stamps, and an encrease of the duty on carriages of pleasure; and also that the Secretary of the Treasury should be directed to prepare, and lay before Congress at next session, a plan of direct taxes.[1] This last proposition was agreed to, not because it was thought direct taxes would be necessary, but because they *may* perhaps be necessary; and in that case the plan ought to be in readiness. The proposition for stamps was sent back to the committee.

[1] "Annals", 4 Cong., 1 sess., 856.

It has been agreed to reduce the military establishment to 3,000 men; which is about the number actually in pay. The number heretofore directed by law, was 6,000. Three of the six frigates are also directed to be equipt immediately, and the other three suspended; such materials as are perishable to be sold, and the rest preserved till it may be convenient to equip the whole number.

Thus stand our affairs at present. As soon as the fate of the question on the treaty is known you will be informed of it. Till then I am, my dear sir, your's, truely.

Harper to his Constituents.

Philadelphia, *May 2d, 1796.*

On Saturday, my dear Sir, the 30th of April, the Resolution to make provision for carrying into effect the Treaty with Great Britain was carried in the House of Representatives, by a majority of three: there being fifty-one votes in favour of it, and against it forty-eight. This made ninety-nine who voted. Two members were out of the House, one had resigned, and two were absent on leave. These, with the Speaker, who did not vote, make up the whole number of Representatives. The two members who were out of the House were against the Treaty. The member who resigned and the Speaker were in favour of it; and of the two absent on leave one was in favour and the other against. So that if the whole number of Representatives, 105, had been present, there would have been a majority of three voices for the Resolution.[1]

When it was found that the Resolution would be carried, an attempt was made to annex a Preamble to it, declaring the Treaty to be in the opinion of the House highly objectionable, and injurious to the interests of the United States: But this Preamble was rejected by a majority of one voice.

The votes from the different States, on this Question, were divided as follows:

New Hampshire: 4 members; 3 for, 1 absent. Massachusetts: 14 members; 10 for, 3 against, 1 absent. Rhode Island: 2 members; 2 for. Connecticut: 7 members; 7 for. Vermont: 2 members; 1 for, 1 against. New York: 10 members; 7 for, 3 against. New Jersey: 5 members; 4 for, the Speaker 1. Pennsylvania: 13 members; 7 for, 5 against, 1 out of the House. Delaware: 1 member; 1 out of the House. Maryland: 8 members; 6 for, 1 against, 1 resigned. Virginia: 19 members; 1 for, 18 against. Kentucky: 2 members; 2 against. North Carolina: 10 members; 1 for, 9 against. South Carolina: 6 members; 2 for, 4 against. Georgia: 2 members; 2 against.

[1] Ibid., 1282–1292.

Makes in favour	51
Against	48
Absent	2
Out of the House	2
Resigned	1
The Speaker	1
Makes the whole number	105

I was one of those from our State who voted for the measure. My reasons for this vote have been fully explained on a former occasion. They will also appear in a speech delivered on the subject, of which I shall send some copies as soon as it is published.[1]

The debate was long able and interesting. In the course of it vast numbers of petitions came in, from all parts of the country, praying that the Treaty might be carried into effect. This, I believe, was one principal cause why it was done; for several of its greatest opposers were induced to vote in favour of it, by a conviction that the people at large wished it to be faithfully executed. The grounds on which it was supported and opposed will appear in two speeches, one on each side, of which I send several copies. Mr. Madison was its ablest opposer, and Mr. Hillhouse among its ablest advocates. I have therefore selected their speeches. The whole debate will be published in time, and I shall forward some copies of it as soon as it appears.

This important business being settled, all we have to do besides will probably be finished in three or four weeks. Congress will of course adjourn about the first of June, and I shall soon afterwards see you in Ninety Six.[2] Till then adieu.

Harper to his Constituents.

Philadelphia, *January 5th, 1797.*

My Dear Sir: I have delayed writing hitherto, because till now there has been nothing particularly interesting to communicate. We have had no foreign news of late, that can be much relied on, and as for domestic occurrences, there have been none of considerable importance, except the election of a President and Vice President, the result of which we did not know till within this two days. A difference has indeed taken place between us and the French government, from which some people apprehend serious consequences. I do not think it likely to produce any such, tho' it is certainly of a disagreeable nature. My reasons for this opinion I shall fully explain hereafter, and give at the same time as accurate a view of the dispute as I can. The length into which it will be necessary to go, and the

[1] Note in the original print: "It never was published."
[2] In northeastern South Carolina.

event of some important information which we daily expect, prevent me from taking up the subject at present.

From the returns of the election, the last of which were received two or three days ago, it appears that Mr. Adams has 71 votes, Mr. Jefferson 68, Major Pinckney[1] 59, and Col. Burr 30. The whole number of electors being 138, it follows that Mr. Adams has a majority, and is elected President. Mr. Jefferson is Vice-President, and, it is generally understood, will serve.

Eight states—Delaware, Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New-Hampshire, voted unanimously for Adams. He had 7 votes in Maryland out of 10, one in Pennsylvania, one in Virginia, and one in North Carolina. Delaware, Jersey, Vermont, and New-York, voted unanimously for Pinckney also. In Connecticut he had 4 votes out of 9, and in Massachusetts 13 out of 16. Those two states threw away the rest of their votes, and New-Hampshire and Rhode Island all theirs, for fear of making Pinckney President; which they did not intend. They wished to make him Vice President, and would have preferred him as President to Mr. Jefferson. Consequently they would have voted for him, unanimously, had they considered the election of Adams as doubtful. But this was not the case. From calculations which appeared certain, they believed Adams to be safe; and consequently resolved to throw away some votes from Pinckney, leaving him enough to put him in as Vice-President; a hazardous and blameable policy, for which they have been strongly censured by many persons in this part of the Union!

Besides the above-mentioned votes, Major Pinckney had 2 in Pennsylvania, 4 in Maryland, one in Virginia, and one in North Carolina.

Four states voted unanimously for Mr. Jefferson—South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Maryland gave him four out of 10; one elector from that state having voted both for him and Adams. In Pennsylvania he had 14 out of 15, in Virginia 20 out of 21, and 11 out of 12 in North Carolina. Delaware, New-York, Jersey, Connecticut, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, gave him no votes.

Tennessee and Kentucky voted unanimously for Col. Burr. He had 4 votes in Maryland, 6 in North Carolina, one in Virginia, and 13 in Pennsylvania. No other state gave him a vote.

As Pinckney was but 9 votes behind Jefferson, it was in the power of South Carolina, with one vote from Georgia Kentucky or Tennessee, to make him Vice-President. Had South Carolina thrown away the 8 votes which she gave to Jefferson, she would have left him

[1] Thomas Pinckney (1750–1828) of South Carolina, who had just returned from his Spanish mission, was on the Federalist ticket with Adams. Eighteen New England electors had withheld their votes from Pinckney lest he outrun Adams. On the other hand, the eight South Carolina electors had voted for Pinckney and Jefferson. Stanwood, "History of the Presidency", 50–51.

but one above Pinckney; one from any other state would have made them equal; and the Senate, with whom the choice must then have rested, would, no doubt, have given Pinckney the preference.

To understand this operation we must recollect the mode of voting. They do not vote for one man as President, and another as Vice-President; but each elector votes for two persons, the highest of whom, provided he has a majority of all the electors, becomes President. The second is Vice-President. Had the mode of election been different, so as to admit of a distinction between the persons chosen for the two offices, it is certain that Major Pinckney would have been elected Vice-President by a large majority. We know that Virginia would have voted for him had she not been afraid of his interfering with Jefferson; it is probable that North Carolina and Georgia would have done so too; and there is no doubt that he would in that case have received an unanimous vote from all those who supported Adams.

It appears from this account, that 8 states out of 16 voted unanimously for Mr. Adams, and that there are but 4 in which he received no votes. Only four out of the 16 voted unanimously for Mr. Jefferson; and there are 8 which did not vote for him at all. Had the electors been chosen by districts in Pennsylvania, instead of a general ticket throughout the state, it is certain that instead of one vote there, Mr. Adams would have had at least 6, probably 7. By the same mode of election in New-York, Delaware and Massachusetts, it is believed that he would have lost one in each of those states. It is highly presumable that he would have gained one in South Carolina; perhaps two. So that had the sense of the people been taken in the fairest possible manner, we may conclude that the result would have been still more favourable to Mr. Adams by 5 or 6 votes.[1]

Having said so much about the election, you may perhaps expect me to express my opinion about the choice, and the candidates. I have not the least objection to doing so; more especially as my sentiments on that head have been often declared, and were very well known, before we knew the result of the election. I give a decided preference to Mr. Adams above Mr. Jefferson, because I think him in all respects better qualified for the place, and more deserving of it. There is, in my opinion, no comparison between their talents or their services. But I am one of those who would have preferred Major Pinckney to either, as conceiving him to be possessed, in a higher degree than either, of those qualities which fit a man for holding the reins of government: Prudence, moderation, sound judgment, great coolness and discretion, calm steady firmness of character, and uniformity

[1] From this point to the paragraph beginning, "Since I began to write this letter", lines have been drawn through the letter and on the margin these words are written: "As in the original publication of this letter in the Gazettes, the parts crossed were directed to be omitted, they are now struck out, and must not be inserted. R. G. H."

of conduct. Mr. Jefferson I believe to be greatly deficient in most of those qualities which fit a man for the first station in a Government. He possesses much knowledge, chiefly however of the scientific kind, the least useful for a statesman; whose business it is to judge an act, not to write books: No one will deny him the praise of considerable literary genius; and for his diplomatic writings he has been greatly, and in some degree justly, commended. But from his public conduct, I take him to be of a weak wavering indecisive character; deliberating when he ought to act, and frequently acting, when he does attempt it, without steadiness judgment or perseverance; rashly engaging in attempts which difficulties that he ought to have foreseen, or to surmount, soon compel him to relinquish; always pursuing certain visionary theories of the closet, which experience constantly contradicts; like most litterary men, greatly liable to flattery, and so devoted to popular applause, that he cannot be relied on for the performance of any duty, which might require him to risk it, by a manly decisive conduct in difficult situations.

With this opinion of Mr. Jefferson, I might think him fit to be a professor in a College, President of a Philosophical Society, or even Secretary of State; but certainly not the first magistrate of a great nation.

I have other objections to him equally strong, especially at this juncture. I believe his hatred and dread of Great Britain to be so violent, and his enthusiastic attachment to France so unbounded, that it would be impossible for him to act with justice and impartiality between the two nations. However laudable this may be in a private citizen of America, it is certainly very improper in the head of the government; whose duty it is to preserve the interests of his own country without being biassed by love or hatred to any foreign nation. These two nations, who now wage a deadly war against each other, and seem resolved at length to decide, by the destruction of one or the other, a contest which has lasted more than three hundred years, are equally desirous of gaining influence in our country, and rendering us subiervient to their respective views and interests. In order to effect this point they endeavor to work on our passions; and if one of them should find in our country, or in those who administer our government, a violent hatred against its rival, or a strong affection toward itself, it will not fail to lay hold on those feelings in order to direct our counsels.

It is well known that the French were extremely desirous of seeing Mr. Jefferson President; that they interested themselves to the utmost in favor of his election; that they made a great point of his success. Had there been no other objection to him, this, in my mind, would have been quite sufficient. They must have been desirous of his succeeding from one of two reasons; either because they thought

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him so devoted to their interests as to enter readily and of his own accord into all their views; or so weak, or vain, that it would be easy for them to flatter or frighten him into such measures as they might wish to see adopted. Probably they counted on both: either would render him unfit for President of the United States, had he no other defect.

As to Mr. Adams he is acknowledged, by his warmest opposers, to be a man of great firmness; of a decisive independent manly character; of the utmost integrity and patriotism; and possessed, in a most eminent degree, of the knowledge best suited to that station in which the people have lately placed him, the knowledge of history, government, politics, and mankind. He was among the earliest and most firm asserters of American independence; and it is remarkable that although he has been in public employment from the year 1775, till this day, he is still in very moderate circumstances, and has never furnished his enemies with a single objection against his conduct or character. They can find nothing to censure but his opinions. They accuse him of being a friend to monarchy and hereditary rank; and for proof of this they cite a book which he wrote in 1782, in defence of the American Constitutions.[1] I will give you a single extract from this book, which will be sufficient to convince you that if Mr. Adams be really a friend to monarchy and hereditary rank, he has taken a very singular method of expressing his preference. In page 95, after taking a review of the governments of Europe, he gives the American Constitutions the preference over them all, including the English, which he justly considers as the best in Europe; and he concludes with these remarkable words—"We shall have reason to exult if we make our comparison with England and the English Constitution. Our people are undoubtedly sovereign: All the landed and other property is in the hands of the citizens: Not only their representatives, but their senators and governors, are annually chosen: There are no hereditary titles, honors, nor distinctions: The legislative, executive, and judicial powers, are carefully separated from each other: The powers of the one, the few, and the many, are nicely balanced in their legislatures: Trials by jury are preserved in all their glory; and there is no standing army: The habeas corpus is in full force; the press is the most free in the world; and where all these circumstances take place, it is unnecessary to add that the laws alone can govern."

I have carefully examined this book, and find many passages which fully agree with the sentiments stated above, but not one, which by a fair construction, can be so explained as to contradict them. In-

[1] "A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America against the attack of M. Turgot in his Letter to Dr. Price, dated the twenty-second day of March, 1778" (London, 1787–1788, three vols.).

deed, after so explicit a declaration, Mr. Adams must have been a fool, which no body pretends he is, to put anything into his book of so contrary a nature.

Were it necessary to prove that in the year 1782, Mr. Jefferson entertained, and labored to inculcate, opinions which lead directly to the establishment of an *aristocracy of the rich*, I could easily do it, by citing a book which he wrote about that time:[1] but it is not necessary, and might be unfair. Though he supported those doctrines at that time, he probably did not perceive their tendency. I am persuaded he would now disavow them; for though I believe that he is very apt to advance the most unfounded and ill-considered opinions, I have no doubt that he is a sincere friend to liberty.

Since I began to write this letter, European accounts have been received, from which it appears that the two French armies which invaded Germany have been compelled to retreat, and re-cross the Rhine. The first, under General Jourdan, suffered very great loss. The second, commanded by Moreau, penetrated much farther, and has but lately effected its retreat. The accounts as to its loss are very various and uncertain.

It also appears that the English have sent an Ambassador to Paris[2] to make proposals for a general peace. The French directory thought his powers not sufficiently extensive, inasmuch as he was not authorized to treat in behalf of the allies of England. The negociation is therefore suspended till he can write to his government on this subject. It is not known what propositions he is authorized to make on the part of England. In the meantime it seems to be the general opinion in Europe that peace will take place this winter.

Spain has entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with France, and has declared war against England. England however maintains as yet her naval superiority, and is preparing for another campain. The expenses of it are estimated at twenty-five millions sterling, which is to be raised, we are told, not by taxes and loans, but by a general contribution laid on property. France has been endeavoring to draw Sweden and Denmark also into the war, but they still wisely adhere to their neutrality.

The French army under Buonaparte which has overrun a great part of Italy, still maintains its ground there. Its progress however has been checked for a time, and the accounts respecting its present situation are very uncertain and contradictory. It is to be wished, I think, that this army may share the fate of the others, and be driven back into its own country. While the French were fighting for their

[1] Note in original print: "Notes on Virginia, page 126."

[2] Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris, October, 1796, with instructions to insist that Belgium be restored to Austria. The Directory refused to agree to this and he was ordered to leave Paris, Dec. 19.

national independence every heart was with them.[1] But they have attained that object, and are now fighting for dominion. They are fighting to extend and establish their empire over other countries, which they pillage and oppress in the most shocking manner, under the pretence of making them free. It was under this very pretence that the Romans, whose conduct and maxims, and even whose style, the French are endeavoring to imitate, subdued the whole world, and reduced it under the most frightful despotism. The French, since they made Holland free, have plundered it of such immense sums, that it was lately found impossible, in that once rich and flourishing country, to procure a loan of three hundred thousand dollars, on any security. Their first act after they arrived in the country, was to declare that persons and property should be protected; their next to exact a contribution for the supply of their army, of more than a million and a half of dollars, to be delivered in one month. They took possession of Belgium to make it free, and besides various other heavy exactions, they have lately, by one decree, confiscated property to the amount of more than two hundred millions of dollars. In Italy and Germany they have exercised similar depredations; and the people, when unable to comply with their demands, have been subjected to martial law. To such excess did they carry their ferocious tyranny, that Gen. Buonaparte declared his resolution of destroying Pavia, and extirpating all the inhabitants, men women and children, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand souls, if they had detained one of his soldiers a moment beyond the time prescribed. A city more than ten times as large as Charleston to be rased to the ground, and all its innocent inhabitants put to the sword, for the detention of one soldier! These are the mercies of the French, and the benefits they confer on those countries into which they pretend to carry freedom. It is for this reason, that for the interests and happiness of mankind, I wish them to be driven back to their own country, and compelled to stay there.

While they pretended to be our best friends, they plundered us of many millions of dollars, probably more, by one half, than was seized from us by the British. The method of doing it, was to take the property of our merchants for the use of their government, whenever they could find it in their own ports, and promise to pay for it; which they have not yet done. They now, under pretence that we have treated them ill, take all our ships that are alledged to have British property on board, or are bound to or from British ports,

[1] Note in the original print: "It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark, that the author very soon after writing this, became fully convinced, by further enquiring, of what is perfectly certain, and is now admitted by all who have any pretensions to knowledge of the subject: That the French never were fighting for their Independence, but set out in the beginning with a plan of conquest, and were aggressors in every part of the war which ensued."

and condemn them under the most frivolous and shameful pretexts. This matter however will be explained more fully in a letter which I shall write soon on the subject of our dispute with France.

Congress has not yet concluded any business of importance. Several matters however are on the carpet, and in considerable forwardness. The plan of a select militia has been rejected by the House of Representatives, and a militia bill ordered to be brought in on different principles.[1]

One of the best printers in Philadelphia has undertaken to publish a weekly paper, which, excluding advertisements, will contain all the foreign and domestic news, the proceedings and debates of Congress, and the laws passed at every session.[2] The expense, including postage for any distance beyond 100 miles, will be four dollars and three quarters a year, to be paid in Philadelphia, at the time of subscribing. I would recommend it to my friends to subscribe for this paper, and to forward orders to me at Philadelphia, for that purpose. I have procured some copies of the proposals, and of the first number, which are forwarded by this post. As there is now a weekly post at Cambridge, the paper may be regularly received.

Adieu my dear Sir, if I have not tired you, it will be an encouragement to write again.

Harper to his Constituents.

Philadelphia, *March 13th, 1797.*

My Dear Sir: On the third of this month, Congress adjourned after having passed several important bills, and postponed some others which there was not time to consider.

The next day the Senate met by special summons, and Mr. Adams, the new President, took the oath of office, and entered on his functions. Mr. Jefferson also took his seat as Vice-President. They both delivered speeches highly worthy of attention, which, probably, you will have seen before this reaches you, as I sent on a number of the news-papers which contain them.

A great concourse of people assembled to see Mr. Adams take the oath, and General Washington appeared among them as a private citizen. He probably never appeared greater; and certainly his appearance never excited more sensibility or more admiration. It was certainly an interesting spectacle to see the Chief Magistrate of a great people descend voluntarily from his station, and join his fellow-citizens in attending at the elevation of his successor; to see that successor assume amidst the congratulations even of his opposers, the station to

[1] The paragraph which follows was struck out by the author.

[2] The allusion is to Porcupine's Gazette, established Mar. 4, 1797, by William Cobbett.

which the voice of his fellow-citizens had raised him; to see this change made without commotion, without a murmur, without even the appearance of discontent; and to see the two distinguished citizens who lately were rival candidates for the highest office, cheerfully submit to the decision of the majority, and unite with cordiality in serving their country, each in the post which their country had assigned to them! These circumstances form the highest encomium on republican government, and on the character of our country; and they furnish additional grounds for the pleasing confidence, that our constitution will disappoint, by its durability and happy effects, the predictions of its enemies, and the fears of its friends.

The first Monday in November next is fixed as the day of meeting for the next Congress. It may, perhaps, be called together sooner; though it is to be wished and hoped that such a measure may not be necessary.

An act has passed making some very material alterations in the duty on distilled spirits, and stills.[1] After the last day of next June, the option of paying by the gallon is to be taken away in all cases, and, instead of it, a duty is to be paid on the capacity of the stills, including the head. This duty is to be collected by selling licences, which may be for two weeks, one, two, three, four, five, or six months, and may be taken out on any day in the year. For a licence for two weeks, 6 cents per gallon of the capacity of the stills, including the head, is to be paid; for one of a month, 10 cents per gallon; two months, 18 cents; three months, 24 cents; four months, 30 cents; five months, 36 cents; and six months, 42 cents. The stills are to be entered as at present; every purchaser of a still for which there is an unexpired licence, is to have the benefit of it till it expires; and any person working a still without a licence, is to forfeit the price of one for six months. The regulations which now exist as to drawbacks, fines, etc., are to be continued; and no person is to be allowed a new licence till all duties due upon the still are paid.

These regulations, it is hoped, will remove all the material inconveniences now experienced from the collection of this revenue, and will render it not only more pleasant to the people, but more productive to the government.

An act has also passed for raising some of the duties now paid on foreign articles.[2] Brown sugar now pays one cent and an half per pound. After the first of June it is to pay 2 cents. This half cent additional it is computed will yield 200,000 dollars to the Treasury. One cent additional is also to be paid on molasses, which now pays 3 cents per gallon. This addition, it is supposed, will produce 20,000

[1] Passed the House Feb. 15. "Annals", 4 Cong., 2 sess., 2162. Approved Mar. 3; c. 11.

[2] Feb. 25. "Annals", 4 Cong., 2 sess., 2289. Approved Mar. 3; c. 10.

dollars and upwards. Bohea tea now pays from 10 to 16 cents per pound. Two cents are to be added; and from this an additional revenue of 20,000 dollars is expected. All white cotton goods, uncoloured muslins and muslinets, velvets and velverets coloured and uncoloured, now pay a duty of 10 per cent on their value. 2½ per cent is to be added to this, and it is supposed will produce 100,000 dollars. At this computation the additional duties will yield about 350,000 dollars. But should the present depredations on our commerce continue, the product of the duties may be very much lessened instead of increasing.

An act has also passed for making some regulations in the post office, by which it is hoped that the transportation of letters and papers will be rendered more certain and speedy than at present. Such an act passed the House of Representatives last session, but was postponed by the Senate.[1]

I mentioned in a former letter that the plan of a select militia had been rejected by Congress, and a bill ordered to be brought in on different principles. This bill was brought in; but postponed on account of the shortness of the session.

The whole sum appropriated this year for the annual service of government, is about 2,421,469 dollars, of which 424,321 is for the civil list, including the salaries and expences of the President, of Congress, of the judges, and of all the officers of government; 1,089,479 for the military department; 96,000 for pensions to invalid officers and soldiers; 145,550 for the pay of militia on the frontiers; 172,000 for compleating 3 frigates; 76,312 for deficiences in former military appropriations; 27,320 for the support of the mint; 28,500 for light-houses, beacons and buoys; and 50,000 for enabling our citizens to prosecute their claims for property captured by the British. The ballance is for various smaller articles, which need not be enumerated. To this sum of 2,421,469 dollars, which is for such expences as are annually provided for, there must be added the regular expenditures, for which permanent appropriations are made, and which amount to 4,549,502 dollars. Of this sum 1,777,459 dollars, is for the interest of the funded 6 per cent debt; 544,066 for the annual payment on account of the principal of that debt; 587,097 for the interest of the 3 per cent debt; 101,689 for the interest of the 5½ per cent debt; 7,920 for the interest of the 4½ per cent debt; 72,029 for the interest of the unfunded debt; 372,000 for the interest of money borrowed from the banks; 624,241 for interest of the Dutch debt; 400,000 for the instalment of that debt due this year; 40,000 for the expence of foreign ministers, etc.; 15,000 for the expence of protection to American seamen; and 8,000 for the expences of trade with the Indians, amounting in the whole to the above sum of 4,549,502.

[1] Feb. 6. "Annals", 4 Cong., 2 sess., 2074. Approved Mar. 3; c. 19.

Last year an act was passed appropriating 150,000 dollars for the purchase of goods to carry on trade with the Indians, of which only 50,000 was expended. The ballance, which remains as a charge on the Treasury for this year, must be added to the above sum, and will make it 4,649,502. Add to this the amount of annual appropriations stated above, which is 2,421,469 dollars, and it gives us, for the whole expenditure of the United States in 1797, the sum of 7,060,971 dollars: less, perhaps by two thirds, than the permanent annual expence of any nation in the world half as numerous.

It is impossible to foresee what will be the amount of revenue in 1797. But if we suppose the taxes to be as productive this year as they were the last, the receipts into the Treasury will amount to 6,914,267 dollars, exclusive of the sales of Western lands. Those sales brought into the Treasury last year 40,616 dollars. It is presumable that they will be equally productive this year; and if so the probable amount of our revenue for 1797, will be 6,954,883 dollars. Which deducted from 7,060,971 dollars, the amount of our expences for that year, will leave a ballance of 106,088 dollars against the government.

We must remark however, that the sum of 100,000 dollars for goods to trade with the Indians, and 8,000 for the expences, though directed by law, are not a necessary expence for which the government is bound by any contract to provide. If we deduct this from the amount of expences stated above, it will leave only 6,952,971 dollars, which is less than our probable revenue. From whence it appears that we may rely, with great probability, on a revenue beyond all the necessary expences of the government, including upward of 500,000 dollars paid on account of the principal of our debt, for its gradual extinguishment.

But if the product of our taxes should increase from 1796 to 1797, as much as it did from 1795 to 1796, we shall have a large surplus of revenue, above every expence authorized by law. In 1795 the impost and tonnage duties produced 5,588,961 dollars, the internal revenues, 337,255, and the post-office, 35,000. In 1796 the impost and tonnage, admitting the last quarter of that year to be as productive as the last of 1795, of which there is no reason to doubt, amount to 6,135,936 dollars; the internal revenues to 469,579, and the post-office to 58,909, which is clear increase of 703,208 in one year, upon those three branches of revenue. Should as great an increase take place between 1796 and 1797, there will be revenue enough to make every payment authorized by law, and leave a ballance of nearly 600,000 dollars in the Treasury, which may be applied to the redemption of the public debt. As great an increase however ought not, perhaps, to be relied on.

As to future years, the expences of them will, for some time, be less: for it must be remarked that of the expenditures stated above, some are permanent, some temporary, and some doubtful. The interest of the public debt, the sum to be paid towards its gradual extinguishment, the support of the civil government and the war department, the support and erection of light-houses, etc., the repair and support of fortifications, the mint, and some other smaller articles, amounting in the whole, for this year, to 6,202,583 dollars, may be considered as permanent expences. With the exception of the Dutch debt, they will, for a considerable time, be nearly the same. The grant of 280,259 dollars for perfecting the Algerine treaty; of 14,000 for the President's household; of 145,000 for militia services on the frontiers; of 8,819 for old ballances and extraordinary services; of 100,000 for trade with the Indian tribes; and some other small grants, amounting in the whole to 555,678 dollars, are in their nature temporary, and will not, without some very unforeseen accident, be necessary hereafter. The payments on the Dutch debt next year, instead of being 1,024,241 dollars, as they are this year, will amount to no more than 600,041. This will lessen the expences of the year 1798 on that account, by 424,200 dollars; which added to the amount of temporary expences above stated, makes a sum of 979,878 dollars, by which the expenditures of the next year may be expected to fall short of this.

The grant of 172,000 dollars for compleating the frigates may perhaps be temporary. Even should an expence on this subject be continued it will certainly be less. But it is not probable that the frigates, after being finished, will be immediately equipt for sea; in which case the annual expence incurred by them will be comparatively small. The same may be said of the grant of 76,312 dollars for deficiencies in the war department. It is not likely that these deficiencies will occur next year, or will be by any means as great; and as for the 50,000 dollars granted for enabling our citizens to prosecute their claims for British spoliations, it is to be refunded out of the money they recover, and will not probably be necessary hereafter. These three grants, of course, may be considered as doubtful; and, with two other small ones of nearly the same nature, they amount to 300,701 dollars.

If this sum be added to the former it will amount to 1,280,579 dollars, by which the public engagements of 1798 may be likely to fall short of those contracted for the present year. But should these last expences be continued, and their discontinuance ought not to be too certainly relied on, still the sums to be provided in 1798 will be only 6,080,093 dollars; 979,878 less than the expences of the present.

The revenue of the year 1798, should the taxes be as productive as they were in 1796, and the sales of lands continue nearly the same, will be 6,954,883 dollars, exclusive of the additional duties laid on in this session, and already stated. This will exceed the expences of that year as stated above, by the sum of 874,790. Should the additional duties produce the sum expected from them, 350,000, there will be a surplus of revenue next year, of 1,224,790, to be applied to the extinguishment of the public debt.

Hereafter, however, our expences will become greater for some years. In the year 1801, the interest on the deferred debt becomes payable, which together with the annual payment of 2 per cent on account of the principal, intended to be made, will amount to 1,147,695 dollars. The payments on the Dutch debt will also increase after the year 1798, so as to amount to 1,901,961 dollars in 1802, and in 1803, to 2,641,453 dollars; so that the demands of 1803 will be 3,189,107 dollars greater than those of 1798. To meet these increased expenses, various means have been thought of. Some are of opinion that a land tax will be necessary, or at any rate most advisable. Others think that with the savings which we may make in the meantime, with the increase of revenue which we may expect from our present taxes and from the sale of lands, with some additional duties on imposts, particularly on salt and brown sugar, and with the help of a stamp act, or tax on windows, we may find the necessary sums without a land tax. Everything depends on our being able to remain in a state of peace, and to preserve our commerce from destruction or great diminution by foreign powers. In that case I have little doubt of our meeting all our engagements without a land tax, and perhaps without a direct tax of any kind. But should our commerce be greatly diminished or rendered precarious, which must certainly happen should we be drawn into the quarrels of Europe, it will be impossible to depend on that large revenue which we now derive from it; and the honor and independence of our country, no less than the faith of our public engagements, will oblige us to resort to a land tax.

This important question will be decided next session. It has been under consideration during the present session, but no final determination took place. A bill indeed was brought in by order of the house, but was never taken up. This proceeded partly from the shortness of the session, which was drawing to a close before the bill, on so extensive and difficult a subject, could be prepared; and partly from an opinion that the house was not yet possessed of all the necessary materials and information for a final decision. This was certainly the case; for the propriety of adopting a land tax will depend very much on the events which are to take place in the course of this year. I will give you however an outline of the bill; because

it is probable that whenever a land tax does take place, it will be under a form not very different from that which is there presented.

The sum proposed to be raised was 1,484,000 dollars, which, deducting 222,600 for the expences of assessment and collection, would bring a nett revenue into the Treasury of 1,262,400 dollars; a sum supposed sufficient, with our present revenue, to meet all our engagements. This sum of 1,484,000 dollars was to be divided among the states according to their respective numbers of Representatives in Congress.

The share of Vermont was to be 28,000 dollars; that of New Hampshire, 56,000; of Massachusetts, 196,000; of Rhode Island, 28,000; of Connecticut, 96,000; of New York, 140,000; of New-Jersey, 70,000; of Pennsylvania, 182,000; of Delaware, 14,000; of Maryland, 112,000; of Virginia, 266,000; of Kentucky, 28,000; of North-Carolina, 140,000; of Tennessee, 14,000; of South-Carolina, 84,000; and of Georgia, 28,000.

The tax was to be levied on lands, houses, and slaves, by a valuation. This was perfectly equal; for though there are slaves in some states and not in others, yet as each state has its part of the tax fixed, it must raise that part whether it has slaves or not; and what it cannot raise from slaves it must pay on lands and houses. In order to make the assessment, each state was to be formed into a certain number of divisions, in proportion to its extent. South-Carolina would have had seven divisions. In each division there was to be a commissioner; and all the commissioners of each state were to form a board for carrying the law into execution, and to be allowed so much per day while attending on their duty. Each division was to be subdivided into a suitable number of districts, and in each district an assessor was to be appointed by the commissioner of the district. To these assessors the inhabitants were to make returns on oath, of their lands, houses, and slaves; and then the valuation was to be made by the assessors on these returns. Lands were to be assessed according to the sums for which they would sell in cash, but without regard to houses or temporary improvements; houses were to be divided into various classes according to their value, and all below a certain value, (two hundred dollars I think) were to be exempted. The rest were to be valued at a certain sum according to their respective classes; the lowest class between two and six hundred dollars, and the highest between twenty and forty thousand. On every slave between certain ages (16 and 60 I believe) a specific tax was to be laid.

When these valuations were all made and corrected, they were to be returned to the board of commissioners, and there finally adjusted. The board was then to make out abstracts of the whole returns, and send one to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the other to the Super-

visor of the State. The Supervisor was then to ascertain from his abstract, the sum to be paid by each individual. And then the tax was to be collected by the collectors of the internal revenues under the direction of the Supervisors and Inspectors.

This was the general plan. There were a great variety of particular regulations for carrying it into effect, which it is not possible, nor indeed necessary, to detail at present. If we must have a land tax, and perhaps we may find ourselves under that necessity, I do not at present see any better or more equal method of raising it.

I ought not to conclude this short sketch of the finances without mentioning that by the annual payment now becoming due, which however will hereafter be much larger than at present, the Dutch debt, amounting to 11,800,000 dollars, will be finally discharged in about twelve years. The six per cent debt, which amounts to 29,-344,752 dollars, will be discharged in about twenty-two years by the annual payments now going on, and for which provision has been made. The deferred debt amounts to 14,578,882 dollars. The annual payments which are to commence on that debt in the year 1801, and for which provision remains to be made, will extinguish it in about twenty-six years. The remaining debt of the United States, which is 29,126,802 dollars, may be discharged in the meantime by a proper application of the revenues which will be set free, from time to time, by the discharge of the other debts: and in the year 1824, or much sooner indeed, the United States, if they can avoid new wars, will find themselves free from debts, and possessed of a very large revenue, the payment of which will not be felt by the people.

I take great pleasure in adding that notwithstanding this government has been in existence but little more than 8 years, during more than four of which it has had an expensive Indian war on its hands, and its commerce has been vext by several of the powers now at war; notwithstanding it has had an insurrection to quell, and several very troublesome and expensive disputes with foreign powers to settle; notwithstanding it found the country without revenues or a system of finance, and burdened with a debt of 77,833,730 dollars, the price of our liberty; it has effected an extinguishment of upwards of 2,500,000 dollars of this debt; has defrayed, in the meantime, all the regular and incidental charges of the government, and now possesses a growing revenue, more than equal to all the demands that can be made upon us, for some years to come, by virtue of our present contracts. It is highly satisfactory to reflect that all this has been accomplished without a land tax, or a direct tax of any kind, and by public contributions more moderate than those exacted by any other government on earth.

I fear, my dear sir, you will find these remarks on the state of our Treasury more tiresome than satisfactory. I however thought it

my duty to make them. They were written in haste on account of sending them by post before the time should expire within which members are allowed to frank their letters. On this account they may be inaccurate in some instances, but I hope not in any material point.

The exports of the last year were 67,064,097 dollars in value; of which Pennsylvania exported 17,513,868; New-York, 12,208,027; Massachusetts, 9,949,345; Maryland, 9,201,315; South-Carolina, 7,620,049, and Virginia, 5,268,655. No other state reached 1,600,000. The quantity of produce raised in each state cannot however be ascertained from this statement; for it often happens that the production of one state, which is not well situated for commerce, are exported from another. Of this North-Carolina is a remarkable instance. Its exports amount only to 671,487 dollars, while those of the little state of Rhode Island are 1,589,872. The productions of North-Carolina are exported from South-Carolina and Virginia; while Rhode Island, which is a commercial state, exports not only its own productions, but those of other states.

Of these exports it is computed that 26,300,000 dollars consist of foreign goods brought into the country and re-exported. The balance, 31,064,097, is our own produce. This is more than our whole exports, of foreign and domestic productions, amounted to in 1793.

Our whole exports in 1792, amounted to 21,005,586 dollars: Those of 1795 were 47,857,557. So that in one year, from 1795 to 1796, our exports have increased almost one half in value, and have more than trebled in five years.

Of the exports of 1796, 23,164,545 went to Great Britain and her dominions; 11,623,314 to France and her dominions; 9,471,498 to Germany; 7,857,364 to Holland and her dominions; 3,650,678 to Spain and her dominions; and 3,367,942 to the West Indies generally. No other nation reached 3,000,000. In 1795 we sent 12,653,635 dollars in value to France, and only 9,218,540 to Great Britain. In 1796, we sent 23,164,554 to Great Britain; and only 11,623,314 to France. There was no very great variation in our exports to other countries.

As to foreign affairs we have no certain accounts of any importance. We have not heard from General Pinckney since his arrival in France. It has indeed been reported, thro' several channels, that the French government has refused to receive him, and that he is on his return home: but this is contradicted by various circumstances, and is too uncertain to be believed.[1] It is pretty well ascertained that the negociations between France and England are broken off,

[1] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1746–1825) had arrived in Paris in December, 1796, to supplant Monroe, the former minister. It will be remembered that the Directory refused to receive him and on Feb. 3 formally notified him that he must leave at once. He did not return home, however, but went from France to Holland.

and that the English and Austrians, assisted perhaps by the Russians, intend to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. There is every reason at present, in my opinion, to believe that while the French government continues victorious, it will never make peace. I believe that it has resolved on a system of war and conquest, on which its own existence probably depends; that it dreads the disbanding and return of its immense armies, and apprehends internal divisions and commotions in case of peace with foreign powers. Having no regular revenue, little commerce, and very few manufactures, it has no method of supporting its armies, for any length of time, but by sending them to seek quarters and contributions in the neighboring countries; and as the people are unaccustomed to free government, very much in the habit of insurrection and revolution, violent, fiery and turbulent in their disposition, and full of division among themselves, there is perhaps no method of restraining them from civil war and from destroying their own government, but by keeping them employed in attacking their neighbors, and dazzled with the splendor of foreign victories. The only way for foreigners to bring them to reason, is to keep them at home. The people will then soon get tired of war, and compel the government to make peace on reasonable terms, as soon as possible. As to invading them, and compelling them to change their government, it is quite out of the question; with whatever views their enemies may have attacked them at first, they are now heartily sick of it, and would be very glad to let them alone, and be let alone by them.

They still continue to plunder and mal-treat us in the West Indies worse than ever. They take all our ships that they can lay their hands on, and even, in many instances, confine our sailors as prisoners of war. When the ships are brought to trial, the owners or captains are not allowed to produce the least evidence, or say a word in their defence. There have been yet very few, if any, instances of acquittal. All this is under pretence that we have used them ill in some instances, which, according to their own account, are very trifling, and where the law and practice of nations, including France itself, is most clearly on our side. It is probably a mere pretence. They are vext at our refusing to join them in the war, which, without doubt, has been their constant wish and aim; and having found that coaxing and flattery would not do with us, they are now resolved to try what can be effected by blustering and ill-treatment. Puffed up too by their victories in Europe, they have begun to think that they have a right to dictate to all nations; after the example of the Romans, whom in all things they endeavor to imitate. It is impossible to foresee what will be the event. The plan of our government is to try every means of amicable negociation and settlement. If these should fail, we must defend ourselves, however reluctantly.

I do not however believe that they will fail. I do not believe that France intends a serious quarrel with us. It is against all her most obvious interests. But she probably thinks that we will not quarrel with her; that we will prefer submission to any ill-treatment, before a direct and open rupture: that sooner than fight her, we will compel our government to submit to any terms which hers may think fit to dictate. In all this I trust and believe she will find herself mistaken; and that as soon as she discovers her mistake, she will recede, and agree to a reasonable accommodation.[1] In the mean time as her present system of finance consists in plunder, she will plunder us to the amount of some nine or ten millions of dollars, which will be of great use to her; and the day of retribution, if it ever arrives, will be very slow and long in coming. She will, moreover, injure through us the commerce of England; which is one great object of her policy.

Thus you see, my dear sir, that in our present infant and unarmed state, we are obliged to endure many injuries and vexations from all parties. Our hope is that this war will soon be at an end, and that before another breaks out, we shall be able to place ourselves in a situation better calculated to command respect from the different powers who may be engaged in it.

The Empress of Russia is dead, which, it is supposed, may occasion some material changes in the affairs of Europe. Her son, who succeds her, cannot be a greater tyrant, but he may be a less wise one; for it is probable that Europe has never produced an abler monarch than Catharine the second.[2] It is just also to mention that, as cruel and unjust as she was towards her neighbors, and despotic at home, she instituted many wise and beneficial laws, and governed her own country in such a manner as greatly to promote and increase its prosperity.

Our poor unfortunate friend la Fayette is still in his dungeon.[3] An attempt was made to get Congress to take some step on his subject, which if it did not effect his release, might at least sooth his feelings; but the majority thought it delicate and dangerous ground, and that it was best not to venture on it at present.

Should our accounts from General Pinckney be unfavorable, Congress may possibly be called together during the summer; for some

[1] Note in the original print: "It need not be remarked that this was precisely what happened."

[2] Catherine II (1729–1796), who died Nov. 17, and was succeeded by Paul I.

[3] Note in the original print: "The writer thinks himself bound to state, that since writing this letter, he has received the most satisfactory information that La Fayette never was in a Dungeon; that while detained as a prisoner by the Emperor of Germany, his confinement was of the mildest nature, in a spacious building a great part or the whole of which was open to him, with a good table, good lodgings and a Library; and that he had permission to ride out twice a week for air and exercise, attended only by a Sentinel, which was not withdrawn till he made use of it to attempt his escape."

measures may be thought necessary which the Executive has not power to adopt. As soon as we know the event of these matters you shall hear from me again.

In the mean time adieu.

P. S.—*March 19th, 1797.*—There are yet no certain accounts from General Pinckney; but it is confirmed that the British negociation is broken off. The two parties, as usual, mutually accuse each other of having been the cause of it.

HARPER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 24th, 1797.*

MY DEAR SIR: Altho' Congress adjourned early in this month, I have been prevented from writing till now, by my attendance on a committee, which has been appointed to sit during the recess, and prepare articles of impeachment against William Blount,[1] one of the Senators from the state of Tenessee. He and some others had formed a design of making proposals to the British government for the conquest of the Floridas and Louisiana. If the British government should enter into the project, they were to send a force by sea, or from Canada; and this force was to be aided by such of the western country people and the Indians, as Blount and his associates could induce to join. They hoped, with the assistance perhaps of money from the British, to raise a considerable number. The matter was proposed to the British minister last winter, who declined any interference himself, but referred the whole affair to his government, by whom it was also declined. In the mean time, Blount, not suspecting that his plan would be rejected, employed himself in preparing matters to the westward; and among other steps for that purpose, wrote a letter to an Indian interpreter, in the service of our government, who put it into the hands of his superiors. By them it was transmitted to the President, and he laid it before Congress. The plot being thus discovered, Mr. Blount was expelled by the Senate, and impeached by the House of Representatives: and the committee appointed to conduct the impeachment was ordered to enquire into the whole plan, its object, extent, and associates. In those enquiries it is now engaged, and will be for some time to come, which will make it necessary for me to remain here, or in this neighbourhood, till the meeting of Congress. This meeting is fixt for the second Monday in November.

[1] William Blount (1744–1800), senator from Tennessee, expelled in July, 1797. The impeachment was never tried, as Blount, after his expulsion from the Senate, was elected to the senate of Tennessee and declined to appear before the United States Senate, denying their jurisdiction over him. Schouler, "History of the United States", I, 377.

This affair of Mr. Blount has already been productive of very great injury to the United States; for the Spaniards having been apprised of it long before it became known to our government, it furnished them with a reason, or pretext at least, for delaying to deliver up the posts on the Mississippi, or to execute the treaty. Before they found this pretext, however, they availed themselves of others, more futile still; and there appears to me every reason to believe that they act in this respect, as in all others, by the orders of the French, whose interest it is, while our dispute with them continues, to keep us on the eve of a rupture with Spain, and to prevent us from gaining possession of the posts on the Mississippi. Every step has been taken to remove the objections of the Spaniards, and they ought certainly to be satisfied; but I have no expectation myself, that they will be permitted to execute the treaty, while our misunderstanding with France continues. When that is at an end, we and the Spaniards shall be good friends of course; unless France should think fit to make them break the treaty entirely, by way of preventing the encrease of our strength on the Mississippi.

As to the French, our affairs with them are still in a most uncertain state. The President having resolved, as he declared in his speech to Congress,[1] to institute a fresh attempt at negociation, proceeded soon afterwards to appoint three commissioners to be sent to France for that purpose, with the character of Envoys Extraordinary. The first of them was Genl. Pinckney, who after being driven from France waited in Holland for new instructions. The second was Mr. John Marshall of Virginia, and the third Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts.[2]

Some persons were of opinion that it would be best to send Genl. Pinckney alone, which could have been done with more expedition, as he was near the place: but the President judged differently. His chief reason probably was, that to send three persons of high character from the three great divisions of the Union, the southern, middle, and eastern States, would not only render the embassy more solemn, but would attach to it a greater weight of public confidence. In matters of such moment also, as little as possible should be left to chance; and had one man only been employed, he might have died, or been detained by sickness, while the public interests would have suffered before his place could be supplied.

Mr. Marshall sailed some days ago for Amsterdam, where he will join Genl. Pinckney. Mr. Gerry, who was to embark at Boston, has probably sailed also. Should their endeavours be crowned with suc-

[1] "Annals", 5 Cong., 1 sess., 54–59.

[2] Dana, Marshall, and Pinckney were nominated May 31, Gerry's name was substituted for Dana's June 20, and the nominations confirmed June 21. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 241, 244, 245.

cess, and peace be preserved, it will be a great happiness to our country. Should they be unsuccessful, we shall at least have the satisfaction of reflecting that we have done all in our power to avoid a quarrel, and this will render us cordial and united in defence of our rights.

There were many who thought, and myself among the rest, that the best method of ensuring success to this embassy, was to adopt vigorous preparations at home, and thereby to convince the French that though desirous of peace, we were resolved and able to protect our rights and repel aggression. This system was in part adopted. A sum of money was granted for fortifying the ports and harbours.[1] Three frigates were ordered to be manned and equipt for sea; and the President was authorised to fit out and arm a number of small vessels called Revenue cutters, for the defence of the sea coast and the rivers.[2] He was also authorised to take measures for calling out, arming and equipping eighty thousand militia, to march, in case of need, from the different states, in various proportions according to their population.[3] The portion of South Carolina was fixt at three thousand five hundred and thirty-five. None of these militia are to remain in service more than three months, after arriving at the place of rendezvous; and while in the field are to receive pay and rations: and the President is authorised to accept the service of volunteer corps of horse, artillery, etc. which may offer to turn out instead of being drafted. The exportation of arms and ammunition was also prohibited for a limited time.

Some other measures of defence and preparation were proposed, but rejected, on the ground that they would be certainly expensive, and might prove unnecessary; and to some it was objected that they were liable to abuse, and might tend to widen a breach which it is our interest and our wish to use all means of healing. It was for this reason, principally, that Congress refused to grant convoys for the protection of our ships, or to authorise their arming in their own defence, till we know whether our embassy will be successful or not.

The expence of the measures which were adopted, added to those of the extraordinary session, were estimated at nearly 800,000 dollars; which sum, as it is not in the treasury, the President was authorised to borrow, if necessary, payable out of the proceeds of the new revenues. This loan, however, may be unnecessary; for the revenue of 1796 has been greater than was expected, and that of 1797, as far as it is yet known, has greatly increased. Should this encrease continue till the end of the year, there will be a surplus from the present taxes, sufficient to defray all, or nearly all, the expences voted this session.

This encrease, however, is not to be confidently relied on, and it was therefore thought necessary to furnish some new taxes. Should

[1] Approved June 23, 1797; c. 3.
[2] Approved July 1, 1797; c. 7.
[3] Approved June 24, 1797; c. 4.

we be driven into war, for which a full treasury is one of the best preparations, these new taxes will assist us in supporting it; and should we happily preserve peace, they will be wanted for the payment of our debt, and the gradual equipment of a fleet for the defence of our commerce, in future wars among the great maritime powers of Europe.

The necessity of such a defence may be judged of from one circumstance. In the course of the present war, we have lost, by the depredations of the different belligerent powers, from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars; enough to equip and maintain a considerable naval force.

The new taxes adopted this session, are an additional duty on salt, and a stamp duty.[1] Salt formerly paid 12 cents upon the bushel of 56 weight, and this raised a net revenue of about two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The additional duty is 8 cents to the bushel; which being two thirds of the former, will give about one hundred and forty thousand dollars; a sum which I believe, could not be raised in any other manner, with so little inconvenience to the people. The additional duty is too light to be felt, and indeed the whole being only 20 cents, or one fifth of a dollar, on the bushel, is very inconsiderable.

The stamp duty is so contrived as to fall almost entirely on money transactions. Indeed four-fifths of it, perhaps a much greater proportion, will be paid by the trading towns. It takes in no contracts for the delivery of property, no bills of sale, no conveyances of land, nor any bonds or notes under twenty dollars. Bonds, notes, etc. above 20, and not exceeding 100 dollars, pay 10 cents: above 100, and not exceeding 500, 25 cents: above 500, and not exceeding 1000, 50 cents: and above 1000, 75 cents. Notes for only 60 days or under, pay but two-fifths of the duty; because as they are renewed several times in the course of a year, it is not reasonable that they should pay as much as notes made for a whole year at first. Bank notes pay a higher duty; but as it is very inconvenient to stamp them, the banks are allowed to pay a sum of money in lieu of the duty on their notes. Certificates of naturalization pay 5 dollars each, and attorney's licences 10.

There are various other papers ordered to be stampt, but they are almost wholly of a mercantile nature; and having little or no use in country places, need not be enumerated here.

No paper directed to be stampt, can be received as evidence in a court of justice without the stamp; but any person desiring to give such paper in evidence, may get it stampt, by applying to the supervisor and paying ten dollars.

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[1] The act of levying a duty on salt approved July 8, the act providing for a stamp tax approved July 6; cc. 15, 16.

The operation of this duty is to commence on the 1st of January next, and in the mean time the Secretary of the Treasury is to devise stamps, and publish them in the Gazettes. He is also to furnish every part of the United States with sufficient quantities of stampt parchment and paper, which may be sold to the people for the amount of the duty, and a reasonable advance for paper, work, and transportation. To write or print on unstampt paper, and with intent to defraud the revenue, any of the instruments directed to be stampt, is punishable by fine of 100 dollars; and if done by an officer employed in the collection the fine is to be 500 dollars and forfeiture of the office: and to counterfeit the stamps, or use them privately for defrauding the revenue, is punishable by fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding 7 years, both at the discretion of the court.

Such is the outline of the stamp act, to which some persons have objected, perhaps more on account of the name than the thing, but which appears to me, as here modified, to be one of the best, most equal, and least inconvenient modes of raising money. It executes itself, requires few officers, very little expence, and few or no prosecutions; for when every person who has a paper to execute may procure a stamp by riding a few miles to an officer who will be furnished with them for sale, nobody will run the risk of losing his debt and incurring a penalty, by writing on unstampt paper; and as most of those transactions the evidences of which are to be stampt will take place in towns, there will be very little inconvenience in procuring the paper.

By excepting deeds, bills of sale, and notes and bonds under 20 dollars, almost all the transactions of people in country places, will be freed from the operation of the act.

It is impossible to estimate exactly the amount of this tax; but some well informed men calculate it at two, three, and even four hundred thousand dollars; some even go as high as five hundred hundred thousand. A merchant here, of the first information, assured me that it would raise three hundred thousand dollars in Philadelphia alone: an estimate however which appeared to me far too high. But I have no doubt that if we can escape a war, this tax and the additional salt duty, will enable us to sink our debt and meet all our engagements without a land tax; which, be it managed as it may, will be found very inconvenient and unequal.

I think our chance of escaping a war is better now than it appeared some time ago. France has made peace with the Emperor[1] on terms very honourable to herself, and not hard on him considering his late defeats.[2] England is not yet included in this peace: but I have little

[1] Francis II (1768–1835), who had succeeded Leopold II in 1792.

[2] Napoleon had signed the armistice of Leoben, the basis for the peace of Campo Formio, on April 18.

doubt that she soon will be. Neither she or France have any thing to gain, and both much to lose, by continuing the war. The French government probably wishes to prolong it, in hopes of destroying the commerce and credit of England; but the ruined state of the country, and the miserable condition of their finances, which will become much more embarrassing now that they are obliged to support their armies at home, must render it extremely difficult. The nation also, which suffers greatly, and now finds itself free from those dangers from abroad which heretofore induced submission to its sufferings, must be very desirous of peace and become daily more and more so. To these difficulties and desires I think it probable that the government will be forced to yield; and the situation of England is not such as to make her backward.

Whether this peace will extend to us, or whether France, being freed from her European enimies, will pursue her projects against this country with more violence than ever, is a most doubtful point. I incline to the former opinion, and here again I rely much more on the disposition of the people of France than the views of the government. The strong wish for peace among the people, will probably apply to this Country as well as to England; and our moderation, especially the last step of sending commissioners, will have a tendency to render an attack on us very unpopular. The firm position too which we have taken, and our spirited declaration that we will defend our rights at all hazards, may induce the French government to reflect seriously on the consequences of pushing their measures to a greater length.

All these considerations, joined to the embarrassed situation of the government at home, and its earnest wish to re-establish its colonies, restore its commerce, and recruit its marine, may probably incline the French government to pacific counsels. We ought not however to rely with too much confidence on this hope; but to hold ourselves prepared for a very contrary event.

That the hope may be realized, and we may once more have occasion to rejoice in the happy situation and prospects of our country, is no doubt your wish, as it is most sincerely that of, [etc.].

Bayard to Richard Bassett.[1]

Philadelphia, *30 Decr. 1797.*

Dear Sir: Very little has occurred since my return to the city[2] which was worth communicating to you. The mind of Congress as

[1] Richard Bassett (1745–1815), Bayard's father-in-law, a member of the Constitutional Convention, from 1789 to 1793 a member of the Senate, from 1798 to 1801 governor of Delaware, in 1801–1802 U. S. circuit judge.

[2] Bayard had taken his seat in the House Nov. 14.

well as of the rest of the world seems suspended as to the measures our nation should adopt in relation to France, upon the expectation of intelligence to be received from our Commissioners which will enable us to act with decision.[1]

I confess I am one of those who think, that tho our situation is infinitely embarrassing and aukward, yet as we have gone so far on the plan of conciliation it would be very unpolitic to depart from the system till such authentic information is rece[i]ved from our Ministers as will put beyond any doubt the views of the Directory. The measure of arming the merchant vessels was brought forward and strenuously supported by the New England Gentlemen, but was postponed till the 1st. Monday in February.[2] In the mean time the depredations on our commerce continue, and tho they cannot add to our humiliation, yet encrease merchantile distress. But tho I am not insensible to the disgrace of our Situation nor without feelings for the losses of our merchants yet I conceive it so very important to manage the public opinion and to attach confidence to the measures of the federal Party, that to hazard a disunion by premature measures that wear the aspect of hostility when the moment is so fast approaching which will strip the enemies of the Government of every pretense of apposition, would be in my estimation very ill-judged. There is little hope remaining of an accommodation with France. There is undoubted information that our Commissioners had been twelve days at Paris, had sent a copy of their credentials (according to diplomatic form) to Perigord[3] the minister of foreign relations, and he had not either officially or personally taken any notice of them. This perhaps is the reason that the Executive has yet recd. no official communications from them.

Much is said of the new system of naval warfare adopted by the Directory.[4] It is supposed that an entire change of maritime tactics will be the consequence. The unwieldly ships of the line will answer little purpose in opposing frigates and privateers dispersed over the ocean. The mighty fleets of England, will find no enemy to oppose them but the winds and waves. Their strength will waste for want of exercise and the naval skill of their officers which the education of a life could alone give, will be forgot and lost. Such

[1] Marshall and Gerry had joined Pinckney in Paris on Oct. 4, 1797. Their first despatches were not received in Washington until Mar. 4.

[2] Dec. 26. See "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 764.

[3] Talleyrand (Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord), Minister of Foreign Affairs since July, 1797, had received Gerry unofficially on Oct. 28. Before this, however, the American envoys had learned through Messrs. Hottinguer, Bellamy, and Hauteval (the X. Y. and Z. of the reports) of the French demands. Schouler, "History", I, 386–393.

[4] The Directory had near the end of 1795 determined to discontinue sending out large fleets but to use single cruisers or small squadrons to attack the commerce of Great Britain. Mahan, "Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire", I, 335.

is the prediction of speculative opinion at present, but its truth can be ascertained only by experience.

The political and moral world present us with novelties on every side. A new era has arisen and centuries will probably trace the causes of events to the changes which have taken place in our times. The Barbarians who inundated the Roman Empire and broke to peices the institutions of the civilized world in my opinion innovated the state of things not more than the french revolution which has scattered sentiments thro' the world as powerful and destructive as the swords of the Goths and vandals.

I send you the last number of Peter,[1] it does not contain much but I believe all the news that is passing.

Your dft. has been accepted and I presume will be paid when due.

Mrs. Fullerton has it not in her power to accommodate Ann[2] and Mary[3] this winter; and I have not been able to hear of any other lodgings which will suit them.

Mrs. Bassett I hope is quite well. I find so much more kindness and goodness in her character than I discover in the actions of anybody else, that no one I think can know her, without esteeming and loving her.

BAYARD TO WILLIAM H. WELLS.

PHILADELPHIA, *Jan. 25, 1798.*

[See Turner, "Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware", 298–299.]

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

HOUSE REPS., *7, Feby. 1798.*

MY DEAR SIR: According to your directions I paid Mr. Hazzard 200 dollars for Mr. Tennent and enclose you his receipt for the same. Mr. White will also pay you 80 dols. which I believe is nearly the amount of your Draught. It was deposited in Bank and I have not my book here and therefore cannot tell the exact sum. What ever the difference is must be remembered between us. We have no foreign intelligence, and the President has assured his friends that he has not yet received a line from the Commissioners in France.

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[1] [Peter] Porcupine's Gazette.

[2] Bayard's wife, the daughter of Richard Bassett.

[3] Though most sketches of the life of Richard Bassett speak of Ann as his only daughter, it seems certain that there was a second daughter, Mary, who is probably referred to here. In a deed made by Governor Bassett's brother-in-law, Henry Ennalls, June 8, 1803, he refers to the representatives of his sister, "Ann Bayard (formerly Bassett) and Mary Bassett the only children and heirs of Ann Bassett, deceased, formerly wife of Richard Bassett and before her marriage Ann Ennalls." From the fact that in a deed of Dec. 27, 1817, Ann Bayard is spoken of as the "only daughter and heir at law of Richard Bassett" it is evident that Mary died between 1803 and 1817. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Richard H. Bayard of Baltimore.

The House is still occupied with the disgraceful business of Lyon.[1] We have not yet gone thro' the evidence and the debates on the subject will probably consume much time. We have little hopes of expelling the Beast, tho I believe there is no doubt but a majority will vote for the expulsion. Both Parties are in a state of high irritation and think the Session will not go over without some blood letting.

I was in Wilmington on Saturday, and left Ann, Mary and Richard[2] all well at the time of my return.

The business of the House claims my attention and I must therefore lay down my pen not however without begging you to remember me affectionately to Mrs. B.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

PHILADELPHIA, *13 Feby. 1798.*

DEAR SIR: A Mr. Parish has called on me respecting a debt due from the estate of Israel Brown of Sussex to Mr. Tyson. He expected I was acquainted with the business, but I have no knowledge of it. He spoke of a prior Judgment which interfered with the debt and which was questionable on some grounds which he supposed were well known to you and of which he wished you to inform me.

We have taken the question on the resolution for Lyon's expulsion, there were 52 for it and 44 agt. it and of consequence lost as the constitution required the concurrence of two thirds.

We have the heads of some news arrived at Norfolk, but the details have not yet appeared. It is said Comrs. are appointed by the french Government to treat with our commissioners. Buonaparte is in Paris and they are organizing the army of England.

I am obliged to attend to some business before the House and must therefore bid you adieu. Love to Mrs. B.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

PHILADA., *16 Feby. 1798.*

DEAR SIR: Yesterday Congress Hall exhibitted a spectacle unprecedented in the United States. Mr. Griswold who had waited to see whether the House would do him justice for the grose insult offered him by Lyon, the first moment he found Lyon in his seat, after the decision took place attacked him with his cane and beat him in the presence of the House very severely. It happened after prayers, but

[1] Matthew Lyon (1746–1822), a Republican member of the House from Vermont, angered by a taunt of Griswold of Connecticut, had spat at his opponent. The Federalists attempted to expel him, but the resolution for expulsion failed, on Feb. 12, to gain the requisite two-thirds vote. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 955, 1009.

[2] Bayard's eldest son, Richard Henry, born in 1796, and U. S. senator 1836–1845.

before the Speaker had called the House to order. Every thing was confusion and uproar and the gallery and lobby were on the point of breaking in upon us. The blood of the old soldier soon boiled in the veins of General Morgan.[1] He forgot his years and infirmities and would not suffer any interference till he thought Lyon well flogged. Some of the members of N. Carolina threatened to leave their seats and go home. This makes no impression on the northern Gentlemen. They are tired of draging on the Government against people whose existence depends upon it. It is their common opinion that they can do much better without the Southern States than with them.

We do not yet see the end of our late disturbance. The Parties in congress are highly exasperated against each other, and a great deal of warm blood is excited out of the House.

There is nothing new from Europe and nothing yet official from our Commissioners.

Allen McClane[2] was in the lobby when the last fracas happened in the Hall. A person beside him wished to enter the Bar to take part with Lyon. McClane stopt him and told him the members should settle their own business. Some words ensued, and the fellow told Allen, he would spit in his face. Allen demanded his name and place of abode. The man gave his name and said he lived over the mountains. Well Sir, said Allen, I tell you if you spit in my face you will never go over the mountains again. Allen was highly enraged, and he told me since that if the fellow had spit on him, he would have killed him on the spot.

We are in a bad way and need the prayers of the righteous for our deliverance.

With Love to Mrs. Bassett.

Bayard to Bassett.

Philadelphia, *19 Feby. 1798.*

Dear Sir: I have been to the Swan Tavern[3] to look after Dutch servants for you. There are four of the importation remaining: One Farmer two Taylors and one Gentleman. From some circumstance they took it into their heads that they were not bound to indenture themselves to pay their passages. They have in consequence been all committed to jaol. The Farmer is about 32 years old, and the price of him would be about 80 Dols. for 3 years. Perhaps a

[1] Gen. Daniel Morgan (1736–1802) of Virginia, who had served throughout the Revolution, was from 1796–1798 a member of the House, and a staunch supporter of Adams.

[2] Allan McLane (1746–1829), from 1789 to 1797 United States marshal in Delaware, from 1797 until his death collector of the port at Wilmington.

[3] Swan Tavern, on the banks of the Schuylkill. The incident illustrates the position of "redemptioners".

longer time could be procured. The Tavern Keeper spoke well of him.

In consequence of the chastisement which Griswold gave Lyon a new resolution for the expulsion of Both has been brought forward. It is referred to a Comee. who are authorised to examine evidence and to report it to the house with their opinion on the resolution.

I do not think that either of them will be expelled, and probably nothing done to either of them.[1]

Tomorrow we take up the foreign intercourse Bill, upon which a great deal remains to be said.[2]

We have recd. the details of the news by the *Flora* arrived at Norfolk. But there is nothing contained in them beside what I mentioned in my last letter.

With Best respects to Mrs. B.

Harper to his Constituents.

Philadelphia, *March 9th, 1798.*

By the enclosed paper, my dear sir, you will perceive that the long expected intelligence from our commissioners in France has at length arrived. It is of a complexion by no means agreeable, but not surprising to those who have considered the arbitrary and unjust conduct, and ambitious views, of the French government, since their successes in Europe have inspired them with an opinion that they are able to domineer, at pleasure, over all other nations.

It appears that our commissioners arrived in Paris on the 27th of September, with instructions to make an amicable and fair adjustment of all our differences with France, and even to agree, for peace sake, to all such concessions as were consistent with our own honor, and our engagements with other nations. From that time till the 8th of January, more than three months, they remained in Paris, without being received or acknowledged by the French government, or in any manner noticed, although they made frequent and respectful applications for that purpose. At length the Directory, instead of restraining depredations on our commerce in future, and promising retribution for the past, have recommended it to the councils to pass a law whereby every ship of ours, which has the least article on board that was produced or manufactured in Britain or any of her

[1] The resolution for the expulsion of Lyon and Griswold was referred to the committee of privileges, Feb. 16, and on the same day both members were required to pledge their word that they would refrain from personal encounters during the session. The committee reported Feb. 20, against expulsion, and on Feb. 23 the House agreed to this report by a vote of 73 to 21. Bayard voted against accepting the report of the committee. On the same day a resolution of censure was introduced which was not passed. "Journal of the House", 1798–1801, 185, 192–201.

[2] The foreign intercourse bill was introduced from the committee of ways and means by Harper, on Jan. 15, 1798, and passed the House Mar. 6. Bayard had spoken on the bill Jan. 22. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 830, 894, 1234.

dominions, altho' purchased and paid for by our citizens, will be liable to capture and condemnation with the whole cargo.[1] This law, which is in effect a general declaration of war against our whole trade, we are informed the councils have passed. Indeed there can be no doubt of it; since the councils, at present, are completely under the orders of the Directory, which has the army at its back.

Thus we find that every amicable advance on our part, is met by a new outrage on the part of France; that all our peaceable overtures are repelled with contempt and disdain; and that the French, regarding us already as their subjects, behave to us as to subjects in rebellion!

Are we my dear sir to submit; or shall we rouse once more the spirit of '75—once more join heart and hand in the defence of our independence, and stake our lives and our fortunes on the event of the contest? The latter is my determination, and I have no doubt it will be yours, and that of all our countrymen. At only fifteen years old, I took up arms to resist the English, and I then resolved *to live free or die.* At thirty-three my resolution is not altered, and I have no doubt that all my constituents will join me in declaring that the blood of our friends, our brothers, and our fathers, which flowed at Kings-Mountain, the Cowpens, and so many other places, did not flow in vain. I have no property to stake on the event, but I have my life, which belongs to my country; and I promise my friends that in the hour of danger they shall find me by their sides.

I cannot here forbear transcribing a passage from one of Gen. Pinckney's letters to a friend of his here, the sentiments contained in which are such as might be expected from him, and such as his own state, I am well convinced, will never disown.

The condemnation of our vessels not only continues, but is unremittingly urged. Our lawyers declare that there is no hope of success, and that it is nugatory to attempt a defence. The newspapers, *which are under the regulation of the police,* are filled with invectives against America; and every mean is used to prepare the public mind for hostilities against our country. I shall, notwithstanding, do every thing in my power to preserve peace, and, if possible, effectuate a reconciliation between this country and ours. If my attempts should be fruitless, altho' I shall lament their ill success, I trust I shall meet the disappointment with becoming fortitude. I am sure my countrymen will act with coolness and heroism. I do not doubt but that they prize the independence of their country as highly now as they ever did, *and the different quarter from which it is attacked, will not justify its surrender.* We may lament the necessity of defence; but the preservation of the liberty and independence of our country, is an indispensable duty.

There are other communications on this subject which the President has not yet made to Congress. They have been promised, and as soon as they are received, the matter will be taken up in the House very seriously. I flatter myself that the time is now arrived when we shall forget all our party divisions, and concur heartily in defending our

[1] Decree of Jan. 18, 1798.

country. Of this I think there are some appearances. At any rate I trust we shall be able to adopt such measures as may be judged necessary for its defence, if not with unanimity, at least by a respectable majority. What those measures will be cannot now be foreseen; but they will, no doubt, be of a nature purely defensive, so as to avoid open war, if possible, and leave France at full liberty to put an end to the difference whenever she shall think fit to discontinue her oppressions.

The capture and condemnation of our vessels still goes on, and encreases. Two days ago an account was received of the capture, by a French privateer, of a very rich ship from China belonging to this place, and having no property but American on board.[1] The loss is computed at 500,000 dollars, the duties on which to the United States, would have been between seventy and eighty thousand. This money would have built a good frigate for the defence of our trade.

Various acts, but none of very great importance, have been passed during the present session. A bill was brought in to repeal the stamp act,[2] but rejected by the Senate; who judged, and, as I think, very properly, that the revenue to arise from this act would be wanted, and could in no other manner be raised with so much ease and convenience to the people. As to the name of "stamp act" I cannot suppose that the people of America will lay any stress upon that; for altho' we formerly opposed this tax, it was not on account of its name or its nature, but because it was attempted to be laid without our consent, by a foreign nation, whose right to tax us, in any manner, we denied and opposed. It does not follow from this that we ought to oppose the same tax when laid by ourselves; for at that rate we must oppose the tax on tea, on painters colors, and a variety of other taxes, which we resisted when attempted to be laid on us by Britain, but now cheerfully pay, when they have been adopted by our own government.

I estimate the amount of this tax at between three and four hundred thousand dollars; of which merchants, in the large trading towns, will pay at least nine tenths. Hardly any papers used by country people are stampt except notes and bonds, and they are exempt when under twenty dollars. You may therefore guess how much a farmer will pay. I might undertake to pay for the whole county at a quarter of a dollar per head, a year, and make money by it: Whereas there are merchants in this city who will pay annually, in stamp Duties, 1000 dollars and upwards a piece. Yet these people do not complain; for they know that the public needs the money, and that it cannot be raised in an easier or better manner.

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[1] The Aurora General Advertiser of Mar. 8 gives an account of the seizure of the *New Jersey*, Capt. Clay, from Canton, on Feb. 12, by *L'Aberdi*.

[2] Rejected by the Senate Feb. 28; introduced in the House Feb. 28, 1798. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 512–513, 1097–1098. For Harper's committee report on the stamp act, Feb. 14, 1798, see "Am. St. P., Finance", I, 554–557.

The militia system which was proposed some time ago has been revived this session, so far as to have a bill brought in,[1] but there is no knowing whether it will be passed. A bankrupt bill has also been introduced, the fate of which is equally uncertain.[2]

As to foreign news, little now is talked of except the invasion with which the French threaten England; but which most people of any knowledge or judgment suppose will end in threats. To invade a nation like England with a small army, would ensure the destruction of the army itself; and to send a large one across a sea of which the enemy's fleet have absolute possession, is an enterprize which, to say the least of it, will be much more easily talked of than accomplished.

Many people are of opinion that the French government does not intend to attempt this invasion, and talks about it for no other purpose than to make a great bustle at home, get money from the people, keep the attention of the nation employed, and gradually get rid of the armies, which may be extremely troublesome as soon as peace is made.

The Emperor of Germany and the French made peace some time ago, as strong powers usually make it, at the expense of their weak neighbors. The French had seized some dominions of the emperor, which lay very conveniently for them, but which he refused to give up. The attempt to force him was hazardous; for he had four hundred and fifty thousand men on foot. The French therefore raised a quarrel with the Venetians a neutral state, whose territories were more valuable than those of the emperor, and lay more conveniently for him. These territories they seized, under pretence of punishing the Venetian government for some supposed injuries, and of making the people free. When by these means they had obtained complete possession of the whole country, they took the Venetian fleet to themselves, and gave the city of Venice and all its territories to the Emperor, in exchange for what they wanted from him; and so peace was made.[3] They are now attempting a bargain of the same kind with the king of Prussia[4]; who, having an army of 300,000 men, cannot be forced. They want some parts of Germany, which if he will suffer them to take, they offer to seize on some other parts and give them to him. It is thus that France renounces the desire of conquest, and gives freedom to the neighboring states! Such as she does not find it convenient to keep, she first plunders, and then sells.

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[1] Introduced in the House Jan. 1, 1798. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 785. The bill was not passed.

[2] Introduced in the House by Bayard Feb. 8. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 970.

[3] By the treaty of Campo Formio, signed Oct. 17, 1797, Austria was to gain Venice and the greater part of Venetia, while she surrendered all claim to the Low Countries and promised to use her influence to extend the boundaries of France to the Rhine.

[4] Frederick William III (1770–1840), who came to the Prussian throne Nov. 16, 1797.

To much bad news from abroad, it gives me great pleasure to add one piece of good. The Spaniards have at length given up, to us, according to the treaty, the Posts on the Mississippi,[1] and are about to join in running the boundary line. Thus an end is put to our differences with Spain, which at one time seemed likely to produce some very unpleasant consequences.

Adieu, my dear Sir, our situation is now such that I shall soon have occasion to address you again; till which I remain, with regard

Your very humble Servant.

Harper to his Constituents.[2]

Philadelphia, *July 23d, 1798.*

My Dear Sir: On the 16th instant congress adjourned after a session of more than eight months, during which a variety of important public measures have been adopted, which I omitted to inform you of as they passed, because I thought that it would be more satisfactory to wait till the adjournment, and then give a general view of the whole.

The two houses stand adjourned till the first Monday in December, the day fixed by the constitution for the annual meeting; but should the situation of affairs demand their attention in the interval, which is highly probable, the President, no doubt, will convene them at an earlier day.

When it was found by a message from the President, and the instructions to our envoys in France together with their dispatches,[3] all which you have no doubt seen, that although the utmost length of reasonable and just concession had been gone by our government, the French Republic refused to negociate on fair and honorable terms, or even to receive our messengers of peace; and on the contrary demanded a tribute, together with the most humiliating submissions as the price of an interview, while they continued and increased their wanton depredations on our commerce; congress immediately discarded all further reliance on negociation, and began to prepare for defending, by arms, the rights and honour of the country.

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[1] The treaty of 1795 had fixed the boundary between the United States and West Florida, and had given the Americans the right to use the Mississippi. After long delay, Governor-General Gayoso, Jan. 10, 1798, announced to Andrew Ellicott, American commissioner for running the boundary lines, that he had received final orders to evacuate Natchez and Walnut Hills, and that he should do so immediately. This was the news that had come to Harper; but in point of fact the evacuation of Natchez did not take place till Mar. 30. Ellicott's "Journal", 167; Hinsdale, The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States, "Annual Report of the American Historical Association", 1893, 349–364.

[2] In the original print this paper has the title "A Short Account, etc.", which has been stricken out in the copy in the Bayard Papers. It was printed in Harper's "Select Works" (Baltimore, 1814), 268–287.

[3] "Annals", 5 Cong., app., 3322–3410.

Three hundred and forty thousand dollars were immediately voted for fortifying the ports and harbours, and this sum has been since increased to four hundred and thirty thousand. One million three hundred thousand dollars were voted for cannon, small arms, ammunition, and military stores; of which thirty thousand stand of small arms, with proper accoutrements, are to be deposited in suitable places throughout the United States, for the use of the militia when called into service, or to be sold to them at costs and charges. Provision was made, besides, for the purchase of arms and equipments for four thousand cavalry, either militia or regulars; and the President was authorized to employ one hundred thousand dollars, in the purchase of founderies for casting cannon, mortars, and shot. One regiment of artillery, twelve of infantry, and six troops of horse, were directed to be immediately added to the military establishment of the United States; which, with the four regiments of infantry one of artillery and two troops of horse now on foot, and ordered to be immediately completed, will raise the regular force of the United States to nineteen regiments, or about thirteen thousand rank and file. These new troops are to be inlisted "for and during the continuence of the existing differences between the United States and the French Republic, unless sooner discharged." About three thousand of the whole number will probably remain on the frontiers, where they now are stationed; the rest will be for the general defence, to act with the militia and volunteers in case the country should be attacked. A great part of them will probably be raised and stationed in the southern states; it being there that an attack, if made, will be most likely to take place.

In addition to these nineteen regiments, the President has been authorized "in the event of a declaration of war against the United States, or of actual invasion of their territory by a foreign power, or of imminent danger of such invasion in his opinion discovered to exist before the next session of congress," to raise a body of ten thousand men, who are to be inlisted for a term not exceeding three years, and all whose officers he may immediately proceed to appoint; so that, should the occasion occur for bringing them into the field, they may be speedily inlisted and prepared for service. Their officers however are to receive no pay, or other emolument, till brought into actual service. This is called "the provisional army."

The President is also empowered to accept the service of any volunteer companies, who may offer themselves as part of the provisional army, to organize them into regiments or legions, to appoint all their officers, and to furnish them with arms out of the public magazines, either by sale or loan. In case of loan their officers are to be responsible. These volunteers are to be liable, at any moment dur-

ing two years after the time of their enlistment, to be called into service by the President; and when in service are to receive rations and pay like regular troops, and be subject to the same regulations and discipline: They are to clothe themselves. The President may establish rules for their training and discipline when not in actual service; and during the period of their enlistment, two years, they are exempted from ordinary militia duty.

Many corps of this kind have already been formed, particularly in the towns, and others are everywhere forming. In this city there is a legion almost complete, consisting now of two troops of horse, one company of grenadiers, one of artillery, and five of infantry. It is rapidly increasing; and, it is supposed, will soon amount to two thousand men.

The President has hitherto appointed those officers for the volunteers who have been elected by the companies; and I understand that it is his intention always to do so, where there is no particular objection to the person elected. These volunteers, it is expected, will form a very considerable force; which, on emergencies, will be always ready to aid the regular troops and the militia.[1]

As to the militia, no new arrangements have been made. Some changes were attempted; but the subject was found full of difficulties; and it was, finally, thought best, in this moment of danger, not to make any alterations, which might, perhaps, derange the present systems, and create discontent or confusion.

For naval defence various provisions have been made. The three frigates some time ago ordered to be built, have been finished, equipped and sent to sea.[2] Finer vessels, it is thought, have never appeared on the ocean. Two of them carry forty-four guns each, and the third thirty-six. These, and all other public or private armed ships of the United States, are authorized to capture and bring in for condemnation "any French *armed* vessel which shall be found within the jurisdictional line of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas." Unarmed ships are not to be molested.

In addition to these three frigates, the President has been authorized to procure, equip, and send to sea for the protection of our trade, six vessels of not less than thirty-two guns each, twelve of not less than twenty nor more than twenty-four, six of not more than eighteen, and a number of revenue cutters, which carry from 8 to 14 guns each. To protect the harbours bays and inlets, where large vessels cannot go, ten gallies are directed to be equipped immediately. These vessels carry two or three very large guns, and a number of

[1] The military measures of this session were those approved May 3, 4, and 28, June 12 and 22, and July 6 and 16; cc. 37, 38, 47, 52, 57, 65, and 76.

[2] The *Constitution, United States,* and *Constellation.*

men, and are so constructed as to go into very shallow water. They will be stationed in different places along the coast.

Of the six thirty-two gun frigates, five are already on the stocks. Eleven of those between twenty and twenty-four have been contracted for, and are now rapidly fitting for sea. One has already sailed, and several others are nearly prepared. One of eighteen guns has also gone to sea, and two others are contracted for and will soon be ready. Measures are taken to procure all the rest, as well as the gallies. So that our naval force will be daily increasing, and in a few months may be very respectable. When the armament now ordered is complete we shall have at sea nine large frigates, twelve sloops of war of from twenty to twenty-four guns, six of from sixteen to eighteen, about ten cutters of from 8 to 14, and ten gallies; making in the whole forty-eight ships of war: no inconsiderable force for the first effort of a nation which, three months ago, had not an armed vessel afloat, except some three small cutters.

An apprehension at first prevailed that we should find difficulty in manning our ships of war; but hitherto they have always got their complement of seamen within a few days after they were ready to receive them. These brave and hardy fellows, though they have, in general, so little to lose, shew the greatest ardour to defend their country. Instances have occurred of their preferring to engage on board of armed ships, at lower wages than they might have received in those that were unarmed.

Several of these vessels are building by patriotic subscriptions of private persons, who loan the money to government at six per cent, repayable at its convenience, and superintend the work themselves, under the direction of the navy department. Thus the money is procured on very easy terms, and the vessels are built far cheaper, and in less time, than could be done by the public. It is thought that, at least, three large frigates, and nine or ten sloops of war will be built in this manner. The merchants of Philadelphia have undertaken one of forty-four guns, for which they have subscribed nearly one hundred thousand dollars. About the same sum has been subscribed at Baltimore, one hundred and twenty-five thousand at Boston, between sixty and seventy thousand, as nearly as I can recollect, at New York, and considerable sums at various towns in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and at Norfolk, Alexandria, Richmond, and Petersburg in Virginia. The whole amount of private subscriptions is estimated at six hundred and forty thousand dollars. One gentleman at Boston subscribed ten thousand.

The merchant ships having been permitted to arm for their defence, and to capture French privateers, a very general armament of that kind is rapidly going on. Cannon was very scarce, and still

is not plenty; but when a whole nation sets to work, and is in earnest, it soon surmounts every difficulty. The supply of arms is every day increasing; and we may expect that in a few months, our trade will be in a situation to defend itself, with the assistance of the public ships of war.[1]

The first blow was struck some weeks ago by the capture of a French privateer on our coast, which had made prize of some of our ships, and then had the impudence to run into our own harbours for protection against the English cruisers. She was taken by one of our sloops of war, and has been condemned.[2]

In the mean time, as a method of bringing France to reason, and saving our merchants from her wanton seizures, all commercial intercourse with her or her dominions has been suspended, till an accommodation of the differences between this country and her shall take place; and as she has not only violated, in numerous instances, the treaties between the two countries, but continues to do so, and refuses to listen to any demand of reparation, a law has been passed by congress declaring those treaties no longer binding on the United States.[3] In consequence of this law, the President has suspended the French consuls in this country from the functions which they exercised under those treaties.

Thus far have we gone defensively. We take French armed ships, which cruise for the purpose of annoying our trade, and we prepare with vigour for repelling their attacks by sea and land; but we do not attack her unarmed ships, or make reprisals for the injuries she has done us. Many persons were of opinion that we ought to go the last lengths, and declare war; which they deemed the most manly and honourable course, as well as the safest: but others thought it best to confine ourselves to defence and preparation, and leave the French either to discontinue their attacks, or to declare war, as they might think best. This course was finally adopted. Nothing is more difficult than to conjecture what will be the conduct of France in consequence of our measures. She may perhaps draw back, and by some apparent concessions try to avoid an open war. This perhaps would be her true policy; but I am inclined to think that she will pursue a contrary course, and endeavour, at all events, to enforce her demands. Earlier resistance on our part, and vigorous preparation a year ago, might probably have prevented her from taking the ground; but having taken it, her pride, the passions of her rulers, and perhaps their policy, will probably forbid her to recede. Whatever may be her determination, I am convinced that with the union and spirit

[1] The naval measures are the acts approved Mar. 27, Apr. 27, May 4 and 28, June 22, 25, and 30, and July 9, 11, and 16; cc. 23, 31, 39, 48, 55, 60, 64, 68, 72, 82.

[2] *Le Croyable*, captured by Decatur and the *Delaware*.

[3] Approved July 7; c. 67.

now displayed by this country, we have nothing to fear from her vengeance. We possess, I have no doubt, the means of creating a maritime force superior to any she can bring against us, even should she make peace with England. And as to invading our country, should she have the rashness to attempt it, she will soon find that the Americans have infinitely increased in means since '76 without decreasing in spirit. Her forces would not advance far into the country, before they would be met by an army of one hundred thousand men, led on by Washington, and composed of freemen fighting, and prepared to die, for their laws their religion and their families. This is a sort of resistence to which she has not hitherto been accustomed.

The measures already adopted are considered as the beginning, only, of preparation. Should France drive us into a serious war, far other exertions will be called for, and will, I have no doubt, be made.

The expence of these preparatory measures, including one year's support of the additional troops, is estimated at nine millions of dollars, viz. 340,000 for fortifications; 1,300,000 for arms, military stores, etc. 200,000 for equipments of cavalry and carrying into effect the provisional army bill; 3,370,000 for the naval armament; and 3,700,000 for the new troops. Should the provisional army be brought into service, its expences for a year would amount, as estimated, to 3,500,000 dollars; and the volunteers and militia, if called out, will also require a considerable expence. These objects, however, are contingent, and not likely soon to happen. The certain expences directed by law, amount to nine millions.

To defray these expences we possess the following means. First, a balance of our ordinary revenue above our ordinary expenditure. In the last year, the year 1797, the impost and tonnage duties produced 7,549,649 dollars; a million more than the product of 1796, and about two millions more than that of 1795. New imposts, to the estimated amount of at least 500,000 dollars, have been added since 1795, but did not operate on the revenue of 1796 or 1797. This added to the product of 1797, without any allowance for increase, would raise the product of 1798 to eight millions. But if we allow one million for decrease on account of the present circumstances, which is more than I believe will take place, still we shall have seven millions for the product of impost and tonnage duties in the present year. The internal duties last year, arising from stills, spirits, carriages, retailers licenses, sugar-refiners, and auctioneers, produced dols. 575,491. In the present year 600,000 may be expected from them; perhaps more. The post-office produces 50,000; and public stock and bank shares held by the United States, 160,000. From the sale of western lands 40,000 may be expected. The stamp-act went into operation on

the 1st of July,[1] and may be taken at 400,000 annually, which, for the remaining half of this year, is 200,000. These various sums added together, give eight millions and fifty thousand dollars for the permanent revenue of the present year.

The ordinary expenditure will amount to 6,721,787 dollars; of which 1,121,494 are for the support of the civil government in all its various branches; 352,000 for paying awards under the British treaty; 1,238,730 for the old military establishment; and 4,009,561 for the interest of the public debt and the reimbursement of the principal. This aggregate of ordinary expenditure, deducted from the amount of revenue stated above, leaves a balance of 1,328,213 dollars, to be applied to the extraordinary expenses. Add to this the sum of two millions laid, for one year, on lands houses and slaves, in a manner which will be hereafter explained, and the sum of 640,000 dollars, estimated as the amount of subscriptions for building vessels, and they give an aggregate of about four millions for defraying the extraordinary expences. Deduct this sum from the amount of those expences, which is nine millions, and there remains a balance of five millions still to be provided. This the president is authorized to borrow on the best terms that can be obtained; and the surplus of impost and tonnage duties, beyond the permanent appropriations charged on them, is pledged to pay the interest and principal of the loan. These duties, we have seen, amount, on the most moderate estimate, to seven millions of dollars; the permanent appropriations charged on them, which are for the civil list, and the interest of the public debt, do not exceed 4,500,000. So that the fund, as solid an one as any government possesses, is amply sufficient for loans to the amount of twenty millions instead of five, should it be necessary to borrow to that extent. The faith of the United States is moreover pledged to make up any deficiency. In short, I am persuaded that the pecuniary resources of this country, like its military and maritime resources, have, as yet, been but slightly touched. Our whole system of taxation, including the direct tax of two millions laid by congress in the present session, amounts only to about ten millions of dollars; which, divided among a population of probably six millions of souls, gives one dollar and one-third for the annual contribution of each person. In many parts of the country this is one day's labour; in most parts not more than two; and no where more than three. If we suppose one-fourth of this six millions to consist of persons capable of supporting themselves, and paying taxes, by their labour; and then divide the whole amount of the taxes among that fourth; it will come to something more than six dollars each; a sum which, with common industry, a person may earn in ten days or less. Thus we find that the whole of our contributions to government, as now increased, amount to about

[1] The stamp act had been approved July 6, 1797, to take effect Jan. 1, 1798, but this date was later changed to July 1. "Annals", 5 Cong., 2 sess., 3703.

ten days labour in the year, for each person capable of labour. Let this be compared with the state of other countries, even such as are most flourishing and happy, and it will be found that we pay nothing in comparison with them. I have no doubt, for my own part, that we might without inconvenience pay twice as much, or even three times, were it necessary; provided a skilful system for the collection, were adopted and steadily pursued.

I must beg your pardon, my dear sir, for this digression, if such it should be thought. I intended it by way of answer to the insinuations of those, and such there are, who are so fond of telling us, that we are not able to support the expence of protecting our property and our rights.

This leads me to explain the nature of the direct tax,[1] and the manner in which it is apportioned laid and collected. All the details cannot be brought within the compass of a letter; and they are the less necessary, since the laws themselves have been published, and some pains have been taken to distribute them through the country. But I will present you with the out-line.

The tax, amounting to two millions of dollars, is laid on lands, dwelling-houses, and slaves. This is perfectly equal; because although there are slaves in some states, and not in others, yet, as each state has its part of the tax fixed, it must pay that part whether it has slaves or not; and what it does not raise from slaves, it must raise from lands and dwelling-houses. All slaves under 12, and above 50 are exempted, as well as all such as are exempted by the laws of the state where they are. The others pay half a dollar each. All dwelling-houses, which, with the out-houses belonging to them, and the lot on which they stand, not exceeding two acres for any one house, are worth less than 100 dollars, are also exempted; and so are all lands which are exempted by the laws of the state where they lie. All other lands and dwelling-houses are to pay according to a valuation. The dwelling-houses are to be valued with the out-houses belonging to them respectively, and the lot on which they stand, not exceeding two acres in any case; and the lands, with all wharves and other buildings upon them, except dwelling-houses above the value of one hundred dollars.

For the purpose of making these valuations, each state is thrown into a suitable number of divisions, with a commissioner in each; and the commissioners in the state form a board for superintending and conducting the business.[2] This board divides the state into a proper

[1] For Harper's committee report on the direct tax, May 1, 1798, see "Am. St. P., Finance", I, 579–587.

[2] Note in the original print: "In South Carolina, for example, there are five divisions, and a proportionate number in every other state. The first division in that state, consists of Charleston and Georgetown districts; the second of Cambden and Cheraw; the third of Pinckney and Washington; the fourth of Ninety-six; and the fifth of Orangeburg and Beaufort."

number of assessment districts, and appoints, in each, one principal assessor, and a suitable number of assistant assessors, whose duty it is to collect lists of all the lands dwelling-houses and slaves, and to value the former under the direction of the commissioners. The property is to be described in a very particular manner, and every precaution is used to prevent the valuations from being unequal.

The valuations being finished, and a record of them, and of the lists whereon they are founded, being made in each assessment district, an abstract of the whole, together with the original lists, is transmitted by the board of commissioners to the secretary of the treasury; and he issues orders to the supervisor of each state, to proceed to the assessment and collection of the tax; for which purpose the supervisor may appoint as many collectors as he thinks fit. Having before him the valuation of every house, and tract or lot of land in the state, and an enumeration of all the slaves liable to taxation, he proceeds to ascertain how much will be raised on the slaves, and deducts the amount from the sum payable by the state. He then assesses on every dwelling-house, valued with the out-houses and lot at more than one hundred and not more than five hundred dollars, one fifth per cent. or twenty cents in the hundred dollars, on the amount of its valuation; on those above five hundred and not more than one thousand, three-tenths per cent.; on those above one and not more than three thousand, four-tenths per cent.; on those above three and not more than six thousand, five-tenths, or one half; on those above six and not more than ten thousand, six-tenths; on those above ten, and not more than fifteen thousand, seven-tenths; on those above fifteen and not more than twenty thousand, eight-tenths; on those above twenty, and not more than thirty thousand, nine-tenths; and on those above thirty thousand, one per cent. Having ascertained what, according to these proportions, will be raised upon dwelling-houses within the state, he deducts that amount also from the sum payable by the state; and the balance, if any, is laid upon the lands, according to the valuation, and at such rate per cent as will be sufficient to make it up. This rate the supervisor fixes.

Should the slave and house tax amount to more than the sum payable by the state, the supervisor must reduce the rates on houses, so as to bring it down to that sum: and there will, in that case, be no tax on the lands.

Hence it appears that houses of a high value pay much more, in proportion, than those of a low one. A house worth 100 dollars, for instance, pays but one-fifth per cent. or twenty cents; while one of 30,000 dollars value, and there are many such, especially in the great towns, will pay one per cent, or 300 dollars: five times as much in proportion as the former. This goes upon the principle of a tax upon *expense*, not a tax upon *capital*; expense being considered as the true

criterion whereby taxes ought to be apportioned: and it is supposed that the house in which a man lives will afford, generally speaking, a tolerably exact indication of his means of expense, and of paying taxes; consequently that a man who lives in a house worth 30,000 dollars must have an income which will enable him to pay 300 dollars, as easily as one inhabiting a house worth only 100 dollars can pay 20 cents. Thus the burden is made to fall on those who are able to bear it, and on every one in proportion to his ability.

When the proportions to be paid by slaves, houses, and lands, respectively, are thus fixed, the supervisor issues his warrant to certain officers to be appointed in each assessment district, called surveyors of the revenue, whose duty it is to ascertain the amount payable by each person in the district, and make out collection lists accordingly. This done, the lists are delivered to the collectors, who proceed to the collection of the tax. Each collector must, as soon as he receives his list, advertise in at least four places within his district, for all persons to come and pay the tax; and he must call on those who do not attend, and demand it from them. If they do not pay within twenty days after the demand, he may proceed to collect it by distress of their goods, except beasts of the plough, arms, household furniture, and the necessary apparel of the family. Should the tax, or any part of it, remain unpaid for a year, lands may be sold; but the owner may redeem them, at any time within two years after the sale, by the payment or tender of the amount of the tax, with costs and charges and twelve per cent. interest.

Each collector, before receiving a tax list for collection, must give bond and security for double the amount contained in the list. He must account monthly for the monies he receives; and if guilty of any misconduct may be removed and compelled to deliver up his lists, besides being liable to the action of the party injured. He must make a final settlement of his accounts within 13 months, under pain of becoming liable for the whole amount of his lists, and having his lands and goods, with those of his securities, sold to raise the money. Many other precautions are used to prevent abuse, and to insure a speedy collection and payment by the collectors.

The commissioners receive three dollars per day each while employed in the duty of their office, besides the sum of 150 dollars as a general compensation. The principal assessors have one dollar and an half per day, while so employed; and the assistant assessors from one dollar to one and an half, according to the nature of their business. The surveyors of the revenue, who are to be permanent officers, are compensated by certain fees on the business they do. The supervisors have one half per cent. on the amount of all monies received and paid over by them under the act, the inspectors one quarter per cent. and the collectors five per cent. The expense of

collecting the tax therefore will be about seven per cent. That of the valuation will be more considerable; perhaps 200,000 dollars, or ten per cent: but a valuation once made will serve for several years, probably ten or twelve; and when renewed will cost less than the first time.

This tax is laid for only one year, and is not intended to be made permanent, unless the state of the finances should absolutely require it. Probably, however, it will be continued from year to year for some time. Perhaps it may be reduced, and it is far from being impossible that the public exigencies, especially in case the war should become such as to require great exertions, may render an increase of it absolutely necessary.

The whole sum, two millions of dollars, is divided among the states according to their respective numbers, including two-fifths of the slaves. By this apportionment New-Hampshire pays 77,705 dollars; Massachusetts 260,435. Rhode-Island 37,502. Connecticut 129,767. Vermont 46,864. New-York 181,687. New-Jersey 98,387. Pennsylvania 237,177. Delaware 30,430. Maryland 152,599. Virginia 345,488. Kentuckey 37,643. North-Carolina 193,697. Tennessee 18,806. South-Carolina 112,997, and Georgia 38,814. Of the whole amount, it is supposed that slaves will pay about 130,000 dollars, dwelling-houses about 1,000,000, and lands, consequently, about 870,000.

Such is the nature, amount, and mode of collection of this tax, which would not have been necessary had not the conduct of France compelled us to arm; but which, I am fully persuaded, the Americans will most cheerfully pay, when they reflect that the money is to be employed, not in paying tribute to a foreign nation, but in defending their own rights honour and independence. For such objects as these, I am even persuaded that double the amount would, if necessary, be paid with cheerfulness.

The last advices from our commissioners were received about the 20th of June, and bear date on the 3d and 4th of April.[1] General Marshall, one of the commissioners, brought them. It appears by these dispatches that Generals Pinckney and Marshall, finding all hope of an accommodation, on other than disgraceful terms, to be quite at an end, resolved to return home, to which the French government, not finding them disposed to yield up the honour of their country, made no objection. General Marshall, therefore, embarked for America, and General Pinckney went to the south of France, where his daughter's health made it necessary for her to remain some time. The directory detained Mr. Gerry, with a view, as he states in his letter to the President, of drawing him again into dis-

[1] This evidently refers to the papers sent to Congress June 21. "Annals", 5 Cong., app., 3459–3462.

cussions about a *loan*; in other words a *tribute*; but he declares his intention of concluding nothing in the absence of his colleagues. He is known, by this time, to have received the new instructions sent by the President on the arrival of the first dispatches; and, in consequence of them, he is, probably, on his way home; for they direct the commissioners to listen to no propositions about a loan, to hold no intercourse with the French government except through agents publicly and regularly accredited, and to leave France immediately unless officially received by the directory, in a manner suitable to their character, and to the dignity of their nation. It being, moreover, judged improper that one of these commissioners should remain in France, to conduct, alone, a business for which three had been appointed, the President, as soon as he found that Generals Pinckney and Marshall were dismissed, sent Mr. Gerry positive orders to return immediately.

To refuse to treat with two commissioners of characters so highly respectable, and retain the third in hopes of wheedling him into conditions dishonorable and ruinous to his country, is very conformable to French policy and French systems; but it is highly insulting to this country, and leads to consequences which, if not resisted, must prove wholly destructive of its independence. It amounts to saying, "When you have a dispute to settle with us, you shall not choose the negociators, but we will choose them; they shall not be such persons as you can trust, but such as we like, as we may think the most manageable." When a nation submits to conduct like this, its independence is a mere shadow. The substance is gone.

From this it appears that the arrival of General Pinckney and Mr. Gerry may be hourly expected; but nothing has been heard from either of them since the 4th of April.

We have, however, much more recent intelligence from Europe; as late indeed as the 12th or 15th of May. These accounts contain some indications, though as yet not clear or certain, of a new and approaching rupture between France and the great continental powers of Europe. It is very generally reported in Europe, and many appearances tend to confirm the opinion, that the Emperors of Russia[1] and Germany, and the King of Prussia, alarmed, most justly no doubt, at the subjugation of Switzerland,[2] and the evident designs of France against the independence of all neighbouring states, designs which experience proves that no faith of treaties, no regard to the rights of others or her own engagements, can restrain her from attempting to accomplish, have projected, and are on the point of forming, a new coalition for the purpose of checking her progress, repressing her ambitious enterprizes, and restraining her within her

[1] Paul I (1754–1801), emperor from 1796 to 1801.
[2] The Helvetic Republic was proclaimed Mar. 29, 1798.

ancient limits.[1] If such a coalition be formed, every friend of mankind, I think, must wish it success. There is no danger of any attempt being made by it on the independence of France; and to rescue that of other nations from her deadly gripe, must be a most laudable undertaking: for however imperfect the governments of those nations may be, they have found, to their woe, that their former state was blissful compared to that to which France, under pretence of making them free, has reduced those who have trusted to her deceitful promises, or sunk beneath her power.

The history of all ages proves, that no oppression is so dreadful as that of a foreign master. Of this bitter cup the Dutch, the Belgians, the Italians, the Swiss, and part of the Germans, are now drinking; and other nations will drink, to the very dregs, unless by a vigorous timely and combined resistence, they repress the progress of these deceitful and merciless destroyers.

By the latest accounts there appears reason to believe, that the invasion of England, so long threatened, is at length given up. At least on the 15th of May there was no appearance of its being attempted. England is well prepared to resist with unanimity and vigour, should a landing take place. In the meantime her fleets still block up those of France Spain and Holland in their own ports. It is difficult to conceive how an army is to be sent to England, when hardly a ship of her enemies, or even a boat, can put to sea without falling into her hands.

As to the internal situation of France we know but little; all the presses being held under the most slavish control by the directory, and permitted to publish nothing at which it can take umbrage. It has appeared, however, that the late elections were very tumultuous, and that the directory influenced them by the most open and violent means. Some persons disagreeable to it were, notwithstanding, returned; but they were excluded from their seats, to the number of about eighty, without the least ceremony, or any other proof than a message from the directory.[2]

Thus we see that the constitution is completely subverted, the legislature perfectly enslaved, the right of election wholly annihilated, and a military despotism, in the hands of the directory, firmly established! Such is the liberty which France has gained by seven years of civil and external war, by the slaughter of two millions of her people, the utter subversion of property, the banishment of religion, the total corruption of morals and manners, and the destruction of so many monuments of human art and industry, both in her own territories and those of her neighbours!

[1] The Second Coalition, with this as its object, was not completely formed until the autumn of 1798.

[2] The coup d'état of the 22d Floréal (May 11, 1798).

For my own part, I am inclined to think that the military power of France, by which her people have hitherto been dazzled, and kept blind to the miseries of their own situation, is approaching fast to the period of its decline, if not already arrived there. Her vast expences, supported rather by domestic and external plunder than by a regular system of taxation, already exceed her means, as it is said, in the proportion of one-third; or a million of livres, about 200,000 dollars, each day. A regular and judicious system of taxation, however extensive, has a tendency, when combined with good government and the protection of persons and property, to invigorate industry, and thus constantly reproduce the means of its own support. Plunder, on the other hand, destroys industry, by destroying the capitals wherewith it is carried on, and taking away its strongest, perhaps its only effectual incitement, the hope of possessing its fruits in security. It realizes the fable of the boy and the golden eggs, and resembles the conduct of a man, who, instead of employing his money and living on the income, should put it into his chest and live on the principal. This is the condition of the French government. It subsists by plunder, and the sources of plunder are very soon exhausted. Already its pecuniary embarrassments are excessive. It with great difficulty pays its army; its civil officers it does not pay at all. They subsist by private plunder and corruption, as the government does by public. Hence the anxiety of Talleyrand to get money from us, for his private purse and that of certain members of the directory. Hence the anxiety of the directory to obtain a loan. Hence the corrupt agreement between Merlin,[1] one of its members, and the owners of privateers, whom he protected in their piracies for a share of the spoil. These embarrassments, from the nature of things, must increase. At length it will become impossible to pay the armies, who will then revolt or desert, or perhaps do both in part; and then the government, which exists not but by their support, must fall to the ground. Strong symptoms of the approach of this state of things have already appeared.

On the other hand, the great neighbouring powers must be every day more and more alarmed at the hostile designs and ambitious plans of France, becoming daily more manifest and exorbitant. They cannot long remain silent spectators of her progress. They must oppose, or be devoured. In the mean time her excessive tyranny, her insolent conduct, her exorbitant and insatiable exactions, must increase, day by day, the hatred and animosity of those nations over whom, by fraud or force, she has obtained dominion; and they will, in all probability, receive with open arms, and aid with all their might, the armies which shall enter their countries for the purpose of

[1] Merlin of Doual (1754–1838), who was a member of the Directory from Sept. 6, 1797, to June 18, 1799.

attacking her. It was among the peasants of Germany, once her friends, that, after they had tasted the cup of her abominations in her invasion of 1795–96, she found the most deadly foes; and, most probably, it will be among the Swiss, the Italians, the Dutch, and the Belgians, that, on the slightest reverse of fortune, she will find the most dreadful implements of divine vengeance.

Nor can she expect to be supported by that enthusiasm which has been, heretofore, so efficacious in rendering her arms triumphant. It was an enthusiasm created in the French by the idea of resisting a foreign yoke, in support of their national independence; and it induced them to sacrifice every thing, submit to every thing, and suffer every thing. But how can this enthusiasm be felt for the defence of foreign conquests, and the glory of a government the most detestable, and, probably, the most detested, that ever was on earth! A government which openly professes every species of profligacy, subsists by universal pillage, and maintains its power by perpetual acts of the most atrocious despotism![1]

It is for these reasons that I have thought the power of France likely to fall as rapidly as it has risen; and they should induce us to be the more determined in our resistence, from a hope that it will be successful without any painful efforts. But I declare to you, my dear sir, that I find reason enough for resistence, independently of these. So, I have no doubt, will you. Were France in possession of England, the most formidable bulwark against her power in the old world, and were Austria Russia and Prussia humbled at her feet, as Spain and Sardinia are, still I should have no idea of yielding. After fighting her on the ocean, to the last, and contending every inch of ground with her on the Atlantic shore, I should be for retiring with the remnant of the nation, beyond the mountains of the Mississippi, and there, like our brave forefathers, who for the love of freedom penetrated these, at that time, inhospitable wilds, opening to ourselves, amidst deserts and their savage inhabitants, an asylum for self-government and national independence. This, in my mind, and, I have no doubt, in yours too, would be happiness compared with the dominion of a French proconsul; who, under the name of a minister, should dictate to our government, and insolently ride over the heads of our constituted authorities; or place in power those among ourselves, whose worthlessness should render them fit and acceptable instruments of his pleasure.

That she will attempt to invade us, unless her affairs in Europe keep her too fully employed, I think highly probable. The only way to avert the danger, is to be prepared to meet it; to shew a good

[1] Note in the original print: "Note.—All these predictions were approaching fast to their fulfilment, when the usurpation of Buonaparte, and the able vigorous and systematic administration which he introduced, again changed the face of affairs."

countenance, make vigorous preparations, and stand ready to give her a good reception. Seeing this she may probably keep away.

Having troubled you, my dear sir, with this long letter, for which my desire to give you all the information in my power about our public affairs, must be my apology, I conclude with begging you to be assured of the very sincere respect and good wishes of

Your very humble servant.

Samuel Smith[1] to Bayard.[2]

Balte. *2 Aug. 1798.*

Sir: A publication having appeard in a Frederick Town Paper respecting the Conversation which passd at the Presidents Table between him and me, and which I never thought of afterward which statement I Conceive to be a misrepresentation I shall tomorrow state what I understood to have been the conversation and send it for your perusal.[3] You understood it (as it really was) a sort of jesting Conversation on my part—and the President, altho: expressing himself warmly neither then nor afterward seemed to think more of the subject. I suspect you may be applied to and therefore It is that I solicit you may not be surprizd with an answer. This Electioneering is worse than the Devil but I am in for it, once more and must go thro'.[4]

Samuel Smith to Bayard.[5]

Baltimore, *3 Augt. 1798.*

Sir: I wrote you yesterday and now take leave to send you the purport of what I concieve to have been the conversation between the President and myself.

The Topick of Conversation being the probability of a War with France—I askd the President if it did not appear to him from certain passages in the Communication that our Commissioners[6] would

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[1] Gen. Samuel Smith (1752–1839) of Maryland, a member of the House from 1793 to 1803, and from 1816 to 1822, and a senator from 1803 to 1815 and from 1822 to 1833.

[2] From the collection of papers possessed by Mrs. William S. Hilles, of Wilmington, Del., daughter of Senator Thomas F. Bayard.

[3] The letter recounting the conversation appeared in the Federal Gazette of Aug. 1, and was answered by Smith the next day. On Aug. 3 Maj.-Gen. John Eager Howard wrote explaining that the letter had been written by him to Dr. Thomas of Frederick and had been published by Dr. Thomas. The letters which follow explain fully the subject of the controversy.

[4] Gen. Smith was a candidate for re-election to the House.

[5] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

[6] Marshall, Pinckney, and Gerry. In a letter to the Federal Gazette of Aug. 3, Smith says the conversation took place a "short time after the first communications from our commissioners (and long before the arrival of general Marshall)." The first communications had reached this country early in March and were sent to Congress Apr. 3. Marshall arrived in America in July. The passages referred to were those beginning, "Mr. X again returned to the subject of money", etc. ("Am. St. P., For. Rel.", (II, 161), and "We told him that what we wished to see in France was a temper", etc. (ibid., 163).

give what was calld the usual Douceur, if they saw that It would with certainty lead to a beneficial treaty. The President replied to my Question that the giving the smallest sum would be derogatary to America. I replied, That the passages I alluded to Conveyed to my Mind an Idea that they were disposed to give the Douceur, provided it was fully ascertained that the object of their Mission could thereby be effected. The President replied with considerable warmth (but which passd off Immy) that It was a proposition to which no honest or no Virtuous Man could or ought to Accede—that not a shilling would be given. You then gave the Conversation another turn and the President joind in it. I think we remained about an hour after—for my part I never thot of the subject afterward.

JOHN E. HOWARD[1] TO BAYARD.[2]

BALTIMORE *6th August, 1798.*

SIR: Mr. Harper who was at my house yesterday informed me that you repeated to him the conversation which passed at the Presidents table, between the President and General, and as you will see by the enclosed papers that I am involved in a contest with the General about it, I have to request the favor of you to state, as accurately as you can from memory, the conversation that passed on that occasion. If you recollect Mr. Wadsworth'[3] being present be so good as to mention it.

It is with reluctance that I desire this favor of you; I have been led into this dispute by the imprudent conduct of a friend in publishing my letter. However it is of some importance to the publick as well as myself that I should now support the charge, and I am much mistaken if it can not be done fully. Mr. Tracey[4] who reported the conversation to me from Genl. Wadsworth lives in Connecticut and the Genl. is at a much greater distance, so that it will be some time before I can hear from them. This circumstance makes it the more desirable that I should hear from you as soon as possible. I know that it must be unpleasant for you to have your name appear in the papers, but I trust the occasion will be considered by you as requiring it. Excuse the liberty I have taken in calling on you.

SAMUEL SMITH TO BAYARD.[5]

DR. SIR: On the other side you have copy of a Letter I [received] in answer to one from me written at the same time and on the same

[1] Maj.-Gen. John Eager Howard (1752–1827) of Maryland, who served in the revolutionary army, was governor of Maryland 1789–1792, and U. S. senator 1796–1803.

[2] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

[3] Brig.-Gen. James Wadsworth (1730–1817) of Connecticut. In the Federal Gazette of Aug. 4 Smith asserts that Wadsworth was not at the President's the day of the conversation.

[4] Uriah Tracy (1755–1807), a Federal member of the House from Connecticut 1793–1796, and a member of the Senate from 1796 until his death.

[5] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

subject[1] which I addressed you upon the 3d inst. The subject was to me of Importance, the Answer is satisfactory—the only difference between Mr. Ws. Letter and my statement is that he states as an opinion what I Conceive was done by me by way of question. I find that no pains will be spared to sacrifice my C[haracter] and I understand application will be made to you—as the Information that caused me all this trouble came from Mr. Tracy, who appears to have given a difft. acct. from that which he received from Colo Wadsworth. I did [hope] you would decline saying any thing upon the subject. Lest you might be Induced to certify something on the subject I have deemed it proper to send you a Copy of Colo. W-s Letter and am Sir.

BALTE. *28th Augt. 1798.*

BAYARD TO SAMUEL SMITH.[2]

WILMINGTON, *30 August, 1798.*

SIR: Having been absent a considerable time from Home I did not receive your letters of the 2d and 3d Insts. till a few days ago, and I have been prevented since their receipt making you an earlier answer principally by the indisposition of my family. I found upon my return to Wilmington a letter also from Col. Howard requesting a statement of the conversation at the Presidents table alluded to in your letters. Unpleasant as it is to have any connection with the dispute of third persons, I could discover no honorable principle upon which I could refuse the statement desired, and having undertaken to state the occurrence I considered myself bound to give such a representation as should convey to others the impression of my own mind. The same principle which induced me to comply with the request of Col. Howard, rigidly governed me as it respected the justice due to you.

I have enclosed to you a copy of the Statement sent to Col. Howard.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have recd. your letter conveying a copy of Col. Wadsworth Statemt.

BAYARD TO JOHN E. HOWARD.[3]

WILMINGTON, *30 August 1798.*

SIR: An absence from home prevented my receiving your letter of the 6 inst. till a few days ago. Since my return the occupation of business and the attentions which I was obliged to pay to a sick family put it out of my power to return you an earlier answer.

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[1] To Brig.-Gen. Wadsworth.

[2] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles. The letter received by Smith is among the Smith Papers in the Library of Congress.

[3] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

It certainly would have been more agreeable to me to have avoided any appearance in the dispute which has arisen between General Smith and yourself in relation to the conversation which happened at the Presidents table during the last Session of Congress between the President and the General. But I confess Sir I can discover no excuse which would justify me in refusing a statement of an occurrence attended with no circumstance which even implied a confidence in secrecy.

It is highly probable that the recollection of no two gentlemen who were present on the occasion will exactly agree either as to the observations which were made or as to the manner of their expression. The task is not an easy one after an interval of some time to recall with precision the conversation of a dinner table where the attention is often divided between different objects and generally least disposed to charge itself with the remembrance of what is passing. I shall give you the incident however according to the impression which it originally made and which now rests on my mind, without reference to what has been stated on either side in relation to it.

Dinner was over and the wine had been some time on the table, when the conversation turned on the State of our affairs relative to France. The probability of a treaty being yet accomplished by Mr. Gerry became a subject of discussion. General Smith inclined to think that it was not unlikely that Mr. Gerry would proceed alone in the negociation. The difficulty was started arising from the demand of the *douceur* which M. Talleyrand had stated as the indispensable condition of a consent to treat on the part of the French Government. General Smith observed in a gay manner and not unequivocally serious, that the demand of the *douceur* ought not to stand in the way, but that Mr. Gerry ought to pay it, upon which the President with some earnestness said that no American Republican or virtuous man could entertain such a sentiment. The General then laughing and with a view as it struck me of manifesting his first observation to have been mere pleasantry repeated that there could be no doubt as to the policy of paying the £50,000 if a treaty was likely to be obtained in consequence which would save us millions. The President instantly with additional emphasis observed to him Sir if that be your serious opinion you cannot be an American a Republican nor a virtuous Man. The General did not appear to be offended or hurt by the observation, but laughed in perfect good humour, which gave an impression that He did not feel the hypothetical remark of the President as applying to Himself. Apprehensive however that if the same subject remained the conversation might assume an unpleasant aspect I seized the moment of a panic, to introduce some new topick and nothing further was said

as to the douceur, or Mr. Gerry's treaty. The General continued at the table a considerable time after and partook with his usual sprightliness of the conversation which passed. Late in the afternoon he left the Company and I followed soon after Him. Having walked up Market Street I met the General and after a few words He remarked to me—Why I believe the old gentleman took me to be in earnest this afternoon. I replied that it appeared He had mistaken Him. At parting He told me He was returning to take tea with the Ladies at the Presidents and invited me to accompany Him. I excused myself on the footing of an engagement. The following day we again met in the Representatives Chamber before the House was called to order; and the General made the same remark to me he had done the evening before, and I replied to the same effect. I consider myself bound to mention these circumstances as having some weight in showing that the General was not serious in the sentiment he expressed as to the douceur and was solicitous immediately after the event to have it understood that the President had mistaken Him, and I must be allowed to remark that the observations of General Smith respecting M. Talleyrands demand of money made so little impression on my mind that probably I should not have recalled them to my recollection a second time had it not been for what fell from the President whose words and manner were of a nature which could not fail to engage and fix the most careless attention.

Such Sir is the best statement I can give of the substance and spirit of the conversation referred to in your letter.

It would give me much pain if any false impression which I received or defect in my recollection should occasion any misrepresentation of the occurrence, but it is a satisfaction to me to think that if such should be the case, the errors I have fallen into, are liable to be corrected by other gentlemen who were present on the occasion.

Having had the Honor of dining several times at the Presidents in the course of the Session of Congress I find it difficult to assign to particular days the respective companies which I met at the table. But I have a pretty distinct recollection that on the day of the conversation, Col. Wadsworth of Connecticut, Captain Mitchell[1] of the army—a gentleman to whom I think I was introduced as Captain Smith[2] a Brother of the Generals and Mr. Malcolm[3] the Presidents Secretary were present. I believe there were other Gentlemen, but their names have escaped me.

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[1] The only Capt. Mitchell in the U. S. army at this date was Robert Mitchell of North Carolina, captain in the 10th infantry.

[2] This can hardly have been a brother of Gen. Samuel Smith, the senator.

[3] Samuel B. Malcom.

Pickering to Bassett.

Department of State, Trenton,[1]
Oct. 27, 1798.

Sir: The conduct of France, in subverting the free Republic of Geneva,[2] as delineated in the inclosed pamphlet, merits the attention of the world, but especially of the citizens of the United States. Such facts one would imagine sufficient, if other proofs were wanting, to convince all who are not wilfully blind, of the perfidy and violence of the French Government. The translation has been faithfully made from the French copy in my possession.

Harper to his Constituents.[3]

Philadelphia, *February 10th, 1799.*

In compliance, my dear sir, with a promise made to several of my friends, while I was in Carolina last fall, I intended to write, for the use of my constituents, immediately after my arrival here, a little piece containing my reasons for approving of two acts of Congress, passed in the last session, and commonly called "the Alien and Sedition bills."[4] My very low state of health during the first part of the session, the effect of my fever at Cambridge[5] and of several relapses on the journey, prevented me, for a considerable time, from fulfilling this engagement; and when I was, at length, so much recovered as to think of setting about it, the enclosed address[6] made its appearance. As it most perfectly coincides with my opinions, and says, in a much clearer and more forcible manner than I am master of, every thing that I could say on the subject, I thought that I could not perform my promise in a more effectual or a more satisfactory way, than by sending some copies of it to the district. This I have accordingly done.

It may be proper to state that the Virginia legislature, in its late session, passed a number of resolutions, denouncing the Alien and Sedition acts as unconstitutional and void; declaring many other measures adopted by Congress, particularly those which relate to the navy, the army and the volunteers, to be impolitic and danger-

[1] The cabinet headquarters were at this time located at Trenton because of an outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia. Schouler, I, 453.

[2] Geneva had been annexed to France and made the capital of the French department of the Léman in the spring.

[3] Printed in the City Gazette of Charleston Mar. 20, 1799.

[4] Alien Act, approved June 25, 1798; Alien Enemies Act, July 6; Sedition Act, July 14; cc. 58, 66, 74.

[5] Cambridge was a local but not a legal designation for the village in upper South Carolina which had grown up around Fort Ninety-Six. For Cambridge, and for Harper's early life there, see the Diary of Edward Hooker, "Annual Report of the American Historical Association", 1896, I, 883–893.

[6] Note on the original print: "The address of the minority of the Virginia Legislature."

ous; and calling on the other states to join Virginia, in measures for repelling and restraining those encroachments of the federal government. These resolutions were firmly and ably opposed; and the majority which carried them, thought proper to detail at length, in the form of an address to the people, the arguments by which they were supported.[1] This address being passed, the minority, consisting of sixty-eight members, thought themselves bound to submit also to the public the reasons on which their opposition was founded; and for this purpose they drew up the enclosed address and moved it in the legislature, where it was rejected. They afterwards published it for general information.[2]

That you may be better able to understand the argument, I give you here the substance of the two acts in question and the very words of all the material parts.

The Alien act, in the first section, enacts "That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, at any time during the continuance of this act, to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect, are concerned in any treasonable machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order"—And the section then goes on to provide "that if any alien so ordered to depart, shall prove to the satisfaction of the President, by evidence to be taken before such person or persons as the President shall direct, that no injury or danger to the United State will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein, the President may grant a licence to such alien to remain within the United States, for such time as he shall judge proper, and at such place as he may designate."

The subsequent parts of the act contain various regulations for carrying these provisions into effect; and the fifth section enacts "that it shall be lawful for any alien who may be ordered to be removed from the United States, by virtue of this act, to take with him such part of his goods, chattels or other property as he may find convenient; and all property left in the United States by any alien who may be removed as aforesaid, shall be and remain subject to his order and disposal in the same manner as if this act had not passed."

And the sixth and last section declares "that this act shall continue and be in force for and during two years from the passing thereof."

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[1] The text is given in Madison's "Writings" (ed. 1865), IV, 506–507.

[2] "An Address of the Minority in the Virginia Legislature to the People of that State; containing a Vindication of the Constitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws." (Pamphlet, 1800.)

The act commonly called "the Sedition act" contains provisions of a twofold nature: first, against seditious acts; and, secondly, against libellous and seditious writings. The former are contained in the first section, which has never been complained of, nor has any objection been made to its constitutionality. The objections are confined to the second section; which is in the following words:

"And be it further enacted, that if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly or willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing, any *false scandalous* and *malicious* writing or writings, against the government of the United States, or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States; *with intent* to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President; or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States; or to excite any unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States; or to resist, oppose or defeat any such law or act; or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs, of any foreign nation, against the United States, their people or government; then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States, having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."

The 3d section provides "That if any person shall be prosecuted under this act, for the writing or publishing any libel aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence, in his defence, the *truth* of the matter contained in the publication charged as a libel. And the jury who shall try the cause, shall have a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases."

The 4th and last section limits the duration of the act to the fourth day of March, 1801.

Such, my dear Sir, are the purport and provisions of two acts against which so great an outcry has been raised, and such pains have been taken to excite a storm of public prejudice and indignation. When you shall have compared these provisions with the reasonings for and against them which are contained in the enclosed address, I trust that you will not only find them constitutional, but proper and expedient. A motion has been made, and is now depending, to repeal the acts; but I do not believe it will succeed. In a few days it will be decided. In the mean time a report, proving their constitutionality

and utility, has been made by a committee of the house, of which I shall forward some copies as soon as the decision takes place.[1]

Congress has, as yet, resolved on no important measures except the encrease of the Navy,[2] and the continuation, for one year longer, of the suspension of commercial intercourse with France.[3] The naval armament set on foot pursuant to the acts passed previous to the present session, consisted of six frigates of 44 guns each, two of 36 guns, and one of 32; eighteen sloops of war, of from 18 to 24 guns each; four galleys; and eight cutters, of from 8 to 14 guns each; in all 39 vessels of war. Of this number there have been completed, and are now at sea, two frigates of 44 guns, and one of 36; three sloops of 18, three of 20, and three of 24 guns each; 8 revenue cutters, and three galleys. The rest are on the stocks; and it is supposed that the whole number will be at sea by the middle of this year. It is found from experience that sailors are plenty and readily engaged.

By returns up to the 10th of last month it appears, that since private ships were permitted to arm, which is about 7 or 8 months, 263 armed merchant ships had then sailed from five ports only; viz. Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and Salem. Making a proportional allowance for other ports, and for the vessels armed since the date of the returns, we may safely compute the whole number at 350, with 7 or 8 guns each on an average; which makes the whole number of guns amount to 2625. This, of itself, is a very formidable and efficacious force for the defence of trade.

The happiest effect has been already experienced from these public and private exertions. The privateers have wholly disappeared from our coasts. Their number has greatly decreased in the West-Indies. Captures are comparatively few. And the price of insurance on vessels and cargoes has fallen one half. The saving on insurance alone is at the rate of nine million of dollars annually; which is more than twice as much as the whole maritime preparations have cost. The pecuniary embarrassments of the merchants are no longer heard of; commercial spirit and enterprize, which were so greatly depressed, have sprung up anew; and the price of produce is again on the rise. Such have been the effects of the measures adopted for the protection of commerce and the defence of the country.

Encouraged by these happy consequences, and convinced that a navy is the best, the cheapest, and the most efficacious defence for this country, Congress, during the present session, have passed an act for building, in addition to our present maritime force, six ships of the line, to carry not less than 74 guns each, and six sloops of war of

[1] Report of a committee of the House, Chauncey Goodrich chairman, on the Alien and Sedition laws, Feb. 21, 1799. "Am. St. P., Misc.", I, 181–184.

[2] This act did not pass the House until Feb. 11, and the Senate Feb. 19. It was approved Feb. 25. "Annals", 5 Cong., 3 sess., 2883, 2225; c. 13.

[3] Approved Feb. 9; c. 2.

not less than 18 guns each. They are all to be prepared and sent to sea as soon as possible.

Provision has also been made for establishing suitable dock-yards for the navy; and two hundred thousand dollars have been appropriated for the purchase of ship timber, and of land containing it.[1] This will enable us to secure such valuable timber as is not yet wanted; and when the timber is cut, the land may be sold for the benefit of the public.

Progress is making in raising the army which was voted at last session; but care is taken, at the same time, to avoid expence, by forbearing to bring it into the field sooner than it may be wanted. It will be raised, I believe, with great ease.

Our measures have not only had a very happy effect in protecting and reviving our trade; but have also produced a change in the conduct of France: not a change in her measures, or her system; for her decrees against our commerce are all continued in force, and her privateers still take as many of our vessels as they can catch; but in her behaviour, which instead of being insolent and overbearing, as heretofore, has become complaisant and moderate. In short, having discovered that we would not be frightened, she is now trying to coax us. After sending away Gen. Pinckney and Gen. Marshall, whom she found too firm and too enlightened to be either intimidated or deceived, she did all in her power to draw Mr. Gerry, of whom she had better hopes, into a separate negociation; which it was evidently her design, from the propositions which she made, to spin out to an endless length, while she might keep us unarmed, and proceed, in the mean time, to destroy our commerce and our resources, and to raise up a party among us against the government. Being defeated in this scheme by the recal of Mr. Gerry, she has lately signified, through our minister in Holland,[2] that she is ready to receive a Minister from us, in a proper manner, and to renew the negociation on the terms which our Commissioners offered in vain.[3] It is the President's intention to meet this advance, and to omit no opportunity that may offer of settling the dispute on safe and honourable terms: but Congress, taking warning from the perfidious conduct of France towards other countries, has resolved not to be the dupe of her artifices on this occasion, nor to relax, in any degree, from its measures of defence, till justice is done for the past and a fair prospect afforded of security for the future. While we persist in this wise policy, of

[1] Approved Feb. 25; cc. 15, 16.

[2] William Vans Murray (1762–1803), minister to the Netherlands, 1797–1799.

[3] See letters of William Vans Murray, "Annual Report of the American Historical Association", 1912, 463–486, passim; also Pickering Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.), XXIII, 99, 125; XXV, 219, 226; "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", II, 241–244; "Works of John Adams", VIII, 680–691, IX, 262–266; also diary, p. 443, note 2.

keeping the sword unsheathed in one hand and presenting the olive branch with the other, we shall be in no danger. If we depart from it, and suffer ourselves to be lulled into security by any appearances of a conciliatory spirit which France may hold out, we shall share the fate of so many nations, whom she has destroyed more by her deceitful artifices than by the force of her arms.

Her change of conduct towards us, though it certainly would not have taken place had not we displayed the spirit and the means of resistance, must, however, be attributed, in part, to her late ill success in Europe. Last summer Buonaparte sailed from France with a large fleet, and an army of forty thousand men. His destination was most carefully concealed. He escaped the English fleets which were sent to watch him, and arrived at Malta, which he seized and plundered. Thence he proceeded on his voyage, and at length arrived on the coast of Egypt. The English fleet had been there in search of him, and left it three days before. He landed, and seized on the sea-ports and the adjoining country, leaving his fleet in a strong and advantageous position. It consisted of 13 ships of the line and 4 frigates. Soon afterwards the English returned, with an inferior fleet, and attacked the French with such skill and boldness, that they took or destroyed their whole fleet, except two ships of the line and two frigates, which fled and escaped.

This blow was followed by other important successes. In the mean time the Turks, to whom Egypt belongs, offended at the invasion of it by France, have declared war against her.[1] The Russians have done so likewise. A strong Turkish and Russian fleet has joined the English; the Russians have sent sixty thousand men to assist the Emperor of Germany if France will not make peace on reasonable terms; and the Turks have dispatched a powerful army to attack Buonaparte in Egypt. His present situation there is very uncertain, no authentic accounts respecting it having been received for a long time. It appears that he easily marched through the country and took the large towns; but the people, who are very warlike, were everywhere in arms against him, and harrassed him incessantly. The probability is that his army, cut off by the destruction of his fleet, from all hope of recruits or supplies from Europe, and gradually wasted by these perpetual combats and by the diseases of the climate, which is very sickly, will finally meet with the fate which Burgoyne and Cornwallis experienced in this country.

It now appears probable that his object was, after securing Egypt, to pass thence to the East Indies and there attack the British possessions.

[1] Turkey had signed the treaty of alliance with Russia Dec. 23, 1798, that with Great Britain Jan. 5, 1799.

Since this defeat, the French have met with another disaster by sea. They sent a fleet, with seven or eight thousand troops on board, to assist the Irish insurgents; but the English fell in with it and took or destroyed every vessel, except one frigate. This was a death blow to the insurgents; who, according to the last accounts, are intirely suppressed; except some detached bands of robbers that had escaped, and still infested certain parts of the country. A body of eleven or twelve hundred men which, with some supplies of arms and ammunition and a number of officers, they contrived some time before to throw into Ireland, was taken by the British troops. From the confessions of the leaders of this insurrection, it appears to have been instigated and upheld by France, for the purpose of dividing and destroying the British power.[1]

The unheard of tyranny of the Directory, in the mean time, has produced a strong and general spirit of revolt in some of the conquered countries, and in France itself. This has broken out into open insurrection in Belgium,[2] where the people have fought many battles against the French troops, and sometimes with success. The event is not yet known.

Thus employed at home and abroad, the Directory will hardly have the means of invading us; nor do I think that they will attempt it, provided we keep up our preparations and continue to display a firm countenance. Should we be induced, by any deceitful appearance held forth by them, to relax and sink into careless security, they will think us an easy prey and, no doubt, attempt to devour us.

There are many other particulars, my dear Sir, both of a foreign and domestic nature, which, I am persuaded, it would be agreeable to you to know; but having already made this letter so long, I must defer them to my next, which will be written immediately after the adjournment of Congress. In the mean time, I remain, with great regard

Your friend and humble servant.

Harper to his Constituents.[3]

Philadelphia, *March 20th, 1799.*

My Dear Sir: According to my promise, in my letter of February 10th, I now present you with a sketch of the principal acts of Congress during the session which closed on the 3d instant, and of the state of public affairs at the present moment.

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[1] The two expeditions referred to are that of the fleet under Commodore Bompard, broken up in October, 1798, and that of the force under General Humbert, which landed in Ireland but was captured at Ballinamuck Sept. 8.

[2] See letter of William Vans Murray in "Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.", 1912, 487.

[3] The Charleston City Gazette for Apr. 7, 1799, contains comments on this letter copied from Porcupine's Gazette.

In that letter I mentioned that a vote had passed for adding to our present navy six ships of the line of 74 guns each, and six sloops of war of 18 guns each. This vote afterwards passed into a law, and the building of the ships will speedily commence. The measure was founded on a conviction that the commerce of this country, which is the great source of our revenue, and essential to the encouragement and prosperity of our agriculture, cannot exist without a maritime protection. This conviction is not only supported by general reasoning, and the experience of all nations, but is fully confirmed by the experiment which we have made; for before we began to arm, our commerce was in a state of depression which indicated approaching ruin; at present it is flourishing and prosperous in a very high degree. The saving on insurance alone is estimated, on fair principles of calculation, at nine millions of dollars per annum; independently of the decrease of captures, which have been comparatively few since we began to defend our vessels, and suffer them to defend themselves. The sum expended, before the beginning of this year, towards equipping and preparing for sea the naval armament heretofore provided for, and supporting such part of it as was sent to sea in the course of the last year, amounted to about 3,350,000 dollars. For compleating that armament one million more is appropriated. For the support of the whole establishment, during the present year, including the marines, the revenue cutters, and the six additional sloops of war provided for by the late act, the appropriation is something less than 2,350,000 dollars. The expence of building and equipping those six sloops of war, and the six seventy-fours, will be not quite 2,350,000 dollars. These sums, added together, make an aggregate of 9,050,000 dollars. Whence it appears, that the saving made by our defensive measures in the article of insurance alone, without calculating the diminution of captures, the benefits resulting from the encreased spirit and activity of commerce, and the consequent rise in the price of produce, is sufficient, in one year, to pay for the whole naval armament which has produced this effect, to support it for a year, to build six ships of the line, and to build and support six 18 gun sloops. When this whole navy is complete, the annual expence of maintaining it, in time of war, will be about 3,650,000 dollars. In peace, the ships will be laid up and will cost very little. So that if we suppose the protection to be afforded by it, in its perfect state, to be only as efficacious as that now derived from the part of it which is actually in service, this protection will pay for the expence, and leave a balance of five millions annually to the nation. In addition to this, we shall be respected by foreign nations; and our citizens, finding themselves protected in their lawful pursuits by the government of their country, will prosecute their enterprises with vigour and spirit:

whence must naturally result a high degree of public and private prosperity.

It has been sometimes said that this mode of calculation is unfair; because the saving in insurance, and captures, is a saving to the merchants alone; whereas the expence of a fleet is to be borne by the nation at large. But it is not true that the saving is to the merchants alone. To say that it is to the consumers alone, would be much nearer the truth. The merchant will have his profits on his goods, whether they come high or low to him; and this profit, together with the original price, the consumer must pay. If insurance rise from seven per cent to fifteen per cent. the additional eight per cent. is laid on the price of the goods, and they come eight per cent higher to the consumer. If it falls from fifteen to seven per cent. the goods come eight per cent. cheaper. The saving, therefore, like the loss from a rise, though first felt by the merchant, goes finally to the consumers; that is to the nation at large. If the nation, therefore, by expending four millions annually in the support of a navy, can prevent insurance from rising to 15 per cent. from seven, or can lower it from 15 to seven, it prevents itself from being taxed to the amount of nine millions instead of four, and saves five millions by the bargain.

When we reflect, moreover, on the advantages of a navy, we are not to consider merely the expence, but the situation in which we should be without the navy. No farmer hesitates, on account of the expense or trouble, to make a fence round his fields. He considers that without a fence, his whole crop must be lost, his plantation ruined, and with it his credit and his family.

In order to facilitate these naval preparations, laws have passed to authorize the building of docks, and the procuring of ship timber. Fifty thousand dollars are appropriated for the first object, and two hundred thousand for the second. Towards building the six seventy-fours, and the additional sloops of war, one million is appropriated; which is supposed to be as much as can be expended on them in the course of this year.

In my last I stated, that of the naval force formerly provided for, there had been then equipt and sent to sea, two frigates of 44 guns, and one of 36; three sloops of 18, three of 20, and three of 24 guns each; eight cutters, and three gallies. No others have since gone to sea, though several are nearly ready. Those in service are, at present, in different parts of the West Indies; where they are employed in convoying our merchant vessels, and keeping the French privateers in port. One of them, the *Constellation*, of 36 guns and 307 men, lately performed a very handsome exploit, which cannot fail to have a very happy effect upon the character and future conduct of our navy. She came up with the French frigate the *Insurgente*, a very

fine vessel of 40 guns and 409 men, which was cruising for American ships, and had lately captured a small armed vessel of the United States. This ship of such superior force she took, after an engagement of an hour and a quarter, in which the French had 29 men killed, and 46 wounded; and the Americans one killed and three wounded.[1]

Since this affair, another of our frigates, the *United States*, has sunk a French privateer in the West Indies, which had taken many of our merchant vessels; but the crew was saved. It is reported, and I believe with truth, that the same frigate has lately taken another privateer, and retaken a British merchant ship which she had captured.[2] This is returning the favor which the British have so often done us; for they have retaken and released very many of our ships.

In my last I mentioned, that the number of private ships armed in the United States, since permission was given for that purpose, was computed at 350, carrying in the whole 2625 guns. By authentic returns it since appears, that the number is 365, carrying 2723 guns, and 6845 men. This private armament is still going on with great vigour; and instances of its efficiency in protecting trade, daily occur.

Amidst these maritime exertions, preparations by land have not been neglected; but as the danger in that quarter is less threatening, the greatest and most expensive part of those preparations is left dependant on circumstances. The army voted at the former session will be raised, unless the state of things should materially change for the better; and arrangements are made for that purpose: but the large additions which Congress has provided for in the last session, are not to take place, unless "in case war should break out between the United States and a foreign European power; or in case *imminent* danger of invasion of their territory by any such power, shall, in the opinion of the President, be discovered to exist." In either of those cases, he is authorised to raise twenty-four additional regiments of infantry, one regiment and one battalion of riflemen, a battalion of artillery, and three regiments of cavalry; or such part of the whole force as he shall judge necessary. The present army is also to be increased, in that case, to a war establishment; which almost doubles the number of privates in each regiment. The whole regular force, therefore, that may be raised in case of war amounts to about fifty thousand men, exclusive of volunteers and militia.

That this additional force may speedily be raised, at any moment when it is wanted, the President is further authorised to proceed immediately to the appointment of all the officers; a business which, in so extensive a country, from every part of which it is proper to make selections, has been found, from experience, to be attended with

[1] Feb. 9, 1799, Capt. Thomas Truxtun. Maclay, "Hist. of the Navy", I, 177.

[2] The reference is apparently to the capture of the *Tartufe*, the *Bonaparte*, and the *Cicero*, British, Feb. 26, 1799.

much difficulty and delay. But the officers being once appointed and properly organized, the enlistments may commence at any moment, when occasion shall require the force to be actually raised. The officers, however, are not to receive pay till called into actual service: and the authority to raise this eventual army is to expire at the end of the next session of Congress. The number of volunteers which the President may accept, pursuant to former acts, is limited to about seventy-six thousand, who are to be divided among the states in proportion to their respective population. The act for making a draft of militia to be held in readiness, expired at the end of the session and was not renewed; it being considered that this draft was attended with some trouble and expense to the militia, and did not, in fact, put them in a better state for service; for which reason it was thought best to leave the matter to the President: who is empowered by the constitution and the laws to call out such portions of the militia, in case of need, as circumstances may render necessary.

It was objected by some, that since there is now less danger of invasion than heretofore, and the French government had exhibited some appearances of a disposition to settle its differences with us in an amicable manner, this eventual authority to raise a large army was unnecessary and improper: but it was answered, and in my opinion with perfect truth and good sense, that if there was, in fact, no danger of invasion, the measure could do no harm, since in that case no troops could be raised; that the best method of preventing danger, was to be prepared in time and always on our guard; that if the French were sincerely desirous of a reasonable accommodation, this precautionary measure could not obstruct it; and that if they were not sincerely desirous, but meant only to amuse us, to put us off our guard and to gain time, the best method of counteracting their schemes and inspiring them with a sincere disposition for peace and justice, would be to go on with our preparations, provide for the worst, and let them see that we were not to be over-reached by their "diplomatic skill" now, any more than we were intimidated by their threats last year. In short, that the best way to gain peace, is to be prepared for war.

In the mean time, the measures agreed to last year, for providing arms and military stores, and fortifying the ports and harbours, are pressed into execution with vigour; and considerable progress is already made.

These are all the additions which have been made to the measures of defence formerly adopted.

The act for suspending all commercial intercourse with France and her dominions, has been continued in force for one year longer; but the President is authorised to restore the commercial intercourse

immediately, with such particular parts of those dominions as he may judge proper. This authority was given on account of a disposition, manifested by the persons in authority in some of the French Islands, to desist from privateering on our vessels; provided the trade of the United States, of which they are in most pressing need, since they depend on it for their supplies of provisions, should be restored to them. As the suspension of commercial intercourse was resorted to by congress, as a mean of bringing these people to a sense of propriety, and protecting our trade from their depredations, there could be no reason to continue it after these objects should be attained. An arrangement for these purposes, it is supposed, will be made with some of the French Islands, especially St. Domingo.

The French government having lately passed an edict, by which all neutral sailors found on board of British ships of war or merchantmen, *though carried there by force*, are rendered liable to execution as *pirates*, Congress, justly considering the measure as levelled chiefly at us, since it is our sailors who on account of similarity of language and other circumstances are most frequently found in British ships, passed a law authorizing the President, in case the edict should be executed on any of our sailors previously impressed on board of British ships of war, to retaliate on any French prisoners who may be in our power.[1] The British had before declared that they would retaliate if the edict should be executed in any case whatever. This threat is said to have produced its suspension, though not its repeal. For the sake of humanity we hope that the French will refrain from its execution.

While Congress was employed on these measures relating to our external affairs, it did not neglect the internal regulations which the public good required. An act was passed for consolidating into one act, and amending, all the various acts respecting the collection of duties on imports and tonnage.[2] This was a work of much labour and much utility. Considerable progress was made in a similar digest of the laws respecting duties on stills and domestic distilled spirits; which is much wanted, and will probably be finished next session. The acts respecting stamp duties were revised and amended.[3] A general revision and amendment of the post-office system took place.[4] The act for the valuation of lands and dwelling houses was revised, and that part of it which required a return of the number and dimensions of windows was repealed; as being

[1] The decree of Oct. 29, 1798, see "Annals", 5 Cong., 3 sess., 2796; for the retaliatory measure, which passed the House Mar. 2, see ibid., 3052, 3955; approved, Mar. 3; c. 45.

[2] Approved Mar. 2, 1799; c. 22.

[3] Approved Feb. 28; c. 17.

[4] Approved Mar. 2; c. 18.

more troublesome and disagreeable to individuals, than useful for promoting the objects of the act.[1] The regulations for the preservation of health, and the prevention of contagious diseases, were extended and enforced.[2] Acts were passed for the government of the navy and the better organization of the army.[3] And a general bankrupt act was digested considered and matured; which, though rejected by a small majority, is now in such a state as to be brought forward at next session with good prospects of success.[4]

An attempt was made to repeal the alien and sedition acts; founded chiefly on their supposed unconstitutionality, and supported by petitions from various parts of the country. But as Congress, after the maturest examination, found no reason to doubt about their constitutional power to pass those acts, and the particular circumstances which induced them to exercise that power have by no means ceased, it was thought inexpedient to consent to the repeal, and the motion was rejected.[5] The reasons whereon this rejection was founded, are detailed and enforced in a report of a select committee which was published, and of which I forwarded some copies to the district.[6] The acts, if not renewed, will expire of themselves in one year from this time. Their renewal will depend on the state of things at next session. The alien act, I believe, it will be proper to renew, unless circumstances should greatly alter; for there ought always, in times of danger, to exist a power of apprehending mischievous or suspected aliens, and of sending them out of the country: more especially when we have to deal with an enemy which works more by intrigues than by open force. But the sedition act is less necessary; for there is no doubt that everything which it makes penal may be punished, with much more severity, by the common law of the land; and its only use was to declare that law, to render it more generally known, and to restrict it in some particulars where it was thought to go too far. By the common law the courts could fine and imprison, and to any extent, and for libels and persons indicted for such offences could not plead the truth of the matter in their defence. By the act, the truth of the matter may be pleaded; and the power of fine and imprisonment is restricted to two years and two thousand dollars. If it should become necessary, therefore, to restore the common law, in this respect, to its ancient rigour, the act must be suffered to expire.

An increase was made in the salaries of certain officers employed in the executive departments, and by their duties obliged to reside

[1] Approved Feb. 28; c. 20. For Harper's committee report on amendments to the system of valuation, see "Am. St. P., Finance", I, 601–602.

[2] Approved Feb. 25; c. 12.

[3] Mar. 2 and 3; cc. 24, 48.

[4] The act was rejected Jan. 15. "Annals", 5 Cong., 3 sess., 2676–2677.

[5] Feb. 25. Ibid., 2985–3016.

[6] See p. 77, note 1.

constantly in this city.[1] Those salaries were, for the most part, fixt nine years ago, when every article of life was nearly one-half cheaper, in the great towns, than at present. Consequently, they had become inadequate, as appeared from the most undoubted information, to the support of the officers and their families; who were obliged to live upon their own property while employed wholly in the public service; and, if not men of fortune, were reduced to great difficulties. Hence, a great discouragement to good public servants, a great temptation to those who have under their control vast sums of public money, and a great difficulty in finding men properly qualified, in respect of talents and character, for filling up the vacancies which from time to time occur. Congress, therefore, judged it true economy to put these useful and necessary officers more at their ease, by adding something to their salaries; and in my opinion it judged wisely. But as the public has, at present, great occasion for money, the encrease was small and confined solely to those officers whose duties oblige them to reside constantly at the seat of government. The whole amount of the different augmentations was no more than eleven thousand five hundred dollars per annum; a most inconsiderable sum when compared with the importance of the object and the resources of the nation. The augmentation is for three years only; to be continued or not, at the end of that period, according to circumstances.

I spoke, in my last, of the general prosperity of our trade; which has recovered from its late depression and continues to flourish with encreasing vigour. The revenue of the last year was greater than it had been estimated at the beginning of the year; and exceeded that of the former year, instead of falling below it; as, from the depredations on our commerce, and its consequent stagnation, there was reason to apprehend. The exports too have considerably encreased during the last year; in 1797, they were 51,294,710 dollars; and in 1798, 61,327,411; in 1791, on the contrary, they amounted to no more than 18,399,202—so that, in one year, they have encreased a fifth, and more than trebled in eight years.

Our shipping also, notwithstanding the great number of vessels which have been captured, has encreased very considerably. In 1794, we owned 628,617 tons of shipping; in 1797 it had encreased to 831,900 tons; and at the commencement of 1798, we had 876,912 tons. From 1790 to 1796, inclusive, the foreign shipping employed in our trade, had decreased from 250,748 tons to 46,846; which decrease was occasioned, and replaced, by the great increase of our own shipping.

For two years preceding 1798 our revenue, from commerce, encreased at the rate of a million annually, or one-sixth, without an encrease of duties: last year it encreased very little, on account of

[1] Approved Mar. 2; c. 33.

the unprotected state of our trade. From 7,355,688 dollars, its product in 1797, it rose in 1798 to 7,405420 only; and this small encrease must be attributed in part though not wholly, to a small augmentation of duties which began to operate upon the revenue in the course of last year. But as our trade has now revived, in consequence of the protection afforded to it, we may reasonably expect that the revenue will regain its former state of rapid encrease.

Our situation with France still remains as it was when I wrote last. When the French government found that gen. Pinckney and gen. Marshall could not be inticed or frightened into terms disgraceful to the country, that its schemes with respect to Mr. Gerry were baffled by his recal, and that the American government and nation, instead of crouching at its feet through weakness and division, as so many other countries had done to their utter ruin, repelled its attacks, despised its threats, and were preparing, with vigour and system, to defend by arms the rights and honour of the country, it all at once changed its tone, and professed a great willingness to treat, our attempts at which it had so lately spurned; an anxious desire to avert a quarrel, which before it sought by every possible injury; and the most friendly sentiments towards a country which it had plundered and insulted for years together. One of Mr. Talleyrand's clerks[1] was dispatched to Holland, under pretence of acting as secretary to the French minister there, but in reality to open an informal communication with our minister. He threw himself in the way of our minister, and having entered into conversations with him respecting the state of affairs between the two countries, he wrote an account of those conversations to Mr. Talleyrand. Mr. Talleyrand wrote him letters in reply, which he was allowed to shew to the American minister. These letters, of which he even gave our minister copies, were filled with professions of friendship for the United States, of regret at the existing differences, and of willingness and even anxiety to enter into negociations for their removal. The copies which our minister received he transmitted to the President.[2]

Hypocrites very often, in their abundant cunning, over-reach themselves; and so it happened to the French government in this instance. We could be at no loss to discover the drift of all this sudden mildness and apparent good nature, when we considered that it was accompanied by no substantial change of measures towards us; but that, on the contrary, the French continued in force all their laws against our trade, took as many of our vessels as possible, and even in the midst

[1] Louis André Pichon, afterward French chargé d'affaires in the United States. In reality, he was at this time secretary of legation in Holland. See William Vans Murray to Adams, "Annual Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.", 1912, 462 ff.

[2] See p. 78, note 3.

of all these fair pretences, passed the atrocious and bloody edict, for hanging as pirates all our sailors who might be found in British ships, though carried and kept there by force. But lest all this evidence, joined to the numerous examples of cruel and studied perfidy which France had displayed towards other nations, especially the Swiss whom she destroyed by similar arts, should not be sufficient to put us on our guard against her wiles, she took a step which served, in the strongest manner, to manifest her intentions. This correspondence with our minister in Holland,[1] which was carried on with the greatest apparent mystery, and transmitted to the President with particular and unusual precautions, was nevertheless sent, doubtless by Mr. Talleyrand's order, for his clerk would not of himself have ventured on such a step, to a gazette in this city, which is notoriously in the interest, and suspected on good grounds of being in the pay, of the French government;[2] and in that gazette it was published. From hence alone, without other proofs, it would be manifest that the whole was a trick, contrived and executed for the sole purpose of producing an effect upon the people of America, of lulling this country by the hopes of peace and accommodation into a fatal repose, of encreasing our divisions, of furnishing the French party with pretences for opposing all our measures of defence and preparation, and of raising a clamour against the government if it should refuse to listen to this insidious overture.

Congress, however, did not fall into so very obvious a snare; but continued to pursue its system of defence and preparation with unabated vigour. But as these letters contained a declaration that the French government was ready to receive, in a proper and becoming manner, any minister whom the President might authorize to treat respecting an accommodation; and as Mr. Talleyrand's permission to shew the letters to our minister, and to give him copies for the purpose of being transmitted to our government, might be considered as an advance towards reconciliation on the part of the French government; the President thought it proper to meet this advance, and for that purpose appointed three ministers who were approved by the senate. These ministers are Oliver Elsworth chief justice of the United States, Patrick Henry formerly governor of Virginia, and Mr. Murray at present minister of the United States in Holland.[3] They are not to leave this country, till they receive regular and

[1] The words "between Mr. Talleyrand's clerk and" were struck out by Harper, as were also, "and transmitted to the President with particular and unusual precautions," the word "with" being substituted for the former phrase.

[2] The Aurora of Feb. 12 and 25 had referred to Talleyrand's letters to Murray and Pichon and the issue of Mar. 2 published Talleyrand's letter to Pichon with Adams's message to the Senate.

[3] Murray had been nominated Feb. 18, Ellsworth and Henry Feb. 25. Henry declined to serve and William R. Davie, a Federalist of North Carolina, was appointed in his stead. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 313, 317, 326.

formal assurances from the French government that they will be properly received, and that ministers, duly authorized, will be appointed on the part of France to treat with them.

Thus stands this affair. The sincerity of the Directory in this pretended wish for reconciliation, may be judged of from the circumstances which I have mentioned, and from an additional fact which I have authority to state on the most accurate and undoubted information. It is this:

Some time ago the Directory sent to St. Domingo, their principal West-India possession, an agent of the name Hedouville.[1] This man, on his arrival, made some professions of justice and amicable conduct towards the United States; but he soon equalled, and even exceeded, his predecessors in depredations on our commerce.—Last summer, while Mr. Gerry was still in Paris, and the Directory was employing every artifice to keep him there, and to draw him into an endless negociation, Hedouville was preparing to invade the southern states from St. Domingo, with an army of blacks; which was to be landed with a large supply of officers arms and ammunition, to excite an insurrection among the negroes by means of missionaries previously sent, and first to subjugate the country by their assistance, and then plunder and lay it waste. For the execution of this humane and friendly scheme, he waited only till the English should evacuate a certain port in the island which lay most convenient for the expedition; but he was interrupted by a black general of the name of Toussaint, who drove him from the island, compelled him to embark for France, and took the whole authority into his own hands.

This scheme came to our knowledge in the following manner. A very rich ship from the East-Indies, valued at nearly seven hundred thousand dollars, was taken last summer by one of Hedouville's privateers. The owners, merchants of this town, employed a man of honour and character, well known here and well acquainted in the West-Indies, to go and endeavour to purchase the ship at a low rate. He went to St. Domingo for that purpose; and, while there, conversed with some of the black officers who were to be employed in the expedition. As he spoke their language well, he was led to cultivate an acquaintance with them; and from them, in their moments of conviviality, he learned the project. I have it from him, through a person of the highest confidence.

Hence may we learn to appreciate the professions of the French government; and the wisdom or honesty of those counsellors, who perpetually tell us that there is no danger of an invasion from France, and no need to prepare against such an event.

[1] Gabriel Marie Joseph Théodore, Count d'Hédouville (1755–1825), was made governor of Santo Domingo in 1797. He was driven from the island about two years later by Toussaint l'Ouverture, who had been made commander-in-chief of the French forces on the island in 1796.

Respecting the state of affairs abroad our accounts are still various and uncertain. It is, however, certain, that the king of Naples[1] has renewed the war against the French in Italy; and, from his manner of doing it, there is little doubt of his acting in concert with the Austrians, whose movements for some time past have indicated hostile designs. Very direct though unofficial accounts have been received, of a complete victory over the French, by a part of the army of the king of Naples. The French, it is said, were 20,000 to 25000, and defeated with 5000 killed and taken. Should this be true, and there is some reason to believe it from the manner in which the account comes, it may be considered as the forerunner of a general war and great events. It has been the usual fortune of the French to overrun countries by their impetuosity, and hold them for a while; and then to be as suddenly driven out. It is not improbable that the same fate awaits them now; and this defeat by the troops of Naples, if the account of it be true, may be considered as the commencement of their downfal.

The accounts respecting the destruction of Buonaparte and his army, have neither been confirmed as yet, nor contradicted. I always considered his destruction as very certain, from the moment when he was left, without hope of recruit or supply, in the midst of an hostile and unhealthy country, where we know that his army suffered every want and hardship, and whose inhabitants, by his own account, fought him perpetually and with great bravery. At any rate he is lost to France; for, cut off as he is by the loss of his fleet from all hope of return or communication, he cannot assist her in the new struggle wherein she seems to be on the point of engaging. This cannot fail to have a very considerable effect on her success. The terror of his name was an host; and he has with him not only her best troops, but a great number of her best officers. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to conjecture how she may act towards us. I have no doubt, however, that she will attempt to disarm us by deceitful appearances, and professions of a wish to negociate; but I neither believe that she will keep peace with us if we disarm, even should she make one, nor attempt to strike us while we remain on our guard. Our wisdom, I cannot repeat it too often, consists in a state of watchful and vigorous preparation. She assumes an air of mildness for the present; as she did towards the Swiss before she was prepared to strike the fatal blow; but we ought never to forget that "The Tyger always crouches before he leaps on his prey."

The Russians and Turks, it seems, have conceived and expressed a wish to be on friendly terms with us, and to form treaties of com-

[1] Ferdinand IV (1751–1825). Harper's information here was certainly not correct. The French had defeated the Neapolitans early in the year 1799 and the Parthenopean Republic had been proclaimed Jan. 23.

merce. The President has thought fit, and very wisely as far as I can judge, to cultivate this disposition; from which great advantages in the trade of those nations may accrue to us. He has, therefore, directed our minister in England[1] to treat with the Russian minister[2] on the subject; and our minister in Portugal[3] to repair to Constantinople for the same purpose. This advance, on the part of those remote but powerful nations, is a pleasing proof of the encreasing importance and respectability of our country.

I find that in speaking of our domestic affairs, I have omitted one circumstance of great importance and a most satisfactory nature; as it shews, in a very striking manner, the stability of public credit, the confidence reposed in our government, and the extent of our financial resources. I mean the loan. Last year the President was impowered to borrow five millions of dollars for the public service. The money was not wanted last year, but in the course of this there will be need of it. A loan was therefore opened, and an interest of 8 per cent. offered. The subscription was kept open one day; in the course of which no less than fourteen millions eight hundred thousand dollars was subscribed; of which the public accepts five millions only. That sum together with the ordinary revenue, amounting to something more than ten millions, will be sufficient for all the expenses of the present year. Thus it appears that if the public had wanted fifteen millions instead of five, the money might have been procured.

Some persons have been of opinion that this money might have been borrowed on better terms. Perhaps it might: but it was better to offer a handsome interest, and make sure of success, than to risk a failure which must have had the most unfavourable effect on our affairs. In the mean time, a right is reserved to the government of paying off the whole loan at the end of ten years. Consequently, if circumstances should be favourable at that time, a new loan may be made, at a lower rate of interest, for the purpose of paying off this.

There are still, my dear Sir, many things which probably it would be agreeable to you to hear; but these appeared to me the most important; and as you must be pretty well tired by this time, as well as myself, I conclude, with presenting to you the respects and best wishes of

your very humble servant.

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[1] Rufus King (1755–1827), minister to England from 1796 until 1803.

[2] Count Vorontsov. King was nominated to negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia, Feb. 6, 1799, and the nomination ratified Feb. 7. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 310. For an account of the negotiations see Hildt, "Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia" (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXIV), 31–35; also "Correspondence of King," II, 463–464, 552–553, 568–570, III, 26–30, 141, 165.

[3] William Smith of South Carolina, minister to Portugal 1797–1801. He was nominated for the Turkish mission Feb. 8, 1799, and his nomination confirmed Feb. 11. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 311–312.

Bayard to Bassett.

Philadelphia, *25 Jany., 1800.*

Dear Sir: I feel that I have been guilty of some neglect in not writing to you oftener. But in the first place you know it is an employment I do not like and in the second my engagements of late have been such that I have been obliged to neglect even my wife.

The share I take in debate occupies me in the House of Representatives, and the Committees of which I am a member leave vacant but a small part of the rest of the day. Yesterday I had occasion to make a very long speech in defence of the report made by the Comee. appointed upon the message of the President of the 14 Inst. and Mr. Randolphs letter.[1] Our debates the day before were very warm on an amendment which I proposed to Mr. Macon's resolution for the repeal of the sedition Bill.[2] The Party would have had a complete triumph had it not been for the amendment. Their defeat was attended with much vexation and resentment.

We shall retain our system of defence. We mean however only to keep our ground and to advance no further. We shall suspend recruiting but maintain the military establishment as it now exists. The other measures of defence formerly adopted will be supported. The existing plan calls for more money than the amount of our revenue. A new loan will be necessary. It will not exceed however three millions.

We contemplate essential alterations in the judicial system. The Committee on the subject have gone no farther at present than to compare their different views. I can clearly perceive how the importance of our State is to be encreased by a new arrangement, and I shall certainly not neglect an opportunity of advancing the importance of little Delaware.

The Papers have communicated to you the late important news from Europe. The nature of the revolution which has taken place

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[1] John Randolph of Roanoke (1773–1833) was serving his first term in the House. His first speech in the House, in which he styled the army and navy a handful of ragamuffins, had given offense to a group of officers, who showed their indignation by rudeness to Randolph at a theater not long after. His indignant letter to the President, was referred to the House. "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 377–388, 426–507. For Bayard's speech see ibid., 431–441.

[2] Macon's resolution was as follows: *"Resolved,* That the second section of the act, passed the fourteenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, entitled 'an act in addition to the act, entitled "An act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States,"' ought to be repealed; and the offences therein specified shall remain punishable as at common law. Provided, that, upon any prosecution, it shall be lawful for the defendant to give in evidence, in his defence, the truth of the matter charged as a libel." Bayard moved this addition: "And the offences therein specified shall remain punishable as at common law; provided, that upon any prosecution it shall be lawful for the defendant to give in his defence the truth of the matters charged as a libel." "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 404–425.

in France does not clearly appear.[1] But that a revolution has taken place no one doubts but the Editor of the *Aurora*.[2] Tell Rodney[3] that Mr. Jefferson believes it, and therefore he need not discredit it.

It is not certain whether the revolution is in favor of Royalism or produces only a new modification of Jacobinism.

It is evident however that France is doomed to great sufferings. The storm which she has been endeavouring to drive over Europe seems ready to break upon her own head. Monarchy cannot be re-established without deluging the country with blood. And yet the nation must cast a longing eye to some port which can shelter them from the perpetual tempest of Jacobinism.

I have read your address to the Legislature which certainly has the merit of being well composed. I must shew the President what you say of him.[4] The old man loves to be tickled now and then.

I understand the Legislature have directed money to be invested in the 8 Pcent stock.

Nothing could be more indiscreet than to purchase any stock of the United States. If you make the U. States your Debtor, do you not remind her that she is Your creditor? I cannot express to you the strong sense I have of the folly of the measure.

I speak upon this subject from a better knowledge of the interest of the State than any man in it can have. The thing must not be done.

I must trust to Your looking after my affairs at Bohemia, for it is not in my power.

Bayard to Bassett.

Philada., *1 Feby., 1800.*

Dear Sir: Yesterday I received your letter of the 27 Ult. I perceive at the date my last had not reached you. I gave you an im-

[1] By the coup d'état of Nov. 9 (19 Brumaire) the Directory had fallen and Napoleon had become First Consul.

[2] William Duane (1760–1835) had become editor of the Aurora in 1795. See "Remarks" in the Aurora for Jan. 24, 1800.

[3] Caesar A. Rodney (1772–1824), Democratic member of Congress from Delaware 1803–1804, a member of the ways and means committee, and one of the managers in the impeachment of Judge Chase. From 1807 to 1811 he was attorney-general of the United States.

[4] For this address, which was delivered Jan. 10, 1800, see "Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware", 1798–1801, 10–15. Of Adams Bassett spoke as follows: "Notwithstanding the loss our country has sustained by the departure of our illustrious friend [Washington], yet I feel happy in observing that Providence has been, and still is kind to us as a nation. We are not left without a man who fears God, and works righteousness: A man eminently distinguished, tried, and beloved: Virtuous from principle, great in council, and firm in execution. Such a man I trust now presides over the United States, whose whole soul has been, and I believe still is, engaged in the support of the General Government, and the happiness of the people; and who, I have a firm confidence, hath marked the road, and will continue to walk therein, of his late highly favoured and exalted predecessor, which leads undoubtedly to immortality and eternal glory" (p. 11).

perfect sketch of the system of conduct congress was likely to adopt at its present Session.

For some days past we have been labouring very hard to carry thro the House our Bankrupt Bill.[1] The Antis have discovered that it will add strength to the federal compact, and they make every exertion to defeat it. It had like to have been lost upon the question of engrossing.

It was kept alive only by the casting vote of the Speaker[2] tho' Nicholas[3] (who will never forgive himself for the blunder) voted with us thro' civility. Since that we have been obliged to intrigue and negotiate in order to gain strength and we have not been without success.

Accommodation has been the worst instrument we have made use of. Gentlemen have been indulged with amendments which have half spoiled the Bill. But we are determined to have it upon any Terms we can get it.

It was unpleasant to learn the late conduct of your Legislature, and I was the more pained as my friend Ridgely was implicated in the charges the most discreditable. The thought of money oppresses his understanding. It obscures his views and absolutely debilitates his moral faculties. He can never be a Statesman. If the little plan of penury which he espouses were adopted only as a bait for popularity I should have hopes of him. But he is sincere, and the whole man must be changed, in order to effect a cure. If he ever comes into Congress he will support the Government in trifles while he cuts its sinews. I lament this part of Ridgely's character because I have great esteem for him as a Friend.[4]

I enclose the plans of a corn crib and barn furnished by Vickers. I submit the whole to you. If you approve of the plans and think the estimate reasonable you please to direct him to make arrangements for the buildings.

I designed to have written you a longer letter, but my friend General Lee[5] has paid me a long visit this morning and I am now obliged to dress for dinner being engaged out.

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[1] Bayard had, in January, 1798, served on a committee appointed to report a bankruptcy bill; in December, 1798, another committee had been appointed for the same purpose; again, on Dec. 5, 1799, Bayard was made chairman of a committee for this purpose. The bill was reported on Jan. 6, was debated Jan. 21 and 31, and passed the House Feb. 21 by the vote of the Speaker. "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 247, 388, 508, 534.

[2] Theodore Sedgwick (1746–1813) of Massachusetts, member of the House from 1789 to 1796, of the Senate from 1796 to 1799, when he returned to the House and was elected speaker.

[3] John Nicholas (1761–1819) of Virginia, member of the House from 1793 to 1801.

[4] This paragraph probably refers to the fact that the committee on claims had reported to the Delaware house of representatives, Jan. 21, advising that the claim of the governor for certain expenses be disallowed. Nicholas Ridgely (1762–1830), who had served as attorney-general of the state, was a member of this committee. "Journal of the Delaware House of Representatives", 1800, 51.

[5] Gen. Henry Lee (1756–1818), a member of Congress from 1799 to 1801.

With Love to Mrs. B.

P. S.—We shall make enquiries on the subject of the Portrait,[1] but how far will you go as to price? We must know this before we say a word. The work done by a Master cannot be expected for less than 100 to 150 guineas.

What will Ridgely say to this?

Bayard to Bassett.[2]

Philad., *March 8, 1800.*

Dear Sir: We have just taken the vote on Livingstones resolutions and have negatived them 61 to 34.[3]

I had an interview with Mr. Stewart,[4] the Limner this morning and the terms he insists on for a painting corresponding with the resolution are 600 dollars. He states it as his fixed price. The frame will cost additionally 150 dollars. The work cannot be completed in less than a year.

Let me hear from you on the subject before I leave Town.

I wrote to you this morning by the mail.

Harper to his Constituents.[5]

Philadelphia, *April 7th, 1800.*

My Dear Sir: As the most interesting intelligence at present, is that which relates to our Commissioners lately sent to France,[6] I thought it best to postpone writing till I could tell you something on that subject. This was not in my power till three days ago, when the first intelligence was received from them. It was brought by the frigate which carried them out. From these accounts it appears that they first touched at Lisbon, on the 27th of November last, for the purpose of gaining some intelligence about the state of things in Europe, and particularly in France; and that after being detained for some time at that port by contrary winds, they sailed for a French port on the 21st day of December. On their passage they met with head winds and storms, which at length obliged them to put into a port in Spain; where they arrived on the 11th of January

[1] The Delaware legislature had voted to purchase a portrait of Washington, Ridgely moving that the sum expended should not exceed $400. This motion, however, had been lost. "Journal of the House of Representatives of Delaware", 1800, 40.

[2] From the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, American Lawyers, vol. I.

[3] The resolutions censured the President for directing the judge of the district court of South Carolina to deliver Jonathan Robbins to the British government for trial for murder. The "Annals" give the vote as 61 to 35. "Annals" 6 Cong., 1 sess., 618–619.

[4] Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), who lived in Philadelphia from 1794 to 1803.

[5] Printed in the Charleston City Gazette, May 23, 1800.

[6] Ellsworth and Davie. They had sailed on the *United States.*

last. Immediately after their landing they dispatched an express to Paris, to give the French government an account of their arrival, and to request passports for enabling them to travel through France. After refreshing themselves for some days, they proceeded on their journey towards Paris through Spain; at a town of which called Burgos they met their express, with their passports, and a letter from the French government in very polite terms, informing them that they had been impatiently expected for a long time, and that the change which had lately happened in the French government;[1] would occasion no difficulty in their reception or negociations. From this town their letters were dated. They were to leave it about the 10th day of February, and will probably have reached Paris about the middle of March. Nothing further has been heard from them since, nor probably will be for some time to come.

It appears from this account, that the French government is disposed to treat this embassy with more civility than the former received at their hands; but whether they will be better disposed now than formerly, to do justice to our demands, and to make a fair settlement of the differences between us, remains yet to be tried. I am inclined to think that it will be the case; though the point is very doubtful. One thing, however, is in my opinion perfectly certain; namely that the change in their manners has been produced, altogether, by our spirited conduct and measures of defence and resistance: And that to a continuation of that conduct and those measures we must look for a change in their system. If we persevere in the same steps, they, I am persuaded, will do us justice and respect our rights. If, on the contrary, we recede and fall back, they will press on again with more violence than ever: for it is the nature of bullies to impose on the timid and feeble, and to forbear striking those who show a determination, to strike again.

Having alluded to the late change in the government of France, which is of a very singular nature, I will give you some account of it.

General Buonaparte, finding that there was nothing to be got in Egypt but hardships and gradual destruction, privately abandoned his army, which he left to shift for itself, and very unexpectedly, to the French government and nation at least, made his appearance in France. It is not improbable, however, that he had been secretly invited by some individuals, with a view to the objects which he afterwards accomplished. Having travelled in triumph to Paris and received the praises and congratulations of the French government, which most probably felt much better disposed to punish him if it had been able to do so, he proceeded to form a party of some members of the Directory and the two Councils, and to gain over a number of offi-

[1] See p. 94, note 1.

cers and troops who were in and about Paris. By the help of these associates, he, one morning, seized and imprisoned the members of the Directory who were not in the secret, and compelled them to resign. The others did so of their own accord. He then went to the Council of Ancients; from which he obtained a vote investing him with the whole military command in Paris and the neighbourhood, and adjourning the two Councils to a place some miles from the city. The object of this measure was to put the Council of Five Hundred, of which he was afraid, more completely in his power, by removing them from Paris, the populace of which might have supported them. Accordingly he attended with a military guard at the first meeting of that Council; and after making a speech to them, the amount of which was that they were a pack of fools and scoundrels, he gave the word "CHARGE" to his grenadiers, and drove out at the point of the bayonet all those who were not of his party. The rest soon re-assembled under his orders, and passed decrees whereby he, and a few of his associates, were invested in fact with absolute power; the two branches of the Legislature were adjourned to a distant day; many members were expelled, and a small number was selected from each Council to form a new constitution. It was not difficult to forsee, that the constitution formed by them would be of a nature to please general Buonaparte. Accordingly it soon made its appearance, and constituted him chief Consul of the *French Republic* for ten years, with a salary of one hundred thousand dollars, the absolute command of all the fleets and armies, the entire disposal of the public treasury, the appointment and removal of all officers of every kind, the whole executive authority, and the right of proposing all laws, to a body which, in substance and truth though not in name, is chosen by himself; which the people have not, even in name, a part in choosing; and which must accept or reject such laws as he may choose to offer to them, and none others, without the power even of proposing an amendment. This is the substance of the thing; though there is some fringe and tinsel stuck on to catch the eyes of the vulgar: And it is obvious that a despotism more complete never existed.

Such has been the issue of the famous French revolution; on the ruins of which, after more than ten years of agitation, anarchy, proscription, murder, pillage, and crimes of every name, kind, and degree and eight years of the most cruel extensive and bloody wars, civil or foreign and frequently both, we at length see a military usurper seated, with chains in one hand, the dagger in the other, and all law and right beneath his feet; invested with a power more absolute in effect than any king of France ever enjoyed; which he will be compelled by his situation and the state of things to exercise with iron-handed rigour; and which he will retain as long as he can

retain his life, his understanding, and his courage. I might indeed say his understanding and his courage; for while he retains them his life, I believe, will be in very little danger. When they fail him, and they have sometimes failed people who were suddenly raised to so great a height, he will be pushed from his seat by some new usurper, who will occupy it in his stead.

This government, however, is still called the "French Republic"; and General Buonaparte still begins his letters with the words "Liberty and Equality," and still talks, as gravely as Robespiere himself, about the "sovereignty of the people." He is thus far in the right, that France is as much a republic now as it ever was; for there never existed in it any thing republican but the name, and that still exists. There is also as much "Liberty and Equality" as there has ever been, and probably much more; for the people instead of being subject to the lawless and capricious despotism of a multitude of persons, a vast majority of whom, including the most energetic, active and influential, have generally been madmen or knaves, are now subject to the despotism of one man of sense, who may find it in his interest to govern well, and in his power to govern with steadiness. As for the "sovereignty of the people," they have at least as much of it as heretofore; for it is notorious that the government called at various times the "republic," has been a series of forcible or fraudulent usurpations, in the choice of which the people has never had a real effective voice, and very seldom even an apparent one. We know, indeed, that it has been acknowledged by some of the greatest admirers of the French revolution, and by one, in particular, who resided for some years in France and proved himself a faithful servant of the republic, "that the government, in that country was every thing and the people nothing." For my own part, I confess myself to be of opinion, that general Bounaparte's government is far the best for France, that has existed there within the last ten years, and that he deserves the thanks of his own country, and of the world, for its establishment: for I hold it to be an indisputable truth that whoever, by any means, suppresses an anarchical democratical despotism, which is the only description that I can give of the late French government, ought to be considered as a benefactor to mankind.

The lovers of true republicanism ought particularly to rejoice in this event; for such was the disgrace brought upon that kind of government by those who usurped the name and form of it in France, that there was great danger of a lasting and universal disgust being created against it, among the rational and virtuous part of mankind.

Whether General Buonaparte will pursue the policy of his predecessors towards foreign nations, or adopt a just and pacific system,

remains yet to be seen. He has talked much of peace, as each of them also did at the commencement of their careers, for the purpose of raising the hopes and securing the good wishes of the nation. Just as a man pats the neck of his horse, till he can get fast hold of the reins and well fixt in the saddle. Then come the whip and the spur. As Buonaparte's authority, however, is more likely to be permanent than that of his predecessors, it is more probable that he may find it in his power, and even in his inclination and interest, to make peace. At present every thing in Europe wears the appearance of continued war.

In the course of the last campaign, the French were totally defeated in Italy by the Austrians and Russians, and driven entirely out of that country. They also experienced severe defeats in Germany and Switzerland, in the early part of the campaign; but towards the close of it they regained their ground in Switzerland, where they were victorious. In Germany they still continue unsuccessful. The English and Russians also attacked them in Holland, where the former landed a considerable army, after capturing the whole Dutch fleet;[1] but the French, after many sharp actions and some defeats, were finally victorious; and compelled the English and Russian to abandon the country; and to release 8,000 French prisoners, for permission to do so without molestation.

Thus stand matters now. Both sides are preparing for another campaign. Should it take place, the probability of success, as it appears to me, is greatly against France.

With respect to our internal affairs and the proceedings of Congress, I shall defer any detail of them till near the close of the session, when I shall write again and when it will be in my power to give you a more complete view of those subjects than at present. I will, however, mention in the mean time, that a motion was made some time ago to disband the newly raised army; which I opposed for reasons that are explained in the enclosed speech on that subject.[2] The motion was rejected; on the ground that we ought not to diminish our means of defence in the moment of negociation, while it was yet uncertain to what attacks we might be exposed. But as it is a very desirable object to diminish the expences of government as much as possible, consistently with a due regard to the public safety and interest, an act was afterwards passed for suspending all further inlistments for that army, till the further order of Congress. By this means a million of dollars are saved in the expences of this

[1] The Duke of York's army seized the Dutch fleet anchored at the Texel late in August, 1799. After defeat by Brune at Bergen, the English and Russians evacuated Holland in October. (Convention of Alkmaar.)

[2] Harper spoke on the disbanding of the army Jan. 10, 1800. "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 325–350. The bill to suspend further enlistments passed the House Jan. 24. Ibid., 425.

year. If the negociation should succeed, the whole army will be disbanded, of course; and if it should fail, Congress will be again in session time enough to order the renewal of the inlistments.

I must also mention that our gallant naval commander, Truxton, has performed another very brilliant atchievement in the West-Indies. With the *Constellation* frigate, which carries but 36 guns and three hundred and forty men, he engaged, some time ago, a French ship of war of 54 guns and five hundred men, which he totally disabled, and would have taken, had not his own mast gone overboard so as to prevent him from pursuing his antagonist, at the very moment when the latter ceased his fire and betook himself to flight. There were fourteen men killed and twenty five wounded, on board the *Constellation*; and one hundred and fifty or sixty killed and wounded, on board the Frenchman. To reward this very gallant and well conducted action, and to encourage a similar spirit in the navy generally, Congress have requested the president to present Truxton with a gold medal emblematical of the engagement.[1] Adieu my dear Sir; accept my best wishes, and be assured that I am very sincerely

Yours, etc.

Bayard to John Hodge Bayard.[2]

Apr. 27, 1800.

[See Mallery, Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, "Papers of the Delaware Historical Society", VII, 68–70.]

Harper to his Constituents.[3]

Philadelphia, *May 15th, 1800.*

Yesterday, my dear sir, Congress adjourned, to meet on the third Monday in November at the city of Washington, henceforth the seat of the Federal Government. The public offices will probably be removed thither early in next month.

Among the most important laws of the session thus terminated, is the "Bankrupt Act";[4] which has long been an object of attention in Congress, but hitherto delayed by the difficulty and extent of the subject itself, or by the pressure of matters more immediately interest-

[1] The engagement had taken place Feb. 1, 1800; the French frigate involved was *La Vengeance*. For the vote awarding the medal see "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 629–630.

[2] John Hodge Bayard, Bayard's older brother (b. Jan. 11, 1762), who went to Western Maryland and was apparently lost sight of by the family after that. Gen. James Grant Wilson in an article on Col. John Bayard in the "N. Y. Gen. Rec." (Apr., 1885) says he died unmarried about 1820. Mallery, however, says (p. 68) that "he not only married but left many descendants."

[3] This letter was printed in the Aurora of May 24, 1800, and an extract from it appeared in the Charleston City Gazette, June 3, 1800.

[4] Act approved Apr. 4, 1800; c. 19.

ing. Its operation is confined to merchants and dealers, and will be rarely felt except in the great commercial towns: for a person must owe at least a thousand dollars before it can affect him. Its object is, in the first place, to support mercantile credit, by protecting the rights of creditors against the fraud of dishonest, and the folly of imprudent, debtors, who may waste or conceal their property while the ordinary forms of law are going on against them: and secondly, to encourage fair industry and prudent conduct, by enabling honest debtors, reduced by misfortune, to give up their property, free themselves intirely from their debts, and begin the world anew; which no man will ever have the courage to do, while a load of old debts is hanging on him.

A system so new, so extensive, and operating on such a variety of unforeseen cases, will, no doubt, be found very imperfect at first, and in need of frequent revision and amendment according to the light which experience alone can afford. It may also be liable to abuse in many instances: for what human institution may not be perverted. But the example of other countries proves, that to a trading people a bankrupt law is highly beneficial, if not absolutely necessary.

An attempt has also been made to revise the judiciary system of the United States, which is found to be very inconvenient in practice, and by no means adequate to the proper administration of justice. At present there is but one superior or circuit court of the United States, held in each state, for the trial of civil actions, and the punishment of offences, throughout the whole state. The consequence is, that people who are sued in the federal court, or prosecuted for offences against the United States, are obliged, in many cases, especially in the large states, to attend with their witnesses at great distances from home, and with much expence and inconvenience. These circumstances have a strong tendency to bring the laws of the United States into neglect and disrepute, by deterring people from prosecuting offenders against them. In order to remove these evils, and render the administration of justice more effectual and less burthensome, it was proposed to increase the number of courts, by dividing the larger states into two, three, or four districts, with a circuit court in each.

The circuit courts are now held by the judges of the supreme court of the United States, six in number; who are obliged, for that purpose, to travel perpetually from one end of the continent to the other. This immense labour employs almost the whole of their time, and prevents them from giving that application to the study of the law which is necessary, in order to keep up renew and enlarge their stock of legal knowledge. The fatigue, moreover, of such continual journies, is too great to be borne, for any length of time, by men of that ad-

vanced age in which the experience, maturity of judgment, and weight of character, necessary for a judge of the highest court in the nation, are usually to be found: nor can it be expected, that men of this description will long retain employments, the duties of which require them to be so frequently and so long absent from their homes, and deprived of their domestic comforts.

Small as the number of circuit courts now is, these circumstances render it extremely improper to compel the judges of the supreme court to hold them. In case of the number being encreased, it would become utterly impossible. This encrease appeared unavoidable, for the reasons already stated.

It was therefore proposed, to reduce the number of judges of the supreme court to five, and to confine them to the business of that court; which must become very considerable, and will afford them sufficient employment: and to appoint a new sett of judges, for the purpose of holding the circuit courts. These were the two fundamental points of the new system which was introduced: first to encrease the number of circuit courts; and secondly to appoint a distinct set of judges for holding them.

The business, however, being of great importance, and requiring much consideration, it was thought best to postpone it till next session of Congress. It will then, probably, be again brought forward.[1]

A dispute existing between the United States and the state of Georgia, relative to the title of some lands on the Mississippi, where Georgia claims a very extensive and valuable territory which she has expressed a willingness to cede to the United States, commissioners have been appointed on the part of the United States, to adjust this dispute, and to agree on the terms of the proposed cession.[2] Should it take place, of which strong hopes are entertained, a most disagreeable cause of contention will be removed, and the United States become possessed, on terms mutually advantageous, of a very valuable territory.

In my last letter I informed you, that a motion was made early in the session, for the reduction of the army; which was opposed and rejected, on the ground that the state of things was yet too uncertain to warrant such a measure; the tendency whereof, if adopted in the beginning of a negociation, must be to render a fair and honorable adjustment of differences less easy, by impressing the opposite party with an opinion, that we were too weak too avaricious, or too much

[1] The bill was introduced in the House Dec. 19, 1800. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 837. It was not unreasonable to suspect that this bill, increasing the number of judicial officers, and diminishing the chance of appointments to the Supreme Court by Adams's successor, was framed with some view to the fortifying of Federalist party power.

[2] The commission consisted of Madison, Gallatin, and Levi Lincoln, on the part of the United States, and James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin, and John Milledge, on the part of Georgia. For the results of their negotiations see Adams, "History", I, 302–306.

divided to support the measures necessary for resistance. These reasons had, in a great degree, ceased before the close of the session. It was then known that our Commissioners must have reached Paris about the 10th of March, and consequently that the fate of their mission, having in all probability been decided before the middle of May, could not be affected by any thing to be done here after that period. The late revolution in France had also taken place. General Buonaparte had suppressed the Directory and the Jacobins, and erected his own power on their ruins. He manifestly aimed at acquiring popularity in France and in Europe, for his new government, by holding out the appearance at least, of a just and pacific system, if not by adopting it in reality. This plan would strongly incline him to a reconciliation, on fair and honourable terms, with America, the quarrel with which was always unpopular in France, and had become much more so, since she displayed the will and the means of resistance, and since the effect of her measures had been felt in the French commercial towns and colonies. Hence it was to be presumed, that the result of the negociation would be favourable; and several measures of a nature to confirm this opinion, and to shew that the new government wished to be on good terms with this country, were known to have been adopted by it. If, on the other hand, the result of the negociation should prove unfavourable, and our quarrel with France continue, it was to be presumed that General Buonaparte's failure and misfortunes in Egypt, would render him very cautious about attempting to attack a country more distant, far more powerful, and which had manifested a determination to defend itself. Should he feel the disposition, yet the formidable combination against him in Europe, would find him full employment for all the means which his country, in its present exhausted state, could furnish. And in case of a new change in the government, which might place the Jacobins again in power, or of a tide of success, which might revive the former spirit of conquest, dominion, and injustice, we must have a warning sufficiently long to enable us to provide anew for our defence; which the spirit and alacrity formerly displayed by the country, when threatened with attack, gave the utmost assurance of our being able very speedily to do, should the danger return.

This change in the state of things, between the beginning and the end of the session, induced the persons who opposed the motion for disbanding the army at the former period, to be of opinion that the measure might be safely adopted at the latter. They therefore brought it forward themselves, and it passed into a law.[1] The discharge of the troops is to take place on or before the 15th of June.

[1] The debate on disbanding the army had gone on in the House from Jan. 1 till May 14, two bills having been passed during that time. See "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 227, 375, 425, 691, 713–714.

But as those troops are to be discharged suddenly, and sooner than was expected at the time when they were raised, it was tho't reasonable and just to make them an allowance of three months pay after their discharge; so as to enable them to look about them at their return home, and support themselves till they can get into new occupations. This was not only a just measure, but a very wise one; since it will operate as a strong encouragement to persons, to enter into the service on any future occasion, when it may be necessary to prepare for defence.

This reduction of the army will probably constitute a saving of about two millions, in the expences of the year.

Many other acts were passed during the session, but they are not sufficiently important to be detailed here. Far the greater number, as usually happens, are of a temporary nature, or intended for particular purposes. The business of a government so extensive as ours, necessarily requires a great number of occasional and temporary laws; but those of a general and permanent nature, are far less numerous than is sometimes supposed.

No official or direct accounts have been received from our Commissioners since their arrival in France. It is, however, known from the public prints, that they are in Paris; that they were received with great cordiality by the people of France and with great respect by the Government, and that General Buonaparte has appointed three Commissioners to treat with them, one of whom is his brother.[1] It also appears, that the French, at present, abstain in a great measure from molesting our vessels, except in cases where they are authorized to do so by the law of nations; and that several which were detained improperly have been released. Thus the spirited conduct and wise measures of our Government, aided and supported by the courage of the nation, are likely to produce their natural and usual effect, of avoiding a serious and destructive war on one hand, and maintaining our rights and honour on the other.

Appearances in Europe are more favourable to the hope of a general peace, than they lately were. It seems certain that the Russians, satisfied with having checked the progress of France towards universal empire, and curtailed her power and her conquests, and perhaps distrustful of the views of some of the combined powers, have withdrawn their armies, and probably separated themselves entirely from the coalition. If this be true, Austria will, in all probability, soon find that more is to be got by dividing the spoil equally with France, than by continuing to contend for the whole of it; and in that case, as France will probably have the same view of things, an arrangement may soon be expected to take place between

[1] The three French commissioners were: Joseph Bonaparte, Fleurieu, and Roederer.

them. England, who, notwithstanding the great expences of the war, has gained more by it than any other power, will then have no rational object for its continuance; and will, most probably, avail herself of the first safe and favourable opportunity of making peace.

As to our internal concerns, the most important of them, and the only one which seems likely to agitate the public mind, is the approaching election of President. Mr. Jefferson is again brought forward in opposition to Mr. Adams, and the utmost exertions are made to ensure his success. Those who have been in the constant habit of opposing the present system of administration, from the moment when it was first adopted by General Washington, its real author, to the present time, will no doubt promise a great many good things to the nation, if they can at length obtain the management of its affairs. It will however be remembered, by men of sense and reflection, that they have been employed for ten years, in finding fault with and opposing every measure of the federal government; that many of those measures which they clamoured most against have been approved by experience, the only unerring judge in matters of this kind; that the British treaty, from which they predicted the most direful consequences, has secured thus far the peace of the country with that nation, has given us possession of the territory which was before withheld from us, and has put all our former differences in a train of amicable adjustment; that our commerce, the ruin of which was confidently predicted from the operation of that treaty, has, since its adoption, flourished more than ever; that the measures adopted towards France, instead of bringing on us the exemplary vengeance of that nation, with which they never ceased to threaten us, have, on the contrary, ensured to us better treatment from it than any other people has received, and are now apparently in a fair way of producing an honorable and satisfactory accommodation; that our navy, which those persons opposed to the utmost, cried out against as too expensive to be supported, and ridiculed as too inconsiderable to do any good, has protected our commerce, raised our national character, and taught the French to respect our rights; that since the establishment of this navy, our commerce has recovered from the depression into which the depredations of France had plunged it, and become more prosperous than before; that our national credit, the ruin of which they foretold, is high and firm; and finally that the army, which they charged the supporters of administration with having raised for sinister purposes, is laid down by its authors themselves, as soon as there was a reasonable ground to believe that it had become unnecessary.

Men of sense and reflection will recollect these circumstances, and they will ask themselves what more could any administration have

done? Party-men, who are heated by constant opposition to all that has been done, and view every thing with a prejudiced eye, will no doubt say that more might have been done had their advice been followed; but for this we have nothing but their word; and it is just as fair to suppose, that less would have been done had their advice been followed. They have predicted much evil which we know has not happened. May we not safely conclude from this, that their predictions about the good effects of following their advice would have proved equally falacious?

When we were engaged in a dispute with England, Mr. Jefferson's friends, and I presume himself, strongly urged the most violent and high-handed measures. To make a single attempt at negociation, before resort was had to measures of compulsion, was stigmatized by them as pusillanimity and meanness. Nothing but sequestration of property and prohibition of intercourse would suit them. When we afterwards got into a dispute with France, which was manifestly forced upon us by the injustice and aggressions of that nation, these same persons wholly changed their tone. They were then all mildness and submission; talked of nothing but the horrors of war; insisted upon negociation after negociation; perpetually held up to view our own weakness and the power and vengeance of France, and even when the second embassy was driven off and a tribute demanded, still persisted in opposing every measure of defence or preparation, for fear it should involve us in *war*. When persons act thus inconsistently, is there not some reason to apprehend, that their conduct is influenced more by passion, party-spirit, animosity against one nation, and improper attachment to another, than by an enlightened and wise regard to the interest of their own country? Ought we not to listen with caution to the counsels of men, who are so much more under the guidance of passion than of sense? When their former predictions have been so fully refuted by experience, ought we not to distrust their present promises? Is there not every reason to believe, that had their advice been formerly followed, we should have been plunged into the war against the English, and now in a state of subjection to France under the name of an alliance; as we know some other countries to be? Should not this teach us the danger of listening to them now?

After all, what do these persons expect to gain for the country by a change of administration? What can they hope to do, which is not already done or in a fair way to be done? Will they make peace with France? It is in a train of being made. Will they reduce the army? It is reduced. Will they repeal the Alien and Sedition Laws, about which they have raised so loud and so unfounded a clamour? They expire of themselves next session, and the occasion for them

having ceased, no body thinks of renewing them.[1] Will they discharge the public debt? Provision is already made for its discharge. If they mean only to do things of this kind which are already done or doing, there is no need of putting them in. It can do no good to the public, although it may gratify their lust of power, their animosity against their opponents, or their party spirit. If they mean to destroy all that has heretofore been done; to overset the funding system, and abolish the public debt without paying it; to resume their old and favourite scheme of a French alliance and a war against England, whereby the payment of British debts may be postponed; to destroy the navy, whereon rests our only hope of respect abroad and complete security at home; in fine, to repeal all the laws which they have opposed, and to throw every thing into confusion; if all this be their meaning they will do infinite mischief, and ought to be kept out as they have hitherto been.

If under the present system of administration the country has prospered: If peace has been preserved with honour, during a conflict which has involved almost every nation except ourselves: If commerce has been protected, industry made to flourish, public credit maintained, tranquility preserved at home, and the character of the nation raised abroad, I ask, what more could any administration have done? and where is the need of a change? Shall we act like foolish children, who throw away their play-things and take new ones, merely because they are tired of the first? Or shall we imitate the conduct of prudent men, who retain in their service and confidence those by whom their affairs have been managed with fidelity and success? If you had an overseer, who for ten years together had made good crops and kept your plantation in excellent order, would you turn him away merely because some other man, whom you knew little or nothing about, should come and tell you that he would manage better if employed?

We know the present administration by the success of their actions. Those who are so anxious to succeed them we know only by the fairness of their promises, their perseverance in fault-finding, and the failure of all their former predictions. It is, therefore, in my judgment, solid wisdom to adhere to the former, and leave the latter where they are.

In order to effect this purpose, it is necessary to fix on two men, in both of whom those who are satisfied with the system of adminis-

[1] Note in the original print, of later date, perhaps about 1815: "as to the alien law this was certainly the case: the reason for it had ceased with the war which rendered it necessary. But with respect to the sedition law, the writer readily acknowledges that it was an hasty and unfounded opinion. On mature reflection he is convinced that a law to punish false, scandalous and malicious libels and to protect liberty by allowing the truth of the matter to be given in evidence on indictments for political publications, is equally proper at all times, and at all times necessary."

tration adopted by Washington, and pursued by his successor, can confide; and to support them both as President. This necessity is imposed on us by the constitution; which directs that every elector shall vote for two persons, and that he who obtains the highest number of votes shall be President, and the next to him Vice-President. Mr. Adams and General Pinckney[1] have been proposed as candidates, to be voted for together; with the hope and wish that Mr. Adams may be President, on account of his long services, his well tried virtue, the fidelity with which he has discharged the duties of his office, and the success which has attended the leading measures of his administration. Both however ought to be supported, because the principle ought to be preferred to the man; and because if both are supported together, there will be more probability of securing one of them, than if either should run singly. Should General Pinckney obtain the highest vote, there can be no doubt that the public affairs will be safe in his hands. We know his talents, his industry, his knowledge of business, his integrity, his attachment to Republicanism, and his ardent love of his country. We know also that he is a firm friend and supporter of Washington's system of administration, whereby this country has been maintained in prosperity and honour, and which it is the object of Mr. Adams's opponents to subvert. By supporting these two gentlemen with all our might, we give ourselves the best possible chance of maintaining the present order of things; of giving stability and permanency to our government, which must be deeply shaken by frequent and violent changes of administration; and of encouraging public servants to do well, by retaining in the confidence of the nation those who have conducted its affairs with fidelity and success.

I trust, my dear sir, that you will pardon me for troubling you with these observations, and that they will not be considered as improper or unbecoming. They have been drawn from me by a strong conviction of the importance of the subject, to the honor and happiness of a country which we both love, and to the permanency and success of a government which we both admire. As I am, moreover, about to close, perhaps forever, my political career, they may be considered, in some sort, as the last words of a departing friend; which, as they are uttered in sincerity, we always flatter ourselves will be received with indulgence.

I have formerly mentioned to my friends a determination which I some time ago made, to withdraw from public life, in order to devote myself wholly to my professional pursuits; a determination which the state of my affairs has long required, and now renders indispensible. The reasons which have induced me heretofore to postpone it,

[1] Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina.

and which I was so happy as to find approved by my constituents, have now ceased. I have therefore resumed it; and I think it my duty to announce it in this manner. It furnishes nothing for me to regret, except the being compelled, by the attention which every man is bound to pay his own situation and affairs, to choose a place of residence distant from those who have honoured me, from early life, with their confidence and affection, and to whose indulgent partiality I am proud to acknowledge myself indebted, for whatever of success I have obtained in life. Wherever I may be, or however situated, I shall always be proud to remember, and to acknowledge, that when I was a youth without fortune, without friends, without acquaintances, a stranger in a strange land, the district of Ninety-Six took me to its bosom, and cherished me as its own child; and that through every change of scene and of fortune, it has still continued to give me proofs of regard and attachment. The grateful and affectionate sentiments which this recollection is calculated to inspire, shall go with me to my retirement, and be constantly cherished in my heart; nor shall I ever cease to consider myself as a citizen of Ninety-Six District, and to feel proud of the title of her adopted Son.[1]

Excuse me, my dear sir. I find that I am wandering from my purpose; which was to inform you and my other constituents, that I shall serve out the time for which I was formerly chosen, but cannot be a candidate in any future election; and to bid you and them an affectionate farewell.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.[2]

My Andrew: The two cases of wine you sent me arrived safely and I am much obliged by the trouble you have given yourself.

The escape I made from the city was quite lucky, but I do not like the idea of perpetual banishment which the affair is likely to occasion.[3] Could you learn the sentiment of Your Gover-

[1] Harper, in May, 1801, married the daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and removed to Baltimore.

[2] Andrew Bayard (1761–1832), a cousin of James A. Bayard, being the second son of Col. John Bayard, who had adopted James Asheton Bayard after his father's death. Andrew was for some years president of the Commercial Bank of Philadelphia and a member of the firm of Pettit and Bayard. He had married the sister of his partner, Sarah Pettit. The letter which follows was written at Wilmington.

[3] Bayard had left Philadelphia hastily because of a duel which he fought with Christopher G. Champlin (representative from Rhode Island, 1797–1801), May 7, in which Champlin was wounded in the cheek, Bayard in the thigh. The seconds were Gen. L. R. Morris and John Rutledge, jr. Sedgwick, in writing to King on May 11, says, "The duel between Bayard and Cha[m]plin is an unpleasant event. The cause was unworthy. A prosecution is set on foot. They have fled, except for Cha[m]plin who I fear is unable to get off." And on May 14, Christopher Gore wrote to King, "A duel has been fought in Philadelphia by Champlin of R. Island and Bayard of Delaware and both wounded; it was the consequence of some hasty remark by one or the other in a debate on the floor of the House". "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King", III, 239, 242. John Rutledge, jr., in a letter to Bayard of May 14, says: "The Project

nor[1] on the Subject. I do not mean to ask any favor of him but if he has the feelings of a gentleman, he certainly has it in his power to put a stop to the business Without some assurance I shall certainly not expose myself to the fury of the Jacobins. I shall never ask nor expect mercy from them.

I enclose a check on the Bank of the U States to your order, for the amt. of the wine. You will let me know if it comes safe to hand.

My horse is at the door and I am obliged to be off to Court. Remember me affectionately to the family.

Monday, 26 May 1800.

Bayard to [John Rutledge ?][2]

Wilmington, *8 June, 1800.*

My dear Sir: I had the pleasure of receiving upon my return to Wilmington after an absence of three weeks the letter you were so obliging as to write me previous to your departure for New Castle. I felt in an equal degree with yourself the surprize which you manifested at the late conduct of our President.[3] The point of understanding subsisting between him and Mr. Jefferson it is scarcely possible to ascertain. Rumour has circulated many things on the subject, but her tales are not worth our notice. We are betrayed if there is any understanding between them, and to believe that, is to credit but a small portion of what is said. We shall not regret the

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of the magistracy of the northern Liberties has entirely failed—we are all in safety and our Enemies and pursuers have been put to shame and confusion. Morris left town about the time I did, and Mrs. Champlin claiming to have exclusive property in the body of her Husband, and being somewhat jealous of the Citizen Judge Coates, at a dead hour of the Night, when men of quiet consciences were wrapped in sweet sleep, wrapped up her husband and stole him unheeded from the City. . . . I have a letter from Champlin the morning after getting into the Jerseys—he mentions that his wound had been that morning dressed and for the first time he had seen it in the glass—believing me with you at Wilmington he bids me tell you (*in badinage*) that he shall hold you in his remembrance." This letter is among the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles. Watson in his "Annals of Philadelphia" (I, 335) says of this duel, they fought "in a disused saw-pit shed, then standing at the corner where the roads lead over the stone bridge to Kensington. It was a rainy day and they took shelter there." From the "Annals of Congress" it is not possible to be certain as to the subject of the dispute, but it appears that on May 5 Christopher G. Champlin moved that the bill to establish the compensation of collectors of the port be recommitted for the sake of reducing the percentage allowed the collectors of Wilmington and New London. Since the collector at Wilmington (Allan McLane) was a friend of Bayard it seems probable that this subject might have given rise to hot words. "Annals", 6 Cong., 1 sess., 700, Among the Bayard Papers but not printed here is a letter of July 16 to Andrew Bayard in which Bayard says: "I should have probably paid a visit to the city before this time if I had been entirely exempt from personal apprehensions. But as I have a great aversion from hard labour I have preferred renouncing the pleasure to running any risks. If the Governor would say that at all events a nolle prosequi should be granted I should feel myself restored to my ancient privilege of locomotion."

[1] Thomas McKean (1734–1817), governor of Pennsylvania 1799–1808.

[2] Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress: endorsed: "8 June 1800. James A. Bayard probably to John Rutledge", originally enclosed in a letter of John Rutledge, jr., to Alexander Hamilton, July 17, 1800. Rutledge (1766–1819) was a Federal member of the House from South Carolina from 1797 until 1803.

[3] His removal of McHenry on May 5 and Pickering on May 12.

events which have occurred if their result should be as favorable as may reasonably be calculated.

The removal of Mr. Pickering cannot fail to produce a considerable effect upon the eastern sentiment. It will confirm the indifference professed by many as to the success of the one or of the other of the two proposed candidates, and will probably correct the partiality of the few who were disposed to venture the sacrifice of the one to secure the election of the other.

It is confidently stated, that if Mr. J[efferson] should be elected President and Mr. A[dams] Vice President, that Mr. A. will serve under Mr. J. in his ancient capacity. But this condescension is not expected in case Mr. P[inckney] should be the successful candidate.

Mr. A. has contrived to forfeit the affection of most federal men whom I meet with. If events should justify it, there will be no difficulty in leaving him out of the tickets of this State. He would be preferred to a professed Democrat and he may be voted for in order to exclude Mr. J. from the Vice-Presidency.

The popularity of Mr. P. increases daily and the zeal of partizans is inspired by the prospect of his election. The compass of my information has not of late been extensive, but I do not consider myself exposed to much error in applying to a larger portion of the people the observations which I have drawn from a smaller, when the larger is subject to the operation of the same causes.

I received a few days ago a letter from our friend Harper who gives a very flattering prospect as to the event of the Maryland election. He states that the federalists feel themselves secure of the ten votes of the State.[1] This calculation much exceeds any which was made in Philada. as to Maryland. He thinks that Mr. A. and Mr. P. will be equally supported tho' the latter is generally preferred.

I beg you to communicate to me any material information you may acquire on the subject of the election, especially in case events should create any new views in respect to it.

I congratulate you on your safe arrival after a very short passage, at Savannah, which was announced in Brown's paper[2] of yesterday, and wishing you a pleasant summer I beg you to accept the assurance of my sincere esteem and friendship.

Bayard to Hamilton.[3]

August 11th, 1800.

Dr. Sir: I willingly communicate such information as I possess on the subjects of the inquiries contained in the letter you did me the

[1] The vote of Maryland was in fact divided, five going to Jefferson and five to Adams.

[2] The Philadelphia Gazette, published by Andrew Brown and Samuel Relf.

[3] This letter, an answer to one from Hamilton, dated New York, Aug. 6, 1800, is in the New York Public Library. It has already appeared in print, dated Aug. 18, in Hamilton, "Hamilton's Works", VI, 455–458.

honor to write on the 6th Inst., and which I received the day before yesterday. I had a ten years acquaintance with Dr. Wharton[1] which invariably continued on a footing of intimacy and friendship. His classical knowledge is extensive and critical and he has taught with much reputation Mathematicks, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy. He is a Master in Ethics, and acquainted with politics as a branch of Moral Philosophy. He is a man of mild and amiable temper, of polite manners, and of principles equally sound in practice as in theory in morals and in politics. With these qualities there is a great desideratum in the character necessary to direct the education of youth. The Cloisters of St Omers were extremely unfriendly to a just knowledge of human nature. They afforded leisure to study books but not the means of becoming acquainted with men. It was probably too late when the Dr. came into life, to give a turn to his mind which was entirely new. He contented himself with pursuing the knowledge which could be acquired from books, and did not or could not qualify himself to judge of men. In applying his censure or applause, I often thought him intemperate and injudicious. As to that knowledge which would enable the President of a College to discriminate the dispositions and talents of his pupils, and attribute their actions to the proper motives, to know when and how praise ought to be bestowed and censure applied in order to produce a certain effect, in short as to that skill which instructs us as to the keys of human action, I considered the Dr. as greatly deficient. In other respects he wants nothing of the character you describe. Such is the view certainly imperfect which I have always had of the character of Dr. W. A view not shaded by an unfriendly sentiment, nor do I believe couloured by the sincere esteem and friendship I have for him. He does not possess that imposing manner which belongs to the deportment of some men and which if not essential, is at least a useful quality in those who have much intercourse with young men, who are to be restrained as much by personal respect as severity of discipline. There is an occasional levity about the Dr. which is little short of trifling. What is meant by gravity he has nothing of. The serious affairs of life he certainly can perform seriously, but not with that solemnity and impression, which belongs to the manners of many persons. I offer you a very imperfect sketch of the Dr.'s character. You will allow it no weight, but as corroborative of the opinions of others.

[1] Dr. Charles Henry Wharton (1748–1833), born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, had been educated at the English Jesuits' college at St. Omer's. He returned to this country in 1783, and, having entered the Church of England, became rector of Immanuel Church, Newcastle, Del., and later of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J. In 1801 he accepted the presidency of Columbia College, New York, but later withdrew the acceptance and continued his work at Burlington.

I thank you for the view you have given me of the state of things to the Eastward relative to the election of President. I value it because I can rely upon it. It is in my power to repeat what you know as to our situation to the southward, but I do not presume I can add to your information. The condition of Penna. is known to you, every thing I take to depend upon the ensuing election of the State Legislature, the Federal majority is not so great in the Senate as to be beyond the operation of this election. The event however is not much dreaded. If the present state of things continue the Feds. would consent to district the state so as to give to Jefferson 8 votes.[1] Delaware is safe they may hesitate whether they will give Mr. A, a vote. The present electoral law of Maryland is by districts, such an election would probably give Mr. J. 3 votes. It is the better opinion however that the Feds will avail themselves of the power they possess to command the entire vote of the State.[2] Virginia is sold and past salvation. My knowledge of N. Carolina was derived during the session of Congress from the members of that State. I consulted the most of them on the Fed. side, and set down the votes of the State 7 for J. and 5 for A. and P. the 5 perhaps less certainly for the latter than the former. It is thought that the votes of S. Carolina will count equally for Mr. J. and Mr. P.[3] Georgia Tennessee and Kentucky may be thrown into the scale of Mr. J. But there is no reason to despond unless the Eastern States play a foul game. And if they do a 2nd time, they ought never to be forgiven. If they do, they forfeit forever the confidence of their friends to the Southward, they will beget a system of miserable intrigue between the members of the same party whose efforts can never be united but thro' mutual confidence, and whose united efforts are absolutely necessary to maintain their ground against their enemies. What is the charm which attaches the East so much to Mr. A.? It can be nothing personal. The escape we have had under his administration is miraculous. He is liable to gusts of passion little short of frenzy, which drive him beyond the control of any rational reflection. I speak of what I have seen. At such moments the interest of those who support him, or the interest of the nation would be outweighed by a single impulse of rage. This is enough, but not all. We may

[1] While the governor and the house of representatives in Pennsylvania were Republican, the senate was Federalist, by 13 to 11. The senate refused to concur with the house in a bill providing for a general election for presidential electors. The house passed a bill providing for an election by joint ballot, the senate again refused to concur and suggested instead an election by concurrent vote, to which the house refused to agree. The senate then proposed that each house name eight electors and that the houses vote for a combined list of fifteen out of the sixteen. The result corresponded with Bayard's prediction; eight Jefferson electors and seven Adams electors were chosen. Stanwood, "History of the Presidency", 60–61.

[2] Delaware gave its 3 votes to Adams and Pinckney. Ibid., 63.

[3] The actual result in North Carolina was 8 for Jefferson and 4 for Adams; in South Carolina the entire electoral vote (8) was for Jefferson (and Burr). Ibid., 63.

thank the guardian Genius of the country, which has watched over its destinies for the last 4 years. I do not hold this language to the multitude tho' I should have no objection to hold it to Mr. A. himself. We must vote for him I suppose and therefore can not safely say to every one what we think of him. But he has palsied the sinews of the party and if I relied on fore-bodings as ominous, I should believe that before another Presidential cycle had completed itself, he would give it its death wound. I hope my sentiments do not scandalize the faith or works of good Federalists. I can see no [ ] in anything which can happen, but am not indifferent to the dangers or evils which threaten the country. You have the reputation of being our *Father confessor* in politicks, and I have therefore made to you a frank confession. My sins I hope will be remitted.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WILMINGTON, *15 Septr. 1800.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I have been absent for a fortnight past with my family at Bohemia on a visit to Mr. Bassett.

We have all returned from a country at this season possessing little reputation for the salubrity of its air, in very good health. Our ancient family Place about 3 miles further up the river, has certainly without injustice to it been considered very sickly and yet the spot where Mr. Bassett resides appears to be exempt from the disorders which prevail generally along the banks of the Bohemia.[1]

I am informed there have been an uncommon number of cases of the fever and ague and intermittents in Wilmington this fall. The French who can defy the yellow fever can't defend themselves against the ague. They expose themselves to the heats of the day and the dews of the night, a sure way to induce the disorder in a climate disposing to it.

I sincerely congratulate you on the escape of your city from the scourge which has so sorely afflicted it some years past. I presume at this time you have no apprehensions of its visitting you this season

[1] The "ancient family place" referred to by Bayard had been in the family since 1698, when Samuel Bayard with his brother-in-law Hendrick Sluyter purchased one of the four necks of land which constituted the Labadie Tract and on his share built the house after that always referred to as "great house". This property was inherited by Col. John Bayard, as the older of the twins, but he at once conveyed one-half of it to his brother, Bayard's father. The property apparently reverted to John Bayard at the time of his brother's death and was sold by him in 1788, never after that time belonging to any member of the family. For the steps by which a considerable part of Bohemia Manor, the Bassett place which Bayard speaks of, had descended from Augustine Herrman to Richard Bassett see Johnston, "History of Cecil County", 169–185. It was in the manor house of this estate that Bassett was living at the time of this letter and it was in this house that he died. On his death the property passed to his daughter, Ann Bayard, and still remains in the family, being at the present time in the possession of Mr. Richard H. Bayard, of Baltimore.

You have given me much pleasure by the prospect of seeing you in Wilmington. I shall be at home all this week. The Court of Chancery will probably oblige me to be at NCastle Tuesday and Wednesday of the next week, after which I shall be in motion for 6 months. We have great abundance of reed bird and rail if you are fond of the sport of shooting them.

Do not embarrass yourself to gratify me, but if you can make it convenient, be assured that a visit will be the greatest favor you can render me.

I need not trouble you respecting the claret—my time here is so short that I shall have eno' to serve me.

I shall not want any cedar rails this fall having procured as many oak as I can get put up.

Present our affectionate regard to Cousin Sally.[1]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilmington, *10 October, 1800.*

My dear Andrew: We have just received a return of the polls from the two Lower Counties, upon the close of our general election. The event gives a decided majority to the Federalists in the Legislature and of consequence secures the vote of this State for a federal President. I have a majority in the Whole State of upwards of 300 and of course reelected.[2]

The Jacobins had the greatest advantages the political divisions of the State could afford them. A Sheriffs and in consequence a very large election in N Castle Cy. and common elections in the other two Counties.

Farewell. I start in a few minuits on the Circuit.

Bayard to [Bassett ?][3]

City of Washington, *3 Jany. 1801.*

My dear Sir: I arrived here last evening after a very tedious and fatiguing ride. Two nights I was but two hours in bed and the

[1] Sarah Pettit Bayard, Andrew's wife.

[2] The vote for Bayard and his opponent John Patten, for membership in Congress, had been cast as follows:

	Bayard.	Patten.
Newcastle	1,030	1,247
Kent	811	720
Sussex	963	373
	2,804	2,340

Bayard's majority was therefore 464. Phila. Gazette and Daily Advertiser, Oct. 17, 1800, p. 3.

[3] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

roads being very bad we were intolerably jolted in the stage. Nothing I may say has yet been done by Congress and the general sentiment and attention is so much engrossed by the subject of President that there appears little disposition to attend to any other business. The Dem°'s are more uneasy at the prospect of Burrs election than they even were at that of Adams. They declare that they will never concur in the vote for Burr, that they would rather see the union dissolved for want of a head than give up Jefferson.

The federal gentlemen have generally *declared* in favor of Burr, and if Delaware be added to those who have declared—Jefferson cannot be elected.

It is my design to make the most of the occasion by giving the strongest impression it will enable me of the importance of the State. For this purpose I shall remain *inflexibly* silent. Many attempts have already been made to ascertain my intention. In fact I have not yet determined as to the part which I shall take. My conduct shall certainly be determined upon the fullest information I can acquire and upon the maturest and soundest view I can take of the subject. In the meantime I should like to have your opinion and that of our friends. Certainly placed as I am amidst men from the different parts of the Union of information and taking great interest in the business a thousand things are to be heard and learnt here, that are unknown or unthought of in different situations. I wish however to have the prevailing opinion of our friends. It will have great influence with me.

I have no lodgings yet and am in no manner arranged. The City I have seen only from the windows of the capitol. The prospect furnishes a view of a few scattered houses and a great deal of dreary rough country.

The capitol when completed will be a grand Building—the wing which is finished is extremely elegant.[1]

I beg you to remember me with great affection to Mrs. B. and believe me sincerely yours.

BAYARD TO [RODNEY ?][2]

WASHINGTON, *5 Jany. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: You gave yourself unnecessary trouble in making any apology for leaving me as happened at New Castle at the end of the Court.

I knew the cause and had no doubt of its sufficiency, and should have blamed you, if you had given yourself any embarassment on my account.

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[1] The north wing.

[2] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

I had an extremely disagreeable journey to this place, a great part of which was performed in the night. We crossed the Susquehanah at midnight and lodged on this side and set out the next morning three hours before day. Tho' travelling in the mail stage, the greater part of the road we were unable to move at more than the rate of two or three miles an hour.

I am at present lodged at Stitte's[1] Hotel, upon the following moderate terms, 15 dollars p week for myself, 5 for my servant, 3 for wood and candles beside washing, Barker, etc., etc., etc. I leave you to make up the account of profit and loss at the end of the Session.

We are at present employed upon the Judicial Bill.[2] The scheme is to form a Court intermediate to the Supreme and District Courts to be called a Circuit Court. The U. States will be classed into six Circuits and three Circuit Judges in each Circuit. We have the prospect of carrying the Bill.

Your Friend Jefferson cannot be President against the will of the federal Party; and tho' the course which will be taken is not absolutely decided upon, yet the inclination is much in favor of Burr.

Tell Fisher that I presented Bostons petition within five minutes after I took my seat[3] and that it is referred to a Comee. of which I am chairman and I shall do what I can for him.

Bayard to Hamilton.

Jan. 7, 1801.

[See Hamilton, "Works of Hamilton", VI, 505–507; also "Remarks in the Senate of the United States, January 31, 1855", 12–13.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *8 Jany. 1801.*

My dear Andrew: I have been but a few days in this City. My professional engagements detained me in Delaware till after Xmas.

[1] Pontius D. Stelle had come to Washington from Trenton in 1800 and opened a tavern which he continued for twelve years. His first location was on New Jersey Avenue, south of the Capitol. Bryan, "History of the National Capital", I, 343–344.

[2] The judiciary bill was introduced Dec. 19; the debates on it began on Jan. 5. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 837, 878, 891, 897.

[3] Bayard took his seat Jan. 2. The petition referred to was that of Solomon Boston, confined in a jail in Dover, who asked for a remission of the fine imposed on him because of his breach of revenue laws of which he protested ignorance. The petition was referred to Bayard, Thacher, and Spaight. A bill for his relief was passed later in this session. "Act for the Relief of Solomon Boston", "Private Acts", Jan. 30, 1801, "Statutes at Large", VI, 42.

It required some days after my arrival to find a settlement. I am now lodged at Stelle's Hotel, with about thirty members of Congress. The fare is indifferent and the expence immoderate; for self and servant I pay 20 dollars a week. We have the name of a city but nothing else. The wing of the capitol which is finished is a beautiful building. The Presidents House is also extremely elegant. Besides these objects you have nothing to admire, but the beauties of nature. There is a great want of Society especially female. An invitation to dinner costs you a ride of 6 or 8 miles and the state of the roads obliging you to return before night, you have just time to swallow your meat.

We begin to feel considerable agitation on the subject of President. The federal Party certainly incline in favor of Bur, but no determination has yet been made as to the course they will pursue. Jefferson cannot get in if they persist in an opposition, tho the consequence may be the loss of a President altogether.

The treaty still remains under discussion before the Senate.[1] It is not probable that it will be unconditionally adopted.

We have had the judicial Bill before us since I have been here and having a considerable share in the business, it has engrossed the whole of my time. I write to you while attending to a debate on one of the sections.

Remember me affectionately to Cousin Sally.

Bayard to Rodney.[2]

Washington, *9 Jany. 1801.*

My dear Sir: I take the liberty of begging your attention to a small peice of business which belongs to me at Dover. At the suit of Jon. Harvey there were Judgmts. and exuc agt. Lawber and Bostick and Jenkins and Brady upon which the money was recd. by the late Shff Roe. The [ ] was advised not to pay over without a probate.

I enclose a probate made by Mr. Harvey, and would thank you to receive the money and to pay 5 pcent of it into the Bank on my account and the residue place to the credit of Mr. Harvey.

You recollect the road running over a corner of my plantation It is of no earthly use to any one and very injurious to me. It has actually been stopt I believe for 12 months, without offence to anybody. Mr. Bassett could give information on the subject and a

[1] The treaty with France negotiated by Murray, Ellsworth, and Davie.
[2] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

sufficient description of the road. My friend Ridgely[1] I take it for granted will facilitate the business.

If you were here you would have palmloo to your hearts content. There is nobody to visit nor means of visitting. As soon as night comes the tables for cards are introduced and there is a choice of whist, loo, and brag.

The judicial Bill goes on very well and we have little doubt of carrying it. Your friends however make all the opposition in their power.

BAYARD TO [ANDREW BAYARD ?]

[WASHINGTON, *23 Jany. 1801.*]

MY DEAR SIR: It may be important for you to know that this morning the Senate gave a final vote upon the French treaty, and there appeared for the adoption 16, against it 14 and of consequence it is rejected; the constitution requiring 2/3 to ratify.[2]

I wrote you some time ago, but [as yet] have not been favored with your answer.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

MY DEAR ANDREW: I wrote you a letter about an hour ago upon information I had received from Mr. Tracy[3] not absolutely correct. There was a vote of the Senate 16 and 14 upon an unconditional ratification further than a limitation of 8 years.

There was an attempt to modify which failed. So the matter stands. One Party will not agree to modify nor the other to ratify without modification.

The business is not to be considered as finally disposed of, it is possible a middle ground may yet be discovered.

This letter is written supposing the other read. In haste.

WASHINGTON,
23 Jany. 1801.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *26 Jany. 1801.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I had the pleasure of receiving yesterday the kind and obliging letter you wrote me. I beg you to rely upon my disposition to render you every service which my present situation

[1] Probably Nicholas Ridgely.
[2] "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 774–776; but see subsequent letters.
[3] Uriah Tracy.

enables me. I shall certainly omit no occasion which shall occur, of giving you any information of a material nature, which I am at liberty to communicate. But there may be cases in which I can be serviceable and which might escape me if not pointed out. It is my opinion that the Bill suspending the intercourse with France will be continued. I consider it determined that the Senate will not adopt the treaty unconditionally and in the event of a conti[n]gent ratification it will be necessary to continue the prohibition of the trade with France. This is also the common opinion of the leading Men in our House.

It would not be easy to ascertain the opinion of the Executive on the subject. The Secretary of State[1] knows as little of the intentions of the President as any other person connected with the Government; and it would not be very safe to apply to the President for his opinion.

He is extremely irritated in consequence of the treaty not being accepted, and would be very apt to insult the person who should mention the subject to Him.

This moment the Com'ee of revisal and unfinished business reported a resolution that the Com'ee of commerce and Manufactures should be instructed to enquire into the expediency of continuing the act suspending the intercourse with France. Upon a division of the House there were 44 for and 43 agt. the reference.[2] This vote manifests the intention of the antis to oppose the Continuance of the act and the possibility of succeeding. But if the intercourse should be opened and our affairs not finally arranged with France, certainly the trade will be very precarious. And it would be much to be dreaded, that in certain events France would be induced to lay her hands upon any of our property in her power in order to coerce a compliance with her Terms.

The question of a President is a subject of division and of doubt. The federal Party will vote for Burr but it is expected upon the first ballot Mr. Jefferson will have 8 States.[3] It is however certainly within the compass of possibility that Bur may ultimately obtain nine States.

This is a subject of great discussion and of extensive enquiries in this city. The decision of the federal Gentlemen has not been the result of any little resentment against Mr. Jefferson nor proceded from the paultry spirit of pevishness or perverseness, but has been

[1] John Marshall, appointed upon the removal of Pickering, had been nominated as chief justice on Jan. 20, but was still holding his cabinet office.

[2] "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 977.

[3] This proved to be correct; Burr, however, was given the votes of but six states throughout the balloting. Stanwood, 71.

derived from the best view of the political consequences which were likely to ensue the measure.[1]

I see it denied in your paper that Mr. Marshall was nominated Chief Justice of the U. S. The fact is so and he will without doubt have the concurrence of the Senate, tho some hesitation was at first expressed from a respect to the pretensions of Mr. Paterson.[2]

Mrs. B is not with me but at Dover. It was impossible to procure accommodations. I now stand at 23 dollars a week for self and servant including wood. A wife and additionl. servants would have been an enormous expence. We have in our house upwards of 30 gentlemen. Adieu; remember me to Cousin Sally.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *6 Feby. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have received several letters from you of late, but not till many days after thier date. Your letter to the Bishop[3] I covered with a frank and put into the hands of the Chaplain.[4]

I stated to you in a former letter that the french treaty had been rejected. The fact was so but not so conclusively as to prevent the resumption of the business. It has since been ratified conditionally. The 2d article to be expunged,[5] the treaty to be limited to eight years and a provision to be introduced that it shall not be allowed or construed to interfere with preceding treaties made with any other foreign Government. The division in the Senate upon this state of the business was 22 and 9.

I have it from a person who supposes himself in the secrets of the Cabinet, that Mr. Dexter will be nominated this morning minister plenepotentiary to the Republic of France in order to negotiate

[1] "Several gentlemen of the Federal party doubted the practicability of electing Mr. Burr, and the policy of attempting it. Before the election came on, there were several meetings of the party to consider the subject. It was frequently debated; and most of the gentlemen who had adopted a decided opinion in favor of his election, employed their influence and address to convince those who doubted, of the propriety of the measure." "Preceding the day of election, in the course of the session, the Federal members of Congress had a number of general meetings, the professed and sole purpose of which was to consider the propriety of giving their support to the election of Mr. Burr. The general sentiment of the party was strongly in his favor. Mr. Huger, I think, could not be brought to vote for him. Mr. Craik and Mr. Baer, of Maryland, and myself, were those who acquiesced with the greatest difficulty and hesitation. I did not believe Mr. Burr could be elected, and thought it vain to make the attempt. But I was chiefly influenced by the current of public sentiment, which I thought it neither safe nor politic to counteract." Deposition of James A. Bayard, in a suit for libel brought by Burr against James Cheetham, 1805, "Remarks in the Senate of the United States, January 31, 1855, vindicating the late James A. Bayard", 9.

[2] William Paterson (1745–1806) of New Jersey, who had been an associate justice of the Supreme Court since 1793.

[3] The reference is apparently to Dr. Thomas John Claggett, bishop of Maryland, chaplain of the Senate.

[4] Rev. Thomas Lyell, chaplain of the House.

[5] "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 776–778. The second article provided that the terms of the treaties of Feb. 6, 1778, should have no operation pending further negotiation. Ibid., app., 1099.

the final ratification of the treaty. The race which Dexter has run thro' the offices of the Government has scandalized all good Federalists.[1] It has created in both Parties a common sentiment of disgust.

On Wednesday we proceed to elect a President. A Committee consisting of a member from every State has determined and reported[2] accordingly that the election shall be completed without adjournment. This is against my opinion and I shall oppose it, in the House. The first ballot I have much certainty in saying will not make a President. As to the final result I confess myself ignorant.

I was occupied two or three days in the hours of Congressional leisure, in preparing myself for the argument of a cause in the Supreme Court of the United States—Silas Talbot vs. Hans. Fred. Seaman.[3] The cause went off. I have received three hundred dollars and in consequence will be obliged to return here again next August. The Court was attended by several Lawyers from Philad. and the Maryland Lawyers.

The judicial Bill is still before the Senate but there is not much doubt of its passing.[4] I shall pay due attention to the arrangement upon this subject which I proposed to you.

Remember me to Mrs. B. and Mary.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *8 Feby. 1801.*

My dear Andrew: I waited upon the President this morning in order to render your Brother Samuel[5] the service which you

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[1] Samuel Dexter (1761–1816) of Massachusetts, a member of the House from 1793 to 1795, and of the Senate from Dec. 2, 1799, to June, 1800, when he was appointed secretary of war. On Dec. 31, 1800, he was made secretary of the treasury. On the inauguration of Jefferson he returned to the practice of law. His name was not presented to the Senate as minister to France.

[2] "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 1005–1011.

[3] This case concerned the *Amelia,* which had sailed from Hamburg to Calcutta and on the return voyage was captured by the French, who held her about ten days, when she was captured by the *Constitution,* commanded by Captain Silas Talbot, U. S. N. Talbot had brought suit in the New York district court that the *Amelia* be judged lawful prize, which the owners disputed, since Hamburg and the United States were not at war. Seeman appealed from the decision of the district court, and Talbot from that of the circuit court. The supreme court ordered the vessel to be sold and the costs to be paid from the proceeds of the sale; of the residue one-sixth was to go to the libellant, for commander and crew, the remainder to the owners of the vessel. This practically reaffirmed the decision of the circuit court. The decree was handed down in August. Jared Ingersoll was principal counsel for the plaintiff, Alexander James Dallas for the defendant.

[4] It passed the Senate the next day. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 741–742.

[5] Samuel Bayard, the fourth son of Col. John Bayard. He was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court in 1791, and in 1794 was appointed agent of the United States to prosecute American claims before the British admiralty courts. At this time he was living at New Rochelle, N. Y., and had been appointed presiding judge of Westchester County. The present application was apparently for appointment to one of the new circuit courts, which he did not attain.

requested. He shewed me a number of letters which he had received in recommendation of Your Brother spoke of his personal knowledge of him and made very am[ia]ble enquiries as to my information and opinion as to his legal qualifications. I did my cousin full justice and the President assured be that unless the N York Delegation should press upon him some man whom with propriety he could not resist, Samuel should be appointed. I have little doubt of his success. Upon some future occasion I shall be at liberty to tell you of very unexpected proofs he gave me of his personal esteem.[1] At present I must be silent.

Great anxiety is felt here upon the subject of Presidential election. It will probably be decided on Wednesday next. It appears to be the general opinion that there ought to be a permanent sitting for the purpose of making the choice.

The judiciary Bill has passed the Senate and will certainly be approved by the President.

It is uncertain what will be the fate of the foreign intercourse Bill. I am enclined to thing it will not be continued. I will give you the first certain information in my power.

Remember me to cousin Sally.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *10 Feby. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am told by Ann in her last letter that you complain of my not writing to you oftener. No person ever had less reason for Complaint. I have written to you two letters for one—at least twice a week and ten times as often as I ever wrote before to any one person excepting my wife. If it is good news I can assure you of a seat upon the Bench of the Circuit Court.[2] 2,000 dollars are better than any thing Delaware can give you, and not an unpleasant provision for life. Tomorrow we proceed to ballot for President under a resolution not to adjourn till an election be made. But we are not to be without meat and drink fire or candles. It is extremely doubtful how long we shall be kept together. It is certain that no election will be made upon the first ballot. But the course which will afterwards be taken is not easy to be foreseen.

Perhaps no one has been more in the secret of the whole business than myself, but I believe no one person is acquainted with all the transactions which have attended it.

You will consider also it is a subject upon which at present it would not be safe to write by Post or even to write at all. I shall inform you of the result as soon as it is known.

[1] It seems probable that Adams suggested at this time the French mission which was, a little later, offered to Bayard.

[2] Bassett was appointed a circuit judge under the new judiciary act.

It is impossible for me to specify the letters I have received from you and the reason why I do not refer to their dates in my answers, is that I generally read them at home and write to you from the Capital. The paper which I have sent to Ann contains the rules adopted by the House on the subject of the election.

You will excuse my inaccuracies. I write while I am attending to a debate in the House. Remember me to Mrs. B.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *10 Feby. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: The House by a large majority have this moment rejected a Bill reported for the continuance of the act suspending the intercourse with France.[1] The existing law expires with the 3d of March. I hasten to communicate this information the early receipt of which may be important to you.

In confidence I mention additionally that the appointment of Minister plenepotentiary to the french republic has been offered to me. I am not determined as to acceptance or refusal. The offer would be infinitely inviting were it not for the present state of Parties.

Adieu. I am attending to a debate before the House.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *12 Feby. 1801.*
CHAMBER OF THE REPRESENTATIVES,
1/2 past 12, night.

MY DEAR SIR: We are now engaged in balloting for President. 19 times the ballot has been repeated and produced the same result—8 votes for Jefferson 6 for Burr and 2 divided.[2] We do not know how or when the business will end.

I recd. your letter of the 6th instant a few minuits ago—and I believe I have recd. all you have written, but for a reason assigned in a letter of a former date have not made references to them. I assure you I have written twice for your once, and have left you no cause of Complaint.

Your appointment is secure. I think from Pennsylvania you will have one of the Tilghmans[3] for your companion.

Excuse my brevity at this moment.

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[1] 59 to 37. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 1019–1020.

[2] *For Jefferson:* New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee. *For Burr:* New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina. *Divided:* Vermont, Maryland. Stanwood, 72.

[3] William Tilghman, or his cousin Edward, both Philadelphia lawyers. The appointment was offered to Edward who declined it, recommending William, who was appointed.

BAYARD TO ALLAN MCLANE.[1]

CHAMBER OF REPS.
12 Feby., 1 o'clock in the morning.

DEAR SIR: The House is in session and engaged in balloting for President. 19 times the ballots have been given in and produced the same result—8 votes for Jefferson, 6 for Burr, and two divided.

How or when the affair will end, we know not.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *12 Feby. 1801.*
1 o'clock in the morning.

MY DEAR ANDREW: We have been engaged the greater part of the day balloting for President. Nineteen times the votes have been given in and the result the same. 8 for Jefferson 6 for Burr and two divided. There is a resolution of the House not to adjourn till an election be made. As to what is to happen we are all ignorant.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *Friday 13th Feby. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: On Wednesday the House of Representatives proceeded to ballot for President. In the course of the day and night during all which we continued in Session we balloted 27 times, yesterday once and to day twice. The result has always been the same, 8 votes for Jefferson 6 for Burr and 2 divided. The next ballot will be taken tomorrow at 12 o'clock. I can say nothing as to the event.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *16 Feby. 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: We have yet made no President but tomorrow we shall give up the contest. Burr has acted a miserable paultry part. The election was in his power, but he was determined to come in as a Democrat, and in that event would have been the most dangerous man in the community. We have been counteracted in the whole business by letters he has written to this place. Some of our Gentleman from an intemperate hatred to Jefferson were disposed to proceed to the most desperate extremities. Being perfectly resolved not to risk the constitution or a civil war, I found the moment arrived at which it was necessary to take a decided Step. The hope of electing Burr was abandoned upon all hands. I therefore considered it

[1] From a copy of the original, among the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

the time to announce my intention of voting for Jefferson. It has produced great clamour and the violent spirits of the Party denounced me as a Deserter of the Party.

I procured a general meeting, explained what I had done and what were my motives and found a general disposition to acquiese.

We meet again to night merely to agree upon the mode of surrendering.

I saw the President yesterday, who expressed his design to nominate you as Chief Justice of the Circuit. If you would prefer the place of Associate, you will inform me. The Salary is the same.

Tomorrow I shall be nominated as Minister to France. Whether I shall accept depends on contingencies. A 20 gun ship is in waiting to proceed to France immediately, so that if I go, but a few days will be allowed me to arrange myself.

Remember me to Mrs. B.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *17 Feby. 1801.*

My dear Sir: The question of President is settled. Upon the last vote Mr. Jefferson had 10 votes Mr. Burr 4 and two blank. This step was not taken till it was admitted on all hands that we must risk the Constitution and a civil war or take Mr. Jefferson. The New England States admitted this but still voted for Bur. But they stood on different ground from Delaware, Maryland, S. Carolina and Vermont who receded.

Present my love to all the family.

Bayard to McLane.[1]

Washington, *17 February 1801.*

D[r] Sir: Mr. Jefferson is our President. Our opposition was continued till it was demonstrated that the New England Gentlemen meant to go without a Constitution and take the risk of a Civil War—they agreed that those who would not agree to incur such an extremity ought to recede without loss of time. The Federalists South of the Eastern States, pressed them to go with us, and preserve unity in our measures. After great agitation and much heat, they

[1] This text is derived from a copy made by the present Judge Allan McLane of Baltimore from the original, later destroyed in the Baltimore fire of 1904. The version which follows is derived from the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress, second series, vol. XII, no. 1. The letter is endorsed in Jefferson's handwriting, "Bayard, James A. of Delaware. A copy of a letter from him to Colo. McLane of Delaware, written pending the election between Th. J. and A. Burr. The original was put by Colo. McLane into the hands of T. M. R. who made this copy." "T. M. R." means Thomas Mann Randolph, son-in-law of Jefferson. In this latter form the letter was published in Niles' Register, Nov. 16, 1822.

all agreed but one, but in consequence of his standing out the others refused to abandon their old friend. Mr. Jefferson did not get a federal vote. Vermont gave a vote by means of Morris[1] withdrawing—the same thing happened with Maryland—the votes of South Carolina and Delaware were blank.[2]

BAYARD TO MCLANE.

WASHINGTON, *17th Feby. 1801.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Jefferson is our President. Our opposition was continued till it was demonstrated that Burr could not be brought in, and even if he could he meant to come in as a Democrat. In such case to evidence his sincerity he must have swept every officer in the U. States. I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan.[3] The New England Gentlemen came out and declared they meant to go without a constitution and take the risk of

[1] Lewis R. Morris (1753–1825), member of the House 1797–1803.

[2] All Federalists except those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, declined to vote. This gave Virginia and Maryland to Jefferson, divided the votes of Delaware and South Carolina, and gave Burr the New England states named above.

[3] The source of Bayard's information as to Jefferson's probable course in regard to appointments is given in "Remarks in the Senate of the United States, January 31, 1855", pp. 16–17, 19, in depositions of Bayard and Samuel Smith of 1806, "In determining to recede from the opposition to Mr. Jefferson, it occurred to us, that probably instead of being obliged to surrender at discretion, we might obtain terms of capitulation. . . . With a view to the end mentioned, I applied to Mr. John Nicholas, a member of the House from Virginia, who was a particular friend of Mr. Jefferson. I stated to Mr. Nicholas, that if certain points of the future Administration could be understood and arranged with Mr. Jefferson, I was authorized to say that three States would withdraw from an opposition to his election. He asked me what those points were. I answered, . . . lastly, that subordinate public officers employed only in the execution of details, established by law, shall not be removed from office on the ground of their political character, nor without complaint against their conduct. I explained myself, that I considered it not only reasonable, but necessary, that offices of high discretion and confidence should be filled by men of Mr. Jefferson's choice. I exemplified by mentioning, on the one hand, the offices of the Secretaries of States, Treasury, foreign ministers, etc.; and, on the other, the collectors of ports, etc. Mr. Nicholas answered me, that he considered the points as very reasonable, that he was satisfied that they corresponded with the views and intentions of Mr. Jefferson, and knew him well. That he was acquainted with most of the gentlemen who would probably be about him, and enjoying his confidence, in case he became President, and that if I would be satisfied with *his* assurance, he could solemnly declare it as his opinion, that Mr. Jefferson, in his administration, would not depart from the points I had proposed. I replied to Mr. Nicholas, that I had not the least doubt of the sincerity of his declaration, and that his opinion was perfectly correct, but that I wanted an engagement, and that if the points could in any form be understood as conceded by Mr. Jefferson, the election should be ended, and proposed to him to consult Mr. Jefferson. This he declined, and said he could do no more than give me the assurance of his own opinion as to the sentiments and designs of Mr. Jefferson and his friends. I told him that was not sufficient, that we should not surrender without better terms. Upon this we separated, and I shortly after met with General Smith, to whom I unfolded myself in the same manner that I had done to Mr. Nicholas. In explaining myself to him in relation to the nature of the offices alluded to, I mentioned the offices of George Latimer, collector of the port of Philadelphia, and Allen McLane, collector of Wilmington. General Smith gave me the same assurance as to the observance, by Mr. Jefferson, of the points which I had stated, which Mr. Nicholas had done. I told him I should not be satisfied, nor agree to yield, till I had the assurance from Mr. Jefferson himself; but that if he

a Civil War. They agreed that those who could not agree to incurr such an extremity ought to secede without loss of time. We pressed them to go with us and preserve unity in our measures. After great agitation and much heat, they all agreed but one. But in consequence of his standing out the others refused to abandon their old ground. Mr. J did not get a Foederal vote. Vermont gave a vote by means of Morris withdrawing—the same thing happened with Maryland. The votes of S. Carolina and Delaware were blank.

I have taken good care of you, and think if prudent, you are safe.

Bayard to John Adams.[1]

Washington, *19 Feby., 1801.*

Sir: I beg you to accept my thanks for the Honor conferred on me by the nomination as Minister to the French Repuplic.

Under most circumstances I should have been extremely gratified with such an opportunity of rendering myself serviceable to the country. But the delicate situation in which the late presidential election has placed me forbids me exposing myself to the suspicion of having adopted from impure motives the line of conduct which I pursued.

Representing the smallest State in the Union, without resources which could furnish the means of self protection, I was compelled

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would consult Mr. Jefferson, and bring the assurance from him, the election should be ended. The General made no difficulty in consulting Mr. Jefferson, and proposed giving me his answer next morning. The next day, upon our meeting, General Smith informed me that he had seen Mr. Jefferson, and stated to him the points mentioned, and was authorized by him to say, that they corresponded with his views and intentions, and that we might confide in him accordingly." Deposition of Bayard.

"I was asked by Mr. Bayard to go into the committee room. He then stated that he had it in his power (and was so disposed) to terminate the election, but he wished information as to Mr. Jefferson's opinions on certain subjects. . . . What would be Mr. Jefferson's conduct as to the public officers? He said he did not mean confidential officers, but, by the way of elucidating his question, he said, such as Mr. Latimer, of Philadelphia and Mr. McLane, of Delaware. I answered that I never had heard Mr. Jefferson say anything on that subject. He requested that I would inquire, and inform him the next day. I did so. And the next day (Saturday) told him, that Mr. Jefferson had said that he did not think that such officers ought to be dismissed on political grounds only, except in cases where they had made improper use of their offices, to force the officers under them to vote contrary to their judgment. That as to Mr. McLane, he had already been spoken to in his behalf by Major Eccleston, and from the character given him by that gentleman, he considered him a meritorious officer; of course, that he would not be displaced, or ought not to be displaced. I further added, that Mr. Bayard might rest assured, (or words to that effect,) that Mr. Jefferson would conduct, as to those points, agreeably to the opinions I had stated as his. Mr. Bayard then said, we will give the vote on Monday, and we seprated." Deposition of Samuel Smith. For studies of the opinions Jefferson subsequently expressed and of his practice see "Papers of the American Historical Association", II, 47–52; and Fish, "The Civil Service and Patronage", 29–51.

[1] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles. Printed in "Remarks in the Senate of the United States, January 31, 1855, vindicating the late James A. Bayard, of Delaware", 23, and in Randall, "Life of Jefferson", 11, 622.

by the obligation of a sacred duty so to act as not to hazard the constitution upon which the political existence of the State depends.

The service which I should have to render by accepting the appointment, would be under the administration of Mr. Jefferson and having been in the number of those who withdrew themselves from the opposition to his election it is impossible for me to take an office the tenure of which would be at his pleasure.

You will therefore pardon me Sir for begging you to accept my resignation of the appointment.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *22 Feby. 1801.*

My dear Sir: I have had much to do in the presidential election which has terminated against all our wishes, but was acquiesced in as the least of evils to which we were exposed.

I was obliged to give the turn to the election and was at first much abused, but every thing is now understood and a reasonable satisfaction prevails.

You are appointed one of the Judges of the circuit Court, but not the Chief Judge. That title and it is no more is given to Mr. Ingersoll.[1]

The President changed his mind after the date of my last letter to you. He had then determined to appoint you Ch. Just.

He has given me lately great marks of his confidence and esteem. He mentioned his intention of appointing me early in the Session Secretary at war and was only prevented by the importance of my vote in the presidential election.

He has since commissioned me as minister plenepotentiary to the french Republic.

This distinguished honor for reasons which I shall explain hereafter I have declined.[2]

Would it not be proper for Ann to return home? I shall be in Wilmington about the 8th of March. I trust to the care you will take of her and the children in their returning home.

My love to Mrs. B.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *22 Feby. 1801.*

My dear Andrew: My letters are generally brief, because I have a great number to write and little time to write them in. I recd.

[1] Jared Ingersoll (1749–1822), at this time United States district attorney for the eastern district of Pennsylvania. The appointment as chief justice he declined.

[2] See pp. 131–132.

yours by the last mail and without containing news it was as all yours are extremely acceptable.

We have made a President and some of us on the principle of chusing the least of evils. I withdrew from the opposition not until it was universally admitted that nothing remained but J— or no constitution.

It fell upon me to give the first turn to the election and I was at first sufficiently abused, but the thing is now understood here and acquiesced in.

I have been commissioned as Minister and resigned the appointment. The step was taken upon a full view and consideration of all circumstances which left me no doubt that there was more honor in declining than accepting the office.

Benson[1] of N York has succeeded as Circuit Judge in place of your Brother Samuel.

His character and the weight of an unanimous recommendation from the N York Delegation turned the scale. I know that the President had resolved in his own mind to appoint Samuel.

I have been much mortified with the result. Your Brother is informed on the subject.

Mr. Nourse[2] promised in a few days to furnish the warrant for the transfer of the Certif. you sent me.

Bayard to Samuel Bayard.[3]

Washington, *22 Feby 1801.*

". . . You are right in your conjectures as to the office offered me. I have since been nominated Minister Plenipotentiary, Concurred in Nem Con.—Commissioned, and resigned. Under proper circumstances the acceptance would have been complete gratification; but under the existing I thought the resignation most honorable. To have taken 18,000 dollars out of the public treasury with a knowledge that no service could be rendered by me, as the French Government would have waited for a man who represented the existing feelings and views of this Government, would have been disgraceful. Another consideration of great weight arose from the part I took in the Presidential election. By the arrangements I made I became encircled by all the doubtful votes and made myself responsible for the issue. When it was perfectly ascertained that Burr could not be elected I avowed that the only remaining object was to exclude Jefferson at the expense of the constitution. Ac-

[1] Egbert Benson (1746–1833), who was judge of the New York supreme court at this time.

[2] Joseph Nourse, register of the treasury.

[3] A part of this extract was printed in "Remarks in the Senate", etc., 24; the copy from which this is printed is among the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

cording to an arrangement I had made with Maryland I came forward and avowed my intentions of putting an end to the contest. The clamour was prodigious. The reproaches vehement. I procured a meeting—explained myself and declared an inflexible intention to run no risk of the constitution. I told them that if necessary I had determined to become the victim of the measure. They might atempt to direct the vengeance of the Party against me but the danger of being a sacrifice could not shake my resolution. Some were appeased: other furious, and we broke up in confusion. A second meeting was no happier in its effect: In the end however there was a general acquiesence and the whole Party agreed to vote alike, except Mr. Esmonds[1] of Connecticut. His persisting in voting for Burr induced the four New England States to do the same thing. Morris retired—Vermont in consequence voted for Jefferson—four members of Maryland voted in blank,—the result of the Maryland vote was the same with Vert. South Carolina and Delaware voted in blank. As I had given the *turn* to the election, it was impossible for me to accept an office which would be held on the tenure of Mr. Jeffersons pleasure. My ambition shall never be gratified at the expense of a suspicion. I shall never lose sight of the motto of the great Origonal of our name.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *23 Feby. 1801.*

My dear Sir: It is a matter of great importance that Delaware should have two Senators here the 4th March. Latimer[2] has gone home with a determination not to return. I have written to Him to send you his resignation to take effect *immediately*. Should he do so, I pray you to lose no time in making an appointment with an injunction to the person to come on without loss of time. It is thought the majority will depend upon a single vote and as all the heads of Departments are to be filled, you will see the importance of our State having both her members on the floor. What think you of Grantham?[3] To me he appears a very fit man, but at all events send us some one instantly.

Harper to his Constituents.

Washington, *February 24th, 1801.*

The session of Congress, my dear Sir, being about to close, and with it my political life, I take up the pen for the last time, to give

[1] William Edmond (1755–1838), Federalist member of the House, 1797–1801.

[2] Dr. Henry Lattimer (1752–1819) of Delaware, who after serving in the House from Feb. 14, 1794, to Feb. 28, 1795, entered the Senate in place of George Read. His term expired Mar. 3, 1801.

[3] Isaac Grantham, a prominent Delaware lawyer.

my constituents an account of my stewardship. I have delayed it thus long, because nothing very material took place in the early part of the session; and I thought it best to bring into one view, all that seemed to me particularly worthy of their attention.

As the general principles on which I have acted, in the trust confided to me, have heretofore been explained to you, together with the reasons which governed my conduct in every particular case of importance, nothing now remains, but to give you an account of the interesting events which have marked the present period, of the most important acts of the present session, and of the general state of our affairs at its close. This will enable you now to judge in what manner the government has hitherto been conducted; and hereafter to appreciate justly, the wisdom and ability of those into whose hands its administration is soon to pass.

I will begin with the election of President, the most important of those events which have lately occurred.

You need not be told that the candidates on one side in this great contest, were Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, and on the other Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr of New York. The two first were supported by those persons who approved the present administration, and the system of measures adopted by Washington. Their intention was to give Mr. Adams the preference as President, and make General Pinckney Vice-President; but to take the chance of his being made President, if his personal popularity should obtain for him the votes of some persons who would not vote for Mr. Adams. The other two gentlemen were supported by those persons who have always opposed the administration of General Washington and Mr. Adams, and all the important measures which have been adopted under them. Their plan was to give Mr. Jefferson the preference exclusively as President. They supported Colonel Burr as Vice-President, because his situation and power in New York rendered it absolutely necessary to admit his pretensions.

In the states, exclusive of South Carolina, the candidates stood exactly equal; except that one vote was thrown away from General Pinckney in Rhode Island, to prevent him from being tied with Mr. Adams. He had 64 votes, and each of the other candidates 65. It therefore depended on South Carolina to make the President and Vice-President. Had she voted for Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, the first would have been President and the second Vice-President. Had she voted for Mr. Jefferson and General Pinckney, as was generally expected, Mr. Jefferson would have been President, and General Pinckney Vice-President. By voting for General Pinckney and throwing away her other vote, she might have made him President, and left it a tie between Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson for Vice-President; in which case the Senate must have decided on

the choice. By voting for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, she gave them 73 votes each; which being a majority of 138, the whole number of electors, the choice between those two gentlemen devolved, according to the Constitution, on the House of Representatives; which, in such cases, is to chuse by ballot one of the two highest to be President. The other becomes Vice-President of course.

As it may be satisfactory to you to know how the several states acted on this great occasion, I will give you a statement of their votes.

The five New England states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, gave together 39 votes; all for Mr. Adams, and all except one for General Pinckney. That one was thrown away. New York gave 12 votes, all for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. New Jersey 7, and Delaware 3, all for Mr. Adams and General Pinckney. Pennsylvania 15, of which 8 were for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, and 7 for Mr. Adams and General Pinckney. Maryland 10, of which 5 were for Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, and 5 for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. Virginia 21, all for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. North-Carolina 12, of which 8 were for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, and 4 for Mr. Adams and General Pinckney. South Carolina 8, all for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. Georgia 4. Tennessee 3, and Kentucky 4; all for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr.

As the supporters of Mr. Jefferson certainly did not intend to bring Colonel Burr into competition with him, it is difficult to account for their giving them an equal number of votes. Be that as it may, the fact was so, and so it appeared on counting the votes; which took place in presence of both Houses of Congress, on the 11th of this month. They had 73 votes each; which being a majority of the whole number, they were both elected: but it devolved on the House of Representatives to declare which of them should be President.

In discharging this most important duty, I was of opinion that the two candidates, in a constitutional and legal view, stood precisely equal, having an equal number of votes from those whom the people had appointed to act for them in the elections; and that my choice between them ought to be governed, entirely, by my opinion of their respective fitness and qualification for the office. Taking this as the foundation of my judgment, and I am firmly persuaded that it is the only solid one, I came to a determination, after deliberating on the subject as fully as its importance demanded, to vote for Colonel Burr; being decidedly of opinion that of the two men he was the most fit for the office of President.

But although I gave the preference to Colonel Burr, I considered it as our duty to make a choice, and to accede to the election of Mr.

Jefferson, rather than expose the nation to the mischiefs which might result from leaving the government without a head.

I therefore resolved, as far as might depend on me, to attempt the election of Colonel Burr, and to persist in the attempt as long as there should appear to be any rational prospect of success; but to relinquish it, and acquiesce in the election of Mr. Jefferson, from the moment when that prospect should be at an end. All those members who had favoured the election of Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, were known to concur in preferring Colonel Burr to Mr. Jefferson. Their number was sufficient to divide the votes and prevent an election. In this state of things, a few votes from those who had supported Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, would turn the scale in favour of the latter, and make him President; and it was probable that motives of personal attachment or political preference, would obtain for him those votes. Four, or even three, would have been sufficient.

In choosing a President the House of Representatives votes by ballot, and each state has a vote. One member may give the vote of a state, if there be no more present; and to make a choice there must be a majority of all the states. As their number at present is sixteen, it requires nine to make a choice. The members from each state vote by themselves, to determine the vote of their state; and when it is ascertained, one of them, by the appointment of the rest, puts it into the ballot-box.

As soon as the votes were counted in presence of both Houses, and the result declared by the Vice-President, the House of Representatives returned to its own chamber, and proceded to ballot with closed doors; having previously resolved not to do any other business, or to adjourn, till a choice should be made. On the first ballot it appeared that 8 states were for Mr. Jefferson, 6 for Colonel Burr, and 2 divided. Consequently neither candidate had a majority, and no choice was made. The ballot was then repeated from time to time during the whole night, without any change. In the morning the members, by general consent, but without a regular adjournment, separated till next day, to take rest and refreshment. The next day, the ballot was repeated several times, but no change appeared, and they again separated. This state of things continued for several days; the members separating by consent, but without an adjournment, and meeting again at a certain hour, to repeat the ballot. The utmost harmony and good humour prevailed during the whole period; and especially throughout the anxious scene of the first night. Out of doors too, the utmost order and quiet was observed.

The 8 states which voted for Mr. Jefferson, are known to have been New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Those for Colonel Burr were New-

Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and South-Carolina. The divided states were Vermont and Maryland. The individual members are said to have voted as follows: New-Hampshire 6, all for Colonel Burr. Massachusetts 14; 11 for Colonel Burr, and 3 for Mr. Jefferson. Rhode-Island 2, both for Colonel Burr. Connecticut 7, all for Colonel Burr. Vermont 2; 1 for Mr. Jefferson, and 1 for Colonel Burr. New-York 10; 6 for Mr. Jefferson, 4 for Colonel Burr. New-Jersey 5; 3 for Mr. Jefferson, 2 for Colonel Burr. Pennsylvania 13; 9 for Mr. Jefferson, 4 for Colonel Burr. Delaware 1, for Colonel Burr. Maryland 8; 4 for Mr. Jefferson, 4 for Colonel Burr. Virginia 19; 14 for Mr. Jefferson, 5 for Colonel Burr. North-Carolina 10; 6 for Mr. Jefferson, 4 for Colonel Burr. South-Carolina 6; 4 for Colonel Burr, 1 for Mr. Jefferson, 1 sick. Georgia 1, for Mr. Jefferson (the other member from that state died before the election.) Tennessee 1, for Mr. Jefferson. Kentucky 2, for Mr. Jefferson. From this it appears that out of 106 members, which is the whole number of the House of Representatives, 104 voted; and that 53 of those votes were for Colonel Burr: who therefore had a majority by heads, though not by states. I was one of those who voted for Colonel Burr.

It being at length ascertained, after 35 trials, and five days consumed in balloting, that the supporters of Mr. Jefferson had come to a determination, which was known to have been solemnly made, and was publicly avowed, to risk the constitution and the union rather than give him up, and that no probability existed of a change in any of them; those who had voted for Colonel Burr, and who preferred the constitution and the peace of the country to their own wishes, thought it time to preserve those great and invaluable objects, by suffering Mr. Jefferson to be chosen: conceiving that union, even under him, was better than a separation of the states; and that the government might survive a bad or weak administration, but must be greatly endangered, if not certainly destroyed, by being left without a head. They therefore gave up their opposition. Part of them declined voting, and part continued to vote for Colonel Burr. Thus on the thirty-sixth ballot there appeared 10 states for Mr. Jefferson, 4 for Colonel Burr, and 2 declined voting. The members from Maryland and Vermont who had voted for Colonel Burr declined voting, and suffered the votes of those two states to be given for Mr. Jefferson; which made up the ten. The 4 New England states continued to vote for Colonel Burr; and South Carolina and Delaware declined voting.

Thus ended the contest, and Mr. Jefferson was constitutionally chosen and declared President. I was one of the last to yield to his election, because I thought him less fit for the office than the other

candidate: because he is President, I shall be one of the last to oppose, thwart, or embarras his administration.

This statement having run into greater length than I expected, I shall here close the present letter, and reserve for a subsequent communication the remaining parts of the subject.

Harper to his Constituents.

Washington, *February 26th, 1801.*

The occurrence, my dear Sir, which I consider as next in importance, is the treaty with France; which was signed at Paris on the 30th of September last, and arrived here some time in November. It is almost wholly of a commercial nature, and places our trade with that country on a footing as eligible as that whereon it stands with other nations.

The ratification of this treaty met with some difficulties in the Senate, but was at length agreed to, under two conditions which are not considered as being of a nature to create objection on the part of France. The first is to expunge an article, which we supposed to imply that we did not intend ever to stipulate; and the second, to limit the duration of the treaty to eight years: a precaution usual in commercial treaties, and particularly necessary in the present varying and uncertain state of the world. Some further objections, which I thought well founded, were made to the treaty; but as it has been accepted by the constitutional authority, no good can result from stating them.[1]

Our commercial treaty with Prussia has also been renewed.[2] It is important not only as respects our trade with that nation, but also with the north of Germany: an extensive and increasing branch of our commerce.

The most important act of Congress which has passed in the present session, is that for regulating the courts of the United States.[3] According to the former plan, there was one supreme court, consisting of six judges, and a circuit court in each state. These circuit courts were held by the judges of the supreme court, one of whom attended at each of them for that purpose; and as they were held twice a year, the six judges were obliged, in the performance of this duty, to travel perpetually from one end of the continent to the other. In such long and frequent journies, accidents would happen to prevent their attendance; and then no court could be held. Hence a great delay of business, and much loss and inconvenience to the suitors jurors and

[1] See pp. 120, 121, 122.

[2] The Prussian treaty of amity and commerce of Sept. 10, 1785, expired in 1796; the renewal was proclaimed Nov. 4, 1800.

[3] Approved Feb. 13, 1801; c. 4.

witnesses. As the supreme court, moreover, is the high court of appeals, and the last resort, in all cases subject to the judicial authority of the United States, which includes matters of the utmost importance both to the nation and individuals; it is necessary to have in that court men of great learning and experience, and of that weight of character which is rarely acquired till an advanced age. Such men must ever be unable to support, for any length of time, journies of such frequency and extent as those which the former system required. If qualified at a middle age for the duties of the office, and able to support its fatigues, they must gradually become unequal to the latter, in proportion as they become more fit for the former: and at length must be driven from the bench, at the time when they had become its greatest ornaments.

The invariable tendency of such a system, must have been to degrade, ultimately, the supreme tribunal of the nation, by filling it either with young men of little character and experience, or with needy old men who would hold their seats for the sake of bread. Those seats must have been gradually abandoned, by men who could live without them, and had attained the eminence and age necessary for filling them as they ought to be filled. Every sound politician will feel the necessity of changing a system, which must have produced such effects on the administration of justice.

The new system relieves the judges from this intolerable labour, reduces their number to five, and assigns them no other duty but that of holding the supreme court at the seat of government. The post will now become so eligible, as to be accepted and retained by the most eminent characters in the nation; which will gradually render the supreme court of the United States what it ought to be, and what surely the pride of every American must induce him to wish that it may be, one of the first tribunals in the world, for the ability, learning and dignity of its members.

The former system was not only thus inconvenient in practice, but wholly inadequate to the proper administration of justice. The circuit courts of the United States have cognizance, not only of civil actions and suits to a great extent and value, but of all offences against the laws of the United States. These courts therefore are of great importance, and indeed of absolute necessity, to the support of the government; which can never be respected or obeyed, unless it holds in its own hands the means of punishing infractions of its laws.

There are two states, Tennessee and Kentucky, in which, on account of their very remote situation, no circuit courts could be held; it being impossible for the judges of the supreme court to go into them for that purpose. The important duties of the circuit court in those states, were, therefore, delegated, of necessity, to other courts,

instituted for a different purpose, and very unfit, from the mode of their construction, for the discharge of those duties. The district of Maine, a very important part of the union, was in the same predicament. New settlements and states are perpetually forming in our frontier territories; and they must all have been in the same situation with Maine, Kentucky and Tennessee. They must have been left destitute of circuit courts. In several of the states where circuit courts were actually held, their great extent rendered one court wholly inadequate to the business. In Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York, for instance, in each of which there was but one circuit court, persons who were obliged to attend it, as parties, jurors and witnesses, were under the necessity of travelling, in very many cases, two, three, and even four hundred miles. The inconvenience, expence and loss of time hence resulting, were so great, as to deprive individuals of the benefit of the court, in many cases where it might be highly important to them; and, in a great degree, to deprive the government of its aid in executing the laws: for persons would seldom inform against offenders, when the information was to lay them under the necessity of attending as witnesses, at such a distance.

These various inconveniences it was impossible to remove by the aid of the old system; for the judges of the supreme court could hardly go through the task of holding the circuit courts already established. Any increase of their duty was, therefore, out of the question.

Nothing remained but to adopt a new system, whose principles might be suitable to the present state of the country, and capable of extension according to its future circumstances. It was therefore provided by the new bill, that such of the states as, by their great extent or peculiar situation, were exposed to the greatest inconvenience from having but one court, should be divided into two districts each; that each of the remaining states should constitute one district; that all these districts should be classed into circuits, consisting each of three or four districts; and that in each circuit there should be three circuit judges, one being commissioned as chief judge, whose duty it should be to hold a circuit court twice a year, in and for each of the districts composing the circuit. The states divided were Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Tennessee: Massachusetts partly on account of its extent, and partly of the detached situation of the district of Maine, which belongs to it; New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia on account of their magnitude and extent of territory; and Tennessee from the detached situation of its two principal settlements, which lie on different sides of a wide and uninhabited range of mountains. The territories of the United States beyond the Ohio, which do not belong to any state, were also erected into a district, called the district of Ohio; and the

whole number of districts was thus encreased to twenty-two. The number of circuits is six: the first consisting of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; the second of Connecticut, Vermont, and the two districts of New York; the third of Jersey, Delaware, and the two districts of Pennsylvania; the fourth, of Maryland, and the two districts of Virginia; the fifth, of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and the sixth of Ohio, Kentucky, and the two districts of Tennessee.

Those circuit judges receive a salary of two thousand dollars each; except those of the sixth circuit, who have but fifteen hundred. The difference was made on account of the difference between the western and the Atlantic states, in the expence of living and the value of money; fifteen hundred dollars in the former, being considered as equal to two thousand in the latter.

The whole additional expence occasioned by this system, is, at present, about thirty-nine thousand dollars: but as one judge is to be taken, at the next vacancy, from the supreme court, his salary, amounting to three thousand five hundred dollars, will be saved; and being deducted from the increased expence, will reduce it to about thirty-five thousand five hundred dollars. This increased expence, which amounts to less than the support of a single frigate of 32 guns, is, in my judgment, a most inconsiderable object, when compared with the importance of providing for an able punctual and efficient administration of justice. Without such an administration, it is clear that no government can long be respected or maintained.

This system received a most persevering and violent opposition, from those whose main object and endeavour it is, to keep the federal government as feeble, and as dependent on the state governments, as possible. As nothing tends more to defeat this plan, than to give the federal government a complete and well organized sett of courts, where its laws may be duly enforced; so nothing promotes the plan more effectually, than to keep that government destitute of such courts, and thus lay it under the necessity of depending, in a great degree, on the state courts for the execution of its laws. Hence the zealous opposition to this system; about the expence of which so much is said, while the real objection to it consists in its tendency to give stability and dignity to the general government, and to render it independent of state influence and controul.

Among the remaining acts of the session, one of the most interesting is that by which the jurisdiction over the ten miles square, ceded by the states of Virginia and Maryland for the permanent seat of the federal government, is assumed pursuant to the constitution. The act leaves in Congress the legislative power over this district, and provides for the execution of the laws and the administration of

justice, by a proper establishment of courts, and the appointment of judicial and executive officers.[1]

The law prohibiting intercourse with France expires on the fourth of March. As the treaty with that power cannot be considered as complete, till she shall have agreed to the conditions under which we consented to its ratification, many members, of whom I was one, were of opinion, that, till such consent shall have been given, we ought not to abandon our measures, nor trust in her power such quantities of the property of our citizens, as will be sent to her ports as soon as the intercourse is restored. The majority, however, thought otherwise, and the law is suffered to expire.[2] The chief reason for this step, was to enable the growers of tobacco, vast quantities of which are consumed in France, to obtain for that commodity the high price which it is supposed that it will bear in her ports, as soon as they are opened. Thus, as on too many other occasions, ill-understood views of local interest and partial advantage, were suffered to decide a question of national policy. I say ill-understood; because it is demonstrable on the clearest principles, and is admitted by every person who understands the nature of trade, that to open the intercourse will not occasion any solid or lasting increase in the price of tobacco; though it no doubt will create a temporary rise, which may tempt the merchants to purchase at a high price, and ruin themselves by the speculation. The price of every commodity must ever depend on the demand for it. While this demand continues, as the demand for tobacco always does in France, to increase the difficulty of supplying it, will increase the price to the consumers; who must pay not only for the commodity, but for the risk and expense of the circuitous transportation. Remove these difficulties and the price immediately falls. The consumers get the commodity cheaper, and that is the whole effect. The prohibition of direct intercourse between this country and France, rendered the supply of tobacco difficult hazardous and expensive. The French still got it; but as it came to them through the ports of other nations, the price in their country rose very much, and they were forced to pay very dear for the commodity. Restore the intercourse, and the supply immediately becomes direct and easy, and the price in France falls in proportion. This measure, therefore, by which the planters of tobacco expected to benefit themselves, will afford no lasting or real benefit to any body but the French; whom it will enable to purchase tobacco cheaper than at present.

I have explained this point somewhat in detail, because a great out-cry was raised against those who wished to continue the law till

[1] This act had passed the House Feb. 24; it was approved Feb. 27. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 1052, 1552–1555.

[2] See p. 125, note 1.

the treaty should be agreed to; as if they were willing, and even desirous, to deprive our own citizens of the fair price of their produce.

An attempt was also made to renew and continue in force the sedition act, which expires on the fourth of March.[1] I voted for this continuation and supported it with all my might; because I considered the law as highly proper and beneficial, in respect both to the government and the people; for while, on the one hand, it provides for the punishment of those who publish false, scandalous and malicious libels against the government; on the other, it enables persons who are indicted for libels, to give the truth of the matter in evidence for their justification, which the common law forbids, and limits the fine and imprisonment, which by the common law is wholly in the discretion of the court. As to the objections to the constitutionality of this law, they have been fully considered and over-ruled in the only place where they could be properly urged, that is in the courts of justice; whose province it is to decide on the constitutionality of laws.

The prosperous state of our finances, of which I shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter, a state prosperous beyond example or expectation, has rendered it unnecessary to continue the direct tax, or to adopt any other new tax. The present revenue, with the increase which it must receive from the additions made to the impost last session, and from the natural increase of wealth and population, will be amply sufficient for all the exigencies of our affairs, should they be conducted with skill and success.

Provision was made for completing the six seventy-fours voted at a former session of Congress; for which purpose five hundred thousand dollars were appropriated. The peace establishment of the navy was also regulated in the following manner: all the public ships now in service, except thirteen frigates, are to be sold; their guns, arms and military stores being first taken out and laid up for future use. Of those frigates, six are to be kept in constant employment, for the protection of our coasts, and some parts of our distant commerce, from piratical and unauthorized depredation. Nine captains, thirty-six lieutenants, and one hundred and fifty midshipmen, are also to be retained in service; but are to have half pay only, when not actually employed. This number is greater by one half, than would be necessary for the six frigates; but it was thought adviseable to retain them, so that there may be always officers ready for three or four of the other vessels, should it become necessary, as in the present state of the world it well may, to arm and send to sea an additional number. The reduction, in the mean time, will produce a saving of about a million in the navy expences of this year. To

[1] Feb. 21, 1801. "Annals", 6 Cong., 2 sess., 1049.

the officers who are discharged from service, an advance of four months pay is to be allowed; a reward to which their patriotism and alacrity in entering the service have well entitled them; and which will operate as an encouragement to similar conduct hereafter, when the country may stand in need of the personal services and sacrifices of its citizens.

It was also proposed to provide for procuring annually, and preserving for future use, the timber for one ship of the line and one frigate; but this was declined; from an opinion, I presume, that to finish the six seventy-fours, will be progressing with our navy as fast as our situation admits of or requires. This was not my opinion, I confess, but perhaps it may be a correct one. I thought, and still think, that our resources would justify greater exertions, and that our political interests, and the efficacious protection of our dignity and our rights against the injustice of other nations, required them. I therefore was decidedly in favour of the measure.[1]

March 5th, 1801.—These, my dear Sir, are all the acts of any considerable importance, that have been adopted during the session which closed on the night of the 3d instant. It will remain for another letter, to give you some account of the general state of our affairs.[2]

Till which I remain sincerely your's.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *2 March, 1801.*

MY DEAR SIR: I recd. this morning Your letter of the 25 Ult. and I thank you for the attention which you have paid to my affairs.

Tomorrow will be our last day, but I shall be obliged to remain here till the coronation is over. I expect to set out on the 5th, and shall certainly lose as little time as possible in returning to my family.

Mr. Ingersoll was appointed the Ch. Judge of our circuit, but has resigned and Mr. E. Tilghman appointed in his place.[3]

Not knowing whether Ann is with you or returned to Wilmington I omit writing to her, which you will mention if she is with you.

BAYARD TO HAMILTON.

WASHINGTON, *Mar. 8, 1801.*[4]

[See Hamilton, "Works of Hamilton", VI, 522–524.]

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[1] Probably the bill introduced Feb. 18.

[2] A letter of Harper of Mar. 5, 1801, similar in character to the foregoing, exists in print in two editions, one printed by Hilliard, and the other by Pierce in Portsmouth, N. H., and is also included in Harper's "Select Works", 324–350. This letter is not to be found among the Bayard Papers.

[3] See p. 125, note 3.

[4] In Lodge's edition of the "Works of Hamilton" (X, 423) no name is given to the correspondent to whom Hamilton wrote a letter of February 22, 1801, there printed. This letter is found among the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, addressed to James A. Bayard.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WILMINGTON, *19 April, 1801.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 16 Inst. by Mr. Hallowell. It would have given me more pleasure to have found you in his company, if circumstances would have allowed you conveniently to execute the Wish you expressed of making us a visit. The change of the seat of Government will permit me to see you very seldom. While I continue in congress I shall unavoidably be absent from Wilmington 9 or 10 months in the year. The remainder is a short period for domestic repose. Since my return from the two lower Counties my time has been wholly occupied by the Court at New Castle. Tomorrow I set out again upon the Circuit of the Commonpleas which continues six weeks. At the end however of four I shall return again to this County. Mrs. B. will accompany me as far as Dover. I shall not be at liberty till the middle of June. It is my intention some time in the summer to visit the city, and I hope you will be equally disposed to visit Wilmington. Our families ought to be brought together and I will consent which ever place we shall agree to be most pleasant at the season, shall be that where they shall meet.

It has not been in my power to pay any attention to the affairs of the Johns which were committed to our hands.[1] It is time however the business was settled. The money which has been in my hands has never been made any use of. Excepting two or three months it has always been in the Bank of the U. States which you will perceive by my account there. The rest of the time it was in the Bank of Delaware. I do not think that there will be money to pay the balance of principal due. If 15/ in the pound were accepted the whole might be paid. I wish you would propose it, and put it on the footing of my agreeing to pay so much for the discharge of my brother. It is a pretty good dividend as times go. If you can make such terms with any of the creditors you can draw upon me for the amount.

My Brother John got one or two hundred dollars from me, which he said were absolutely necessary to enable him to complete a dwelling house which he contemplated building. It will be best for the money to remain in my hands here while you settle with the Credrs. the amts. of their respective debts.

If you should receive soon some good claret not extravagantly dear I wish you would lay a box or two aside for me, and please to advise at what price good madeira may be had for cash.

[1] John Hodge Bayard, the writer's brother, and John Murray Bayard, Andrew's brother.

I thank you for your attention to the order for the Journals of Congress. You will give yourself no other trouble than to receive them.

Our family is quite well and Ann unites in an affectionate remembrance to Cousin Sally and Yourself.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *9 Jany. 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: The engagements to which I have been subject have put it out of my power to support any regular correspondence with my friends.

The morning is spent on Committees, the day in the House, and the evening generally finds me without much disposition to have recourse to my pen. I should not have failed however in appriſing you of any public measure likely to be adopted, the knowledge of which could have been important to you. In fact Congress after a Session of five weeks have done very little. We have passed the Bill apportioning the representation of the U. States upon the ratio of 33,000.[1] It is very probable that the ratio will be adopted in the Senate.

A motion is before the Senate to repeal the Judicial law of last Session. It will probably prevail there by a majority of one vote and it is not likely that it can be resisted in our House. The measure is a most flagrant violation of the Constitution, and the consequences of it infinitely to be deprecated.[2]

The President has made his nominations to the Senate which have been approved *inter alios* Mons. Gallatin, who in my opinion is among the best of them.[3]

The project is on foot to repeal the laws relative to internal revenue. This is the moment for your merchants to come forward if they wish the duties lowered upon any articles of importation.

Your Sisters are well. Peggy[4] has been much afflicted in consequence of her lying in.

I should be gratified in being rendered serviceable to you while I am here. Should you give letters to any of your friends, they will be entitled to all the attentions I can render them. You have one of my Certificates of 6 Pct. Stock for Dls 800 which I would thank you to send me as I have occasion for it in order to obtain a transfer from the office here to the books of the Comr. in Philad.

Present me to my Cousin.

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[1] The bill had passed the House Jan. 6. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 392–404.

[2] On Jan. 19 the Senate voted to repeal the judiciary act and appointed a committee to bring in a bill to that effect. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 145.

[3] "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 400–404. Albert Gallatin (1761–1849), who had been a member of the House since 1795, was nominated secretary of the treasury.

[4] Margaret (1778–1844), the second daughter of Col. John Bayard and the wife of Samuel Harrison Smith, the editor of the National Intelligencer.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *21 Jany. 1802.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I have written to you very seldom, in consequence of living in a place where very few occurrences take place worth communicating. After a very lengthy debate, the question as to the repeal of the Judicial law of the last Session has been carried in the Senate in the affirmative by a majority of two votes, 15 to 13.[1] This decision I consider as an event which cannot be too much lamented. It establishes a principle fraught with the worst consequences under such Governments as exist in the United States. The independence of the Judicial power is prostrated. A Judge instead of holding his office for life will hold it during the good pleasure of the dominant Party. The Judges will of course become Partizans, and the shadow of Justice will alone remain in our Courts.

It seems determined on to abandon all the internal taxes, which are calculated to yield 910,000 P annum. This will be an easy operation, but should there be occasion for them again it will be a task of a different nature to recreate them.

I should suppose the event would be attended with a commercial effect, to which it might be well to direct your views.

In a letter I wrote you, a week or two ago, I requested that you would send me a Certificate for 800 Dols 6 Pcts. which I left in your hands. I will thank you also to enclose the order for some volumes of the Journals of Congress, which can only be satisfied here at present.

Present me to Madam.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *25 Jany. 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: I send you a second speech of Mr. Morris on the subject of the Judiciary, which is not inferior in argument or eloquence to his former.[2] The subject still remains before the Senate upon a reference to a Committee to bring in a Bill conformably to the resolution which has been carried. Tho it is next to certain that the late law will be repealed, yet the course and forms thro which the business must pass will delay the repeal longer than you seem to think. It is not likely that the object will be accomplished in less time than a month or six weeks.

I am surprized at the public apathy upon the subject. Why do not those who are opposed to the project, express in the public papers

[1] Feb. 3, 1802. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 160–183.

[2] Probably the one reported in the "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 76–92, delivered Jan. 14, by Gouverneur Morris, senator from New York.

or by petitions their disapprobation of the measure? The majority affect to pay great deference to public sentiment, and it is likely that a public movement would have great effect.

Mr. Ross[1] has arrived and Mr. Ogden[2] hourly expected. These gentlemen will balance the Parties and place the scales in the hands of the Vice President. It is a situation he will endeavour to avoid and it is not certain how he would act.

He openly disapproves some of Mr. Jeffersons projects and particularly the abolition of the internal taxes. There are *none* of them for which he has manifested much respect.

The resolution for the repeal of all these internal taxes was carried this morning in the Committee of Ways and Means (of which I am a member). It is quite certain that the measure will take effect.

Ann and Caroline[3] are quite well and beg to be remembered affectionately.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *9 Feby. 1802.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I beg you to deliver the enclosed warrant for transfer of stock to the Books of the Comrs of loans of Pennsylvania to the commissioner, in order that the transfer may be made in time to entitle the demand of accruing interest at the office in your city.

I wrote to you some time ago for the order for certain volumes of the Journals of Congress which I left in your hands. It can at present be satisfied only at this place.

The act for the abolition of the Judicial system is now before us.[4] It will certainly pass by a large majority. A resolution has passed to put down the whole mint establishment.[5]

How long the tide of folly is to run, to what height it is to attain, is yet unknown. But there is reason to fear that it will not stop till all the mounds of Government are broke down, and the country inundated with the disorders and mischiefs against which government alone can protect society.

We have done very little in congress and it is not perhaps to be regretted, as very little good has been projected, and a great deal of mischief intended.

Your Sisters are well. Maria[6] means I understand to remain here during the Session which will probably last till May or June.

Present me to Madam.

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[1] James Ross (1762–1847) of Pennsylvania, Federalist, senator 1794–1803.

[2] Aaron Ogden (1756–1839) of New Jersey, Federalist, senator 1801–1803.

[3] Caroline was Bayard's eldest daughter.

[4] It had come to the House Feb. 4.

[5] This had been done the day before, Feb. 8. "Journal of the House", 1801–1804, 87.

[6] Anna Maria (1779–1869), Andrew's sister, the youngest child of Col. John Bayard. She had married Samuel Boyd, a prominent New York lawyer.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *12 Feby. 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure last evening of receiving your favor of the 8 Inst. I find you have been detained longer in the city than you contemplated.

I addressed a letter to you at Dover some days ago expecting that it would find you at that place. I have endeavoured to keep out of your debt as a correspondent and that is all I am able to do. The House and Com'ees take up the most of our time. The residue is very necessary to enquire into subjects which come before us.

I mentioned in my last that the repeal of the late Judicial law was limited to take effect on the 1st July next. It is the order of the day for Monday next. I think there cannot be a hope of resisting the Majority. The judicial system is the victim on which the hearts of the whole Party are set. Until it is immolated, they consider that nothing is done.

A resolution has passed our house to abolish the mint. It is contemplated to impeach Judge Chase[1] and to restore to Lyon the amount of his fine.[2] Calenders after the money was paid to the Marshall was returned upon an order of the President.[3]

Logans law or the law agt. self appointed Ambassadors will be repealed.[4] The internal revenues will be extinguished. In short everything that has a federal aspect will be blotted out, and after they have bared the bones of the constitution they will leave the skeleton to stalk along in any way it can.

We have heard very seldom from Dover and have felt anxious for our children. Ann insists she has written to Mary oftener than she has heard from her. And I have had the honor of writing one letter and of receiving none. Caroline is well at present, but has suffered

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[1] Judge Samuel Chase (1741–1811), associate justice of the Supreme Court since 1796. The impeachment proceedings were not brought against Judge Chase until May, 1803, after his charge to the grand jury at Baltimore in which he condemned the repeal of the Circuit Court Act and certain alterations in the Maryland constitution.

[2] Lyon had been indicted in October, 1798, under the Sedition Act; had been convicted, and confined for four months in jail with a fine of $1000, which had been paid by his friends. The agitation at this time to restore the fine came to nothing, as did another attempt in 1811; it was not until July 4, 1840, that an act was passed actually refunding the sum, with interest, to his heirs.

[3] James Thomson Callender (d. 1813), tried under the Sedition Act before Judge Chase in Richmond in 1799, had been sentenced to nine months imprisonment, with a fine of $200. This had been returned to him by Jefferson before the quarrel between Callender and Jefferson. Adams, "History", 322.

[4] Dr. George Logan (1753–1821), a Pennsylvania Quaker, had gone abroad on his own responsibility in June, 1798, to avert the threatening war with France, and returned believing that he had persuaded the French government to end the embargo on American shipping. The Federalists procured the passage of the "Logan Act", Jan. 30, 1799, making it a misdemeanor for a private citizen to take part in any controversy between the United States and a foreign country. At the time of this letter Logan was a member of the Senate, in which he served from 1801 to 1807. Schouler, I, 426, 428, 438, 439. See also p. 443, note 2.

two spells of sickness of the bilious kind, and has also been much troubled by a tumour on her neck.

We are now engaged in a debate and I am obliged to take my leave of you. Present me to the family.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *26 Feby. 1802.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I have recd. and thank you for the two letters containing the certificates and order for 3 vols. Journals congress. Your favor by the last mail I also received, but have at present little more time than eno' to acknowledge the receipt. We are engaged in the debate on the Judicial Bill and the Gentleman on the floor is occupied [with] some observations I made some days ago.[1] It is no easy task to attend to him and write to you at the same time.

I enclose the names of the Com'ee on the Memorials of the Merchants for indemnification for french spoliations.[2]

Mr. Pettits Memorial is now before the Secretary of the Treasury to whom I very fortunately succeeded in having it referred.[3] It is impossible to express an opinion as to its fate, but a claim must be a very clear one to have much chance in our House. Col. Pettit ought to write to his friends on the other side of the House. Mr. Gallatins report will no doubt have great influence. I shall certainly be disposed to support the Justice of the claim.

The Bill to repeal the Judl. act of last Session I have no doubt will pass our house by a large majority. The question I expect will be taken tomorrow.[4]

I returned a few minutes ago from the wreck of Genl. Smith's[5] carriage. The horses run off with it, Mrs. Smith, her daughter Betsy, Mrs. Law[6] and Miss Spear being in it. The carriage was dashed

[1] Joseph H. Nicholson (1770–1817) of Maryland, a member of the House 1799–1806. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 798–814, 629–650.

[2] This committee, appointed Feb. 5, consisted of Giles, Eustis, Mitchell, Lowndes, Milledge, Tallmadge, Robert Williams, Davis, and Gregg. The petition from the Pennsylvania merchants, concerning which Andrew Bayard had inquired, was referred to the committee on Feb. 8. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 481, 488.

[3] Col. Charles Pettit (1736–1806), the father of the partner of Andrew Bayard had been assistant quartermaster-general from 1778 to the close of the Revolutionary War. His memorial, first presented on Jan. 1, 1796, requested payment of $96,666.66 as due him through commissions on the transactions of the quartermaster-general's office. It was referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, and the same course was taken when, on Dec. 31, 1799, it was again presented. The Secretary's report, dated Mar. 26, 1800, and the report of a committee of the House, adverse, will be found in "American State Papers, Claims", 242–248. On Feb. 11, 1802, the memorial was once more referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, but later Bayard learned that this reference included but part of the claim and he again caused it to be referred to the Secretary on Jan. 26, 1803. "Journal of the House", 1797–1801, 547, 557, 643; 1801–1804, 95, 306.

[4] The bill for repeal was considered in committee of the whole House on Feb. 27 and on Mar. 1; on Mar. 2 numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to amend it, and on Mar. 3 it was passed by a vote of 59 to 32. "Journal of the House", 1801–1804, 109–119.

[5] Gen. Samuel Smith of Maryland.

[6] Probably Eliza Parke Custis Law, granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, who had married Thomas Law, brother of Lord Ellenborough, in 1796.

all to pieces. Mrs. Smith is much injured. Mrs Law is badly wounded but no bones were broken. Miss Smith is dangerously hurt. She has remained till this moment in a fainting condition and with very feeble signs of life. Miss Spear escaped without injury.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *3 Mar. 1802.*

My dear Sir: The closing of the mail allows me but a moment to write to you. This day the Judicial Bill of last Session received its death blow by the passage of the Senates act in our House, for its repeal, without amendment, 59 agt. 32. Dr. Eustis[1] of Boston was the only man of the Demos who joined us. This day the constitution has numbered 13 years and in my opinion has recd. a mortal wound.

Ann has taken the meazles. The eruption appeared this morning. She is of course very sick, but not worse than could be expected. Caroline is still well, but must take the disorder. I have not been well and have been unable to attend the House to day, but am better this evening from medicine I took. Love to all.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *8 Mar. 1802.*

My dear Sir: You have been informed by my letters that Ann took the meazles, the beginning of last week. They have been quite favorable. She was very sick for two days, but the disorder disappeared the third and fourth and she is now rapidly recovering her strength, tho she will be for some days yet confined to her room. Caroline is still well, but she cannot escape the complaint.

The Bill repealing the Judicial law of last Session passed our House by a very large majority. But one of the enemy came over to us, Dr. Eustis of Boston. Notwithstanding the Party adhered together, they were much shaken. They openly cursed the measure, and if it had been possible for them to recede, they would have joyfully relinquished the project. But they had gone too far, and were obliged to go through. I have no doubt it was the most ruinous step they could have taken and such are the accounts we have from the Southard.

I enclose you a part of my speech which does not belong to the question of repeal but is an answer to what Mr. Giles called his preliminary observations.[2]

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[1] Dr. William Eustis (1753–1825) of Massachusetts, a member of the House from 1801 to 1805.

[2] Bayard's speech on the judiciary bill, delivered Feb. 20, 1801, and printed as a pamphlet of wide circulation.

Love to Mrs. B, Mary and Miss Garnet, and say something pleasand and kind for me to my Boys.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *10 Mar. 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: Ann is much better to day and progresses daily in the recovery of her strength. Caroline has not yet taken the meazles, but we cannot expect her to avoid them.

I enclose my argument on the first point of debate upon the Bill to repeal the Judicial law of the last Session.

The Bill has been signed by the President. You will find it within.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *13 March, 1802.*

DEAR SIR: Ann has got quite well, and excepting a little weakness has not a remnant of her complaint remaining. Caroline as yet has not shewn a symptom of the meazles, tho we have been expecting daily to see their appearance.

I am heartily tired of Washington and wish the session at an end. I do not think however that we shall get away before the Beginning of May. We are just going to attend the funeral of Mr. Hunter[1] Delegate from the Mississippi Territory who died day before yesterday. We have done very little since the fate of the Judiciary was decided.

On Monday the question on the internal taxes will be taken up. They will no doubt be put down.[2] The appropriation of 7200,000 dollars is a deceiptful thing, considered as furnishing a new fund for the extinguishment of the public debt. And I have little doubt that the revenue derived from tonnage and imposts will not be sufficient to meet the wants of Government.

I enclose a paper containing some toasts which we have laughed at more probably than you will do from a knowledge of their application.

With great love to all and each of the family.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *17 Mar. 1802.*

DEAR SIR: Ann has been entirely well for some days past, and goes into company as usual. This however she has not done without the

[1] Narsworthy Hunter.

[2] The bill for repeal was passed Mar. 22. "Annals," 7 Cong., 1 sess., 1073.

consent of her Physician. Caroline has yet shewn no symptom of the meazles which has surprised us greatly and it is now doubtful whether she will take them.

We have been employed lately in our House on the subject of internal taxes. There is a Bill before us for the abolition of the whole of them. It may fail in its present shape but finally will succeed.

If you will send me a power of Atty I will receive for you the interest on your stock. The old power will not do referring to time only anterior to its date.

Our children and the family I hope are all well. Remember us to them particularly.

BAYARD TO CAESAR A. RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Mar. 31, 1802.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 228–229; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 3–4.]

JOHN ADAMS TO BAYARD.[1]

QUINCY, *April 10th, 1802.*

DEAR SIR: I received your favor of the 19 March and am much flattered by your kind recollection of me. Your speech which was inclosed I had read in detached parcels in newspapers more than once.[2] I have now read it altogether and at once. I shall not take the time to recollect enough of my Cicero and Quintillian to give a critical dissertation and comparison of the various orations in both houses on the great question, but this I will venture to say that yours is the most comprehensive masterly and compleat argument that has been published in either house and will have, indeed according to all my observations and information has already had more effect and influence upon the public mind than all other publications on the subject. It might have been more perfect however if the triple alliance of original opposers of the constitution, the British debtors and Frenchified jacobins had been developed and shewn to have embarassed and obstructed the Administration for twelve years. I should have a great deal to say if any thing I could say would not do more harm than good. This I will say however, that I believe by this time, some persons are convinced of the solidity of what once was taken for flight. "Ambition avarice and revenge will snap the strongest cords of our constitution as a whale goes through a net." I have the honor to be with great and sincere esteem your obliged and obedient Servant.

[1] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.
[2] Bayard's speech on the judiciary bill.

BAYARD TO HAMILTON.

WASHINGTON, *Apr. 12, 1802.*

[See Hamilton, "Works of Hamilton", VI, 539–540.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Apr. 13, 1802.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 229; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 4–5.]

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *19 April 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: We have been occupied to day in considering a new judicial Bill from the Senate.[1] You have probably seen the leading features of it. One provision postpones the spring Session of all the Circuit Courts and exempts you from further duty while you continue in office. This provision I think will be carried as the principle was adhered to after a discussion.

We may probably adjourn by the 1st May, I apprehend not before. It is not yet in my power to say anything on the subject of the conduct which ought to be pursued by the Judges in consequence of the late repealing act. A general arrangement will be attempted before we separate. It is not descrete to say more at present.

Mons. Pichon[2] told me he designed to ask a loan of a Million from the Government. I expect it before us every day. He said the french fleet were expected hourly on our coasts.

Caroline has been sick lately but is again quite recovered. Ann has very good health. My Love to Mrs. B. Mary and children.

BAYARD TO HAMILTON.

April 25, 1802.

[See Hamilton, "Works of Hamilton", VI, 543–545.]

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WILMINGTON, *6 May 1802.*

MY DEAR SIR: We arrived here yesterday from Washington, and intend tomorrow or next day to proceed to Dover. Harry has just

[1] This bill came from the Senate Apr. 9. It dispensed with judges of the circuit grade and provided for the holding of circuit courts by district judges and judges of the Supreme Court. Bayard spoke on the bill on Apr. 19, and again on Apr. 23, on which day the bill was passed by a vote of 46 to 30. "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 1160, 1205, 1232–1236.

[2] Louis André Pichon, chargé d'affaires of France 1801–1805.

handed me your note of this morning and I regret you did not execute your design of a visit to Wilmington. I send you a copy of the laws of the late Session relative to the Judiciary printed by order of the House of Representatives.

I must refer as to my opinion of their operation on the powers of your Court to a speech I made on the third reading of the last law, which was printed a day or two ago in Bronsons paper.[1]

I have a hundred dollars for you which I received upon your stock for interest. The transfer you made of the capital and which was not mentioned, put me to a good deal of trouble, before I ascertained the fact. I discovered by accident however a small Certificate for about 80 dollars which you had lost sight off, which belongs to you. There is some interest still due to you payable at the Bank of the U. States, which it will be proper for you to apply for while in the city. It is from the spring of '99 till they began to pay the interest in Washington. Ann and Caroline are well and send you their love.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Newcastle, *8 Nov. 1802.*

My dear Andrew: Having had no access to the Post in Wilmington I did not receive your letter of the 13 ult. till yesterday. The last month I have been on the circuit, and I have not considered it as safe to direct my letters to follow as the arrangements in the small post offices are extremely loose.

I feel only in common with others as to the event of our late election.[2] I had grown perfectly tired of the legislative character, and should not have been a candidate at the last election, but from the doubtful aspect which it presented, and a desire to facilitate the exertions of the Federalists who were struggling to resist and if possible to turn the encreasing torrent in the State. Were I desirous of remaining in public life our Majority in the Legislature would render a place in the Senate perfectly secure. I think however I am done, not that I despair of the Republic, but I am persuaded that the people cannot be reasoned out of their folly and that they must be left to *feel* the evils now generating, before they will open their ears to any thing said against their present opinions.

In the case of Summerl and Brown,[3] agt. Blight I am concerned for the Plffs. My engagement to them in the particular suit was

[1] The Gazette of the United States, edited by Enos Bronson; the speech was made April 23, 1802. See "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 1232–1236.

[2] Of this election Samuel White wrote to Outerbridge Horsey on October 8, "The Democracy of Delaware has done its utmost—it has trampled on tallents and merrit and disgraced our State—Bayard is beat and that too by only *fifteen votes*—R[odney]' majority in N[ew] C[astle] was 957. Bayard in this county had 219 and in Sussex it seems 723. We are down—the irishmen of N. C. are to govern Kent and Sussex." Turner, "Records of Sussex County", 309.

[3] Summerl and Brown were Philadelphia merchants.

before your application generally for the assignees. However there is no impropriety in my saying on such a point, that you will be perfectly in time if Blight is surrendered within six months from this time.

I will attend to the Debenture, and apply for the money as soon as I see Mr. McClane or his Depy.

Our Circuit will continue till Xmas and I shall be in motion till that time.

You are enformed of the birth of a third son. In the language of the nurses a fine boy. He is to be called Ennalls,[1] in hopes that the name may be serviceable to him.

My family are at present at Bohemia but I expect they will return by the end of a week to Wilmn.

Present me affectionately to cousin Sally.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilmington, *27 Decr. 1802.*

My dear Andrew: Having finished the campaign of the law I am now preparing for that of Congress. If any time had been allowed me in this interval it would have given me great satisfaction to have visited your city. But circumstances deny me this pleasure and I go to immirse myself for two months in vain drudgery about the wretched politicks of the day, in the dull seclusion of Washington.

If the winter is to pass as disagreeably as the last, which is extremely likely, if it depended on my election, it should be blotted out of the calender of my life. It will be an alleviation, should circumstances enable me to make any useful communication to you, and especially if you will allow me to hear from you occasionally.

I wrote some days ago to the Watsons for cloathes, will you do me the favor to ascertain if they are done, and if so forward them by some safe conveyance. I have fixed my departure for W. on Friday, and I should not like to be detained longer on so small an account, tho it would be very inconvenient and unpleasant to proceed without articles of the first necessity. I shall trust to your attention to this little service.

I believe I accounted to you for the delay in receiving the money on your Debenture sent to me to collect. It did not come into my hands for a long time, and after it was recd. it was not in my power to see the Colr. till I was called away on the circuit. Mr. Hayes[2] informs me the money was remitted.

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[1] Richard Bassett had married Ann Ennalls of Dorchester County, Md., a sister of Henry Ennalls and a niece of Judge Ennalls. This family connection was evidently the source of the name. Pattison, Life and Character of Richard Bassett, "Papers of the Delaware Historical Society", XXIX, 8.

[2] John Hayes, cashier of the Bank of Delaware at Wilmington.

My Sister[1] spends the winter in Wilmington and as well as Mrs. B. enjoys very good health. They beg to be presented affectionately to Cousin Sally. You know very well their regard for yourself. If you would consent to come down with Mrs. B. and if that be impossible without, I will very chearfully take a longer holiday from Congress. Let me hear from you.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *19 Jany. 1803.*

My dear Andrew: I enclosed you a few days ago the report of the Com'ee of Commerce and Manufactures on the subject of the discriminating duties.[2] It is the order of the day for Monday next. No vote has yet been taken which enables us in any degree to ascertain the sense of members on the subject. I wish you would be so obliging as to point out the practical objections to the measure. The exercise of trade enables you to perceive many things which would escape an abstract view of the subject.

I had this morning a conversation with Mr. Gallatin relative to Mr. Pettit's claim.[3]. As to a part of the claim the difficulties which embarrassed the former Comptroller have been overcome by the present. This part of the claim will be allowed at the Treasury without resorting to Congress. The Principal and interest will probably exceed five thousand dollars. I find that a reference made last Session of the whole of Mr. Pettits claim by a mistake of the clerk was confined only to part. I shall endeavour to obtain at some *fit* moment, a new reference of the subject to the secretary, tho he informs me he will not be able to report upon it before next Session.

Mr. G. mentioned that the money would be ready in a few days for Mr. P. and that he would write him when the affair was finally arranged.

We have been closetted here several times, but on business of no importance. It is my opinion that the administration mean to do nothing upon the Mississippi subject, this Session.

Mr. Monroe is here and it is said is making arrangements to embark upon his missions.[4] He is to remove all difficulties by gentle words.

We are now discussing the subject of dry docks, to be established at this place. The plan I think will be adopted.

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[1] Jane Bayard. Andrew Bayard also had a sister Jane.

[2] "Annals", 7 Cong., 2 sess., 347–351.

[3] See p. 149, note 3.

[4] Monroe had been appointed on Jan. 11, to join Livingston and Pinckney in Paris, in order to secure the rights of the United States on the Mississippi, with power to treat both with France and Spain. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1789–1805, 431–432.

My letters are generally written while I am attending to debates and not always as correct and consistent as they ought to be.

Recommend me to Cousin Sally.

I should write to Mr. Pettit, if it were not that I have communicated to you the information which is material to him.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilmington, *22 July, 1803.*

My dear Andrew: Since I left Congress different avocations have allowed me but a few days [residence at a time] in Wilmington.

Shortly after the c[ir]cuit terminated, which was not till the beginning of June, I had occasion to pay a visit to Dorchester County, in Maryland, in order to assist in the arrangement of the property of a Deceased Uncle of Mrs. B.'s who had left her by his will a very handsome estate on the river Choptank near Cambridge.[1] We were absent upwards of four weeks and returned home about 10 days ago. You will see in these circumstances an apology my dear Andrew for my not having answered the obliging and affectionate letter you wrote me some weeks ago. I was much touched with the sympathy you expressed in the death of my poor little Infant. There are few events of life of deeper affliction and none under which the tender concern of a friend can afford more solace. I hope a fortunate destiny will ever exempt you from the distress attending such an event. Mrs. B. is recovering her spirits which were not strong enough for the stroke they received and were almost broken. Our excursions from home and the exercise of travelling have nearly restored to her, her former chearfulness of temper.

My Sister Jane is at present in Dorchester with [Mrs. Ennalls and pro]bably will remain with her the ensuing winter. She enjoys very good health and no symptom of her former unhappy malady has ever appeared since her conversion to Methodism. The religious attribute her disorder to a religious cause, which a more correct and firm faith than that which she entertained while belonging to another sect, has entirely and radically removed. I believe the cure has been effected by religion, but in a manner no ways miraculous. I thank God however for the cure, and my gratitude for the act of his Providence will never be abated by doubts as to the manner of its operation.

It would give me great pleasure to see you either here or in Philadelphia. It is not in my power to visit your city at this

[1] This was on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, half-way down Chesapeake Bay, and was known as Tastes Bank. By the will of Mrs. Bayard's uncle Henry Ennalls, dated July 12, 1791, his property after the death of his wife was to go to his niece Ann Bassett Bayard, and a deed of June 8, 1803, executed by Sarah Ennalls, widow of Henry, conveys this property to James A. Bayard and wife. For this information I am indebted to Mr. Richard H. Bayard.

moment. I have only the next week to stay at home before I go to the Court of appeals at Dover. How long I shall be absent at present I cannot tell. But I fear before my return you will be visitted by your cruel enemy who has so often ravaged your [city and put the] Inhabitants to flight. Should the fever appe[ar in] this Town I shall go to the manor.[1] Can't you contrive with Cousin Sally to come and see us the ensuing week? You know how extremely grateful we should be for such a visit.

Adieu, present us affectionately to the Lady.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilminton, *5 Septr. 1803.*

My dear Andrew: Tho' I have great desire to see you I cannot muster exertion enough to make a visit to your city at this season. I am sorry it is not in your power to spend a day at Wilmington. If you are fond of the gun, we could at present afford you some amusement. We have the reed bird, rail, and partridge in considerable numbers and encreasing daily. You formerly had some taste for shooting, but I fear the want of practice has rendered it too feeble to induce you to ride thus far to gratify it.

I have a short holiday for the present, but it will soon expire. From the beginning of October till Xmas I shall be occupied upon the Circuit. So it is that we waste our lives in toiling for distant objects which often are never attained, seldom possessed but for a moment, and ever disappointing the hopes which they excited.

I should suppose the recurence of war had given a new spring to trade.[2] A war between France and Britain would seem to me to be unavoidably advantageous to neutral commercial nations. The difference of risk and of consequence of insurance, must certainly encrease the employment of the neutral carrier. I do not find that the war has yet had much impression upon the grain or flour market. It cannot however fail I think to augment the prices of our produce.

Do you Seriously think that France will attempt the invasion of Great Britain? There are many people of that opinion, but I do not believe the design is seriously entertained. Success is possible but the chance is so distant and the consequences of a failure so fatal to Bonaparte, that nothing but a desperat[e] situation could render it credible that he would hazard such an enterprize. I believe the true object is not to invade the Island, but the finances of the Country. It is much more eazy for the First Consul to bankrupt the nation than to conquer it.

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[1] Yellow fever; Bohemia Manor.

[2] War had been renewed between England and France in May.

I wish you would give me some news of the family. It is long time since I have heard anything about them. How is your Father and where are John and Nicholas[1] and how are they making out?

Samuel I understand has again entered into the practice of the law in N. York. I fear he is too much disposed to change his pursuits. Send me some good news about yourself; you seem to delight only in telling me the bad.

Mrs. B. and her children are well and begs to be remembered to cousin Sally and yourself. Present me also to the Lady.

P. S.—Shall I beg the favor of you to send me a cask of wine for common use. Dry Lisbon or Teneriff of good quality would suit me. I have tasted of the latter excellent wine.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WILMINGTON, *Nov. 11, 1803.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 229; "Papers of the Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 5–6.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WILMINGTON, *Dec. 10, 1803.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 230; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXX, 6–7.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WILMINGTON, *Feb. 24, 1804.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 230–231; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 7–8.]

BAYARD TO HARPER.[2]

WILMINGTON, *30 Jany., 1804.*

MY DEAR HARPER: Having been absent from home I did not receive your letter of the 22 in[t]. till yesterday. My attention had been already drawn by the public newspapers to the proceedings in the House of Representatives against Judge Chase.[3] I am not prepared to coincide in the opinion you express as to the plan of defence.

[1] John Murray, Col. John Bayard's third son, was living at the estate of Weston in Monmouth County, N. J. Nicholas, the fifth son, was practicing medicine at Savannah, Ga. Wilson, "Colonel John Bayard and the Bayard Family of America", 23.

[2] Hist. Soc. of Penn., Etting Papers, Jurists, p. 15. Harper, who was now living in Baltimore, was employed with Joseph Hopkinson as counsel for Judge Chase. Bayard at this time had completed his term in the House and had not yet been elected to the Senate.

[3] The resolution for the impeachment of Chase had been brought into the House Jan. 5; a committee of inquiry was appointed on Jan. 7. This committee did not report until Mar. 6. "Annals", 8 Cong., 1 sess., 806, 876, 1093.

In such a case it is a duty to speak freely. I think decidedly whether with a view to a personal or general effect the Judge ought to have no advocate but himself. His talents knowledge and firmness qualify him in an eminent degree to encounter the difficulties of the situation.

If he appears singly against the host of managers his condition becomes at once distinguished and interesting. The great effect would be produced by seeing an Individual struggling against the efforts of the House of Representatives.

Nothing is more natural, than for the public to take the side of the weakest Party, especially where the odds are great and the resistance firm and manly. If the learned Judge should array upon his side a number of Counsel called from different States and known to belong to a Party the public sentiment would be of the most different nature. The spirit and pride of Party would be enlisted on the side of the prosecution. The Individual would be forgotten and in and out of doors the sole consideration would be which Party was to triumph.

In my own opinion the event of the impeachment is already determined. If the Judge is to fall it will be more honorable and useful to him and productive of a better effect upon the public mind to fall after having fought the battle singly than after having been defended by the arms of others.

In the case of Lord Clive the same course was recommended by Mr. Dunning and afterwards followed by the best effect. Mr. Dunning prepared the speech, but it was delivered by Lord Clive.

The assistance given if any be required should not appear. I have not half Expressed the Strong impression of my mind as to the propriety of a personal defence by the Judge. The occasion is of that nature that he cannot be saved or served by any one but Himself.

The prosecution is on political grounds. The crises of Party and of public opinion requires that it should be drawn from those grounds and placed on that of Individual persecution and suffering. At all events to employ characters who have been known in politicks and who are obnoxious to the prevalent sentiment would I think be extremely indiscreet. And the indiscretion is the greater the further you go from home in search of Counsel. If it be determined to have Counsel they ought to be taken from Maryland and in a manner that shall not betray apprehension either of the weight of the charges which can be maintained or of superiority of those who are to advocate them. In my judgement however the best step that could be taken as soon as the impeachment is resolved upon would be to announce (indirectly) that the Judge, conscious of the falsehood or

futility of the charges against him and reposing on the sense of his own integrity had determined singly to meet and oppose the host of his Persecutors.

I beg you to think well of the plan I suggest. Personally it is out of my power at present to make any engagement. Circumstances of a domestic nature prevent it. And chiefly the situation of an only Sister who after being extremely reduced by a bilious fever is left in a state of total mental derangement.[1] She is in Dorchester County and I shall leave home (as soon as the condition of my wife who expects to be confined in a few days permits) in order to make the provision possible for her relief or comfort.

BAYARD TO BASSETT.

WASHINGTON, *16 Jany. 1805.*[2]

MY DEAR SIR: I left Wilmington on Friday and arrived here on Monday last. Richard[3] accompanied me to Baltimore where I have left him under the care of Mr. Du Bourg.[4] I saw a number of Gentlemen in Baltimore who all spoke in the highest terms of the institution. Particularly Judge Chase, Mr. Cook, and Mr. Harper. Every attention is paid to the health morals and general education of the Boys, and they are provided with the best masters in every line. Richard shewed no repugnance to leaving home and was quite chearful and merry all the journey. But he was extremely distressed when I came to take leave of him. And it gave me equal pain to part with him. However I am sure he will soon be reconciled to his new situation, as Mr. Du Bourg is represented as bestowing the most particual care upon all his Scholars and especially the young ones. I am satisfied I have done the best thing possible for the child, and if no accident occurs it is my intention to continue him a number of years in his present situation. The expense is considerable not less than 400 Dols P ann. There is nothing as far as I can observe interesting before Congress. Judge Chase is preparing for his trial which you know is fixed for the 4 Feby. next. It is certainly the intention of the majority to try the impeachment at that time, but I think they will meet with great difficulty in accomplishing the object.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. B.

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[1] Evidently a return, in an exaggerated form, of her earlier trouble.

[2] Bayard was elected to the Senate in 1804 to complete the term of William H. Wells. He took his seat Jan. 15, 1805, and served in the Senate till May 3, 1813.

[3] Bayard's eldest son, now eight years old.

[4] Louis Guillaume Valentin Dubourg (1766–1833), a refugee French priest, whose institution here spoken of was the college, now seminary, of Saint Mary, at Baltimore. He was afterward Bishop of New Orleans and St. Louis, and of Montauban in France, and archbishop of Besançon.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *3 Feby. 1805.*

Dear Sir: I received yesterday your letter of the 28th ult. The account you give of the conduct of Mr. and Mrs. Carnan[1] is surprizing. Whatever rumours may have been spread, certainly *nothing has been done* which could reasonably give offence. I have lately written to Mr. Carnan, upon the subject of Mrs. Ennalls forfeiture by Marriage. I proposed to settle the question either by the opinion of counsel, by reference or compromise. The style of the letter was as civil and conciliatory as I could make it. I gave him however to understand that the question *must be determined in some form.*

I stated however with a view to preserve harmony thro'out the family, I should myself prefer a compromise if he were disposed to meet me upon middle ground and that in order to accommodate him I would either buy or sell the controvert right. It is two weeks since I wrote, directing the letter to the Post office Baltimore, but I have yet received no answer.

You may rely upon my doing all in my power for Ann Garnett; but a good deal of time will be required and after all the case offers but feeble hopes of relief. If anything can be done it will be in my power to do it, and it shall be done. I consulted Genl. Smith as to the claim against Maryland. The 5th Maryld. Regt. he says was in the service and pay of the U. States, and therefore the acct. ought to have been agt. the U. S.

The acct. agt. Virginia I shewed to Mr. Giles[2] (who has been extremely civil and friendly, since I have been here) who promised to consult the Atty Genl. of Virga.[3] who is here at present, and whose opinion he says is the best in his State and may be perfectly relied on, and to advise me whether the claim is worth prosecuting agt. the State of Virginia or not.

The difficulty as to the acct. agt. the United States is the act of limitations. This act is rigidly adhered to. And it is of great importance that it should be. Various attempts have been made to obtain relief agt. it, but I believe not one yet has been attended with success. There is no exception in the case of infancy, but on enquiry I do not find that *Congress* has ever decided in a plain case of infancy. As to this account I have consulted the best informed mem-

[1] From papers in the Bayard collection not here printed it seems that John and Rebecca Carnan bore some business relation to Bayard, possibly that of tenants, but what is here referred to does not appear.

[2] William B. Giles (1762–1830), representative 1790–1799, 1801–1803, United States senator 1804–1815.

[3] Philip Norborne Nicholas (1713–1849), a brother of John and Wilson Cary Nicholas, attorney-general of Virginia before he was twenty-one years old.

bers of both Houses, and upon the whole I have determined to persue the following course. I shall present the account to the auditor, and get his Certificate that the acct. cannot be allowed by the rules of his office. We will then try the effect of a Petition to Congress. It is too late to think of an application this Session. Private business, under circumstances, would not be taken up at this period of the Session. I assure you it would give me great satisfaction should I be able to do any thing for the poor girl, and I shall not give up the case till I find it plainly impracticable to obtain relief.

I left no instructions as to the amt. of the rent of the farm I bought of Smith, because I was extremely uninformed of the value myself. And I supposed you were quite competent to ascertain and fix the just values. I should suppose the place is worth about one hundred and fifty dollars. The improvements are good and the land tolerable. If the rent is certain I do not care whether it be in money or in grain.

Judge Chase has arrived and most of his Brethren. Messrs. Bedford,[1] A. Hamilton[2] and Frazer[3] are also here as Witnesses for the Judge. Tomorrow I presume the trial will commence, or at least the answer of the Judge will be read. There are different conjectures as to the probable duration of the proceedings. It is a point upon which I have attempted to make no calculation.

I had like to have forgot your question as to the power of Mrs. Ennals to sell land without the concurrence of Mr. Ward.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilmington, *2 April 1805.*

My dear Andrew: I thank you for your favor of the 19th Ult. I am the worst correspondent in the world. I am always gratified with your letters and do nothing to deserve them. Since my return from Washington I have been constantly occupied in one Court or another and whatever inclination I might have to accede to your invitation to visit the city, the regular engagements of the Circuit would not allow me before the month of June. In fact the Courts and congress leave but little time at my disposal, and the season of my leisure is the worst in the year to visit your city.

I think this summer you had better pay a visit to Bohemia. The country is pleasant in itself, and it gave birth to your ancestors. You may even recall some scenes of early life, which often give us more pleasure in recollection than was derived in the first enjoyment.

I feel an attachment to that country which I can scarcely account for. It was not till after I was twenty years of age that I recollect

[1] Gunning Bedford (1747–1812), United States judge for the district of Delaware from 1789 until his death.

[2] Archibald Hamilton.

[3] William C. Frazier.

ever being there. It certainly boasts of no desireable society. Its amusements are not very numerous or interesting, and yet I go there with a pleasure that I scarcely go any where else. I should like much to spend a week there with you in the summer when we could occasionally amuse ourselves in fishing and crabbing.

I disturb myself at present very little with the current politicks. The less we interfere the better. The political malady of the times must cure itself. I am not certain that it admits of any cure; but I am very certain that no federal-prescription will ever be taken. Our situation is very tolerable at present and I am determined not to feel by anticipation the evils of the future.

Doctor Latimer whom you know is falling into a state little different from that of my poor Sister. He is now lost to Society—on certain points his reason totally gone and the disorder apparently increasing. His Physicians fear permanent derangement. His situation is much to be lamented.

I hope Mrs. B. and the children are all well. Do me the kindness to remember me affectionately to them.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *30 Jany., 1806.*

My dear Andrew: I enclose you a resolution yesterday laid upon the table of the House of Representatives by Mr. Gregg.[1] The measure it proposes is certainly of the first magnitude and of the greatest consequence to the U. States. It is little short of a declaration of War and perhaps would justify, if carried into effect, a declaration of War on the part of G. Britain. It will create an impression upon the mercantile world and I thought it might be material to you to be informed of it. I can yet give no opinion as to the probability of its being adopted. I am satisfied that it was not presented without the concert of a considerable number of the members of the other House. The doubt is whether it is not a political maneuvre or whether the ruling Party have courage to commit themselves to the hazzard Responsibility of the measure.

Our political horison is clouded on every quarter. The most serious difficulties exist relative to our spanish relations,[2] but the measures

[1] Andrew Gregg (1755–1835) of Pennsylvania, a member of the House from 1791 to 1807, of the Senate from 1807 to 1813. The resolutions provided for complete non-importation of British goods. "Annals", 9 Cong., 1 sess., 413.

[2] Jefferson had in a message to Congress and in interviews with Randolph, chairman of the committee of ways and means, approached the subject of purchasing the Floridas. The committee of ways and means because of Randolph's opposition to the President's plan, had recommended instead of the provision for purchase, the raising of troops to protect our southern border. Bidwell offered as a substitute a $2,000,000 appropriation, which was voted by the House, in secret session, on Jan. 16, 1806. Adams, "History", III, 126–138.

proposed relative to them are affairs of secrecy and I must therefore keep them to myself.

The administration distinguishes itself only by its weakness and hypocrisy. What they are ashamed of they transact before the two houses with closed doors. And the President, speaking one language, is endeavouring to pursue opposite measures in order that he may be judged by the world by his Speeches, and the responsibility of the measures thrown on other persons.[1]

I have been here but a few days[2] and have some things yet to learn. If it be in my power to give any information which can be serviceable to you or your friends and which I am at liberty to disclose it will give me pleasure to do so.

Remember me to cousin Sarah.

Bayard to Bassett.

Washington, *31 Jany. 1806.*

Dear Sir: I wrote to you immediately after my arrival in this place, but have omitted writing for some days past, supposing a letter would not be received in consequence of your being absent from Dover.

The paper which I enclose contains a resolution laid on the table of the House of Representatives by Mr. Gregg. It has occasioned a good deal of agitation here, and it borrows considerable importance from the comments attending it in the official paper of the Administration.[3] It would scarcely have been so decidedly adopted by this paper if it were not a measure of the Administration. It is however very doubtful whatever may be the wishes of the Administration whether a majority of both Houses can be brought to concur in it.

The fact is that the House of Representatives is so completely disorganized, having no man to lead them, and being split into twenty different opinions, that there is little prospect of their adopting or pursuing any regular plan. Randolph has behaved very handsomely upon all questions relative to our foreign relations. His conduct has been candid, decided, and manly.[4] His Party however has refused to follow him and put themselves under other Leaders. They have in consequence experienced his invective with as much severity as his former opponents ever did. It is not likely that he will agree with them in any of the measures at present proposed to be adopted. There is great disunion and a general dissatisfaction among the

[1] Jefferson's annual message, intended for the public, had suggested a most warlike policy; but his second and secret message suggested his real policy, the purchase of the Floridas.

[2] Bayard had taken his seat Jan. 24.

[3] The National Intelligencer, Samuel Harrison Smith's paper.

[4] Randolph had by this time become most pronounced in his opposition to Jefferson.

Democrats in the House of Representatives which forebodes nothing good for the defence of the nation.

I mentioned to you in my late letter the purchase I had made from Mrs. C. of her right in the Dorset property. I wish you would be so good as to obtain information for me as to the present state of the property in relation to Tenants, and whether any thing is necessary to be done.

Colston has written me a letter and not a very civil one on the subject of the acct. he sent me for Surveying. I had stated to his Brother that I had no concern in the survey and was not answerable for the acct. That the assistance I gave in making notes of the lands to be surveyed was that of a friend and not of a Principal. The fellow however states to me that when he mentioned this fact to you you shewed surprize and considered me answerable for the Surveying done under any instructions in my writing. Whatever is fairly due to the man ought to be paid, but it ought to be paid out of the lands. I wish you would inform me what passed between you and Colston on this subject.

The business before the Senate obliges me to close my letter.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *7 Feby., 1806.*

My dear Andrew: I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 3d inst. by the last mail. I cant promise you a very regular correspondence while I remain in this city, because much of my time does not belong to myself. But when I am at liberty to communicate information as to public measures, which an early knowledge of can be of any service to you, I shall not fail to avail myself of the occasion to prove to you the interest I take in what concerns you.

It is not my opinion that our Government have any serious intention to go to War either with G. Britain or Spain, nor will they adopt any efficient measures of defence. The common opinion is that Gregg's resolution will not be carried in the House of Representatives.

Excepting one day the doors of the Senate have been shut in consequence of secret business constantly since I have been in Washington. We are occupied with the project which shut the doors of the House of Rep. so long a time.[1] It is called a secret and so I must treat it, tho it is certainly known to every foreign agent in the place.

[1] The $2,000,000 bill came to the Senate from the House on Jan. 17. It was passed in the Senate on Feb. 7, by a vote of 17 to 11. "Annals", 9 Cong., 1 sess., 54, 87–88.

There is a Bill before the Senate to interdict the Hayti trade.[1] I think it will succeed and the trade under Severe penalties be entirely prohibited.

My letters are generally written in the Senate while subjects are under debate and my attention is divided in listening to what is said. I have occasion to answer a Gentleman who is about to set down,[2] and therefore must take leave of you for the present, only observing my communications are for yourself and not for the public.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *25 Feby. 1806.*

My dear Andrew: I had the pleasure to receive a letter from you a day or two ago. I should write oftener but my engagements do not permit me. The Bill to interdict the commerce of the U. S. with the subjects of Dessalines[3] has passed the Senate by a large majority. Many modifications were attempted and some accomplished. The Bill interdicts *all* trade to St. D. and obliges the owners of *all* vessels leaving the Ports of the U. S. to give Security not to transgress the prohibition of the Bill. It was taken up yesterday in the H. Rep. and a strong attempt made to pass it immediately. I think it will pass as it went from the Senate, as I consider it as a measure of the administration.

I inclose some resolutions brought forward by Mr. Randolp[h] in the House of Rep.[4] The first is pointed against Several Democratic members in both Houses. There can be no suspicion of any Federalist being concerned in contracts under the present Administration. The 2d and 3 are against Jefferson and Wilkinson.[5] Mr. W.

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[1] This bill had been brought in Jan. 15; it was passed Feb. 20, 21 to 8, Bayard being one of the 8. "Annals", 9 Cong., 1 sess., 52, 138.

[2] Evidently on the $2,000,000 act. The "Annals" fail to show that Bayard spoke. "Annals", 9 Cong., 1 sess., 87–88.

[3] Jean Jacques Dessalines (1758–1806), who, after the French had evacuated Haiti, had been made governor-general for life, and who had on Oct. 8, 1801, had himself crowned emperor with the title of Jean Jacques I. His rule was now drawing to a close, for his severity caused an insurrection in 1806 and he was, on Oct. 17, assassinated by two of his officers.

[4] "Whereas it is provided by the sixth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States, that 'no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House of Congress during his continuance in office;' therefore,

"1. *Resolved,* That a contractor under the Government of the United States is an officer within the purview and meaning of the Constitution, and, as such, is incapable of holding a seat in this House.

"2. *Resolved,* That the union of a plurality of offices in the person of a single individual, but more especially of the military with the civil authority, is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and tends to the introducing of an arbitrary Government.

"3. *Resolved,* That provision ought to be made by law to render any officer in the Army or Navy of the United States incapable of holding any civil office under the United States." "Annals", 9 Cong., 1 sess., 509.

[5] James Wilkinson had been commander-in-chief of the army since 1796, and governor of Louisiana since 1805.

commands the army and is Governor of the Louisiana Territory. The 3d imports a severe charge against our Republican President and is full evidence of a complete breach between him and the mover.

No measures seem to be contemplated by the Executive of a defensive nature. The tribe of hostile resolutions are suffered in the House of Rep. to sleep peaceably on their table. There is no reason from any existing circumstances to suppose the nation in danger of war or that any measure except negotiation will be attempted as to Spain or G. Britain.

Mr. Burr is here at present. I suspect his errand relates to the treaty between the Cli[n]tonians and Burrites.[1] I do not believe that he will receive an appointment from Mr. Jef.

I do not expect to remain here more than one month from this time tho it is not probable congress will adjourn in two.

Remember me affectionately to my cousin.

P. S.—You forgot to seal your last letter and I was not the first person who read it.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *16 Mar. 1806.*

My dear Andrew: Mr. Pearce has authorized me to draw on him *about* the 25 Inst. for one hundred dollars on acct. I enclose a dft. for that sum, and beg the favor of you to receive the money for me.

Mr. Jefferson has been so infatuated as to nominate Mr. Armstrong upon a special mission to Madrid notwithstanding the demonstration of his insanity or corruption by his conduct in the case of the ship *New Jersey*. The nomination has been the subject of debate for a week and been strongly and warmly opposed. It will be approved however by a majority in the end.[2]

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[1] Burr spent the early months of 1806 in Philadelphia and Washington, unfolding his plans for a western empire to a number of disaffected government officials. Davis says he had numerous interviews with Merry at this time. Parton, "Life of Burr", II, 60–61.

[2] Maj. John Armstrong (1758–1843), since 1804 minister to France. The opposition to him in the Senate was led by Gen. Smith; the appointment was ratified by the vote of the vice-president, the Senate vote being 15 to 15. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 25–29. The *New Jersey* had been captured Feb. 13, 1798, by the French privateer *Le Labourdin*, condemned as lawful prize, and restored to its owners on the payment of $203,000; this the French Council of Prizes decided should be restored to the owners of the vessel, a decision reversed by the General Council. Armstrong had written to the Minister of the Public Treasury Dec. 5, 1804, stating that he did not know the vessel to be American owned, nor did he know that the loss had been sustained by the present claimants, who had probably been already recompensed by the insurance. He later, on Jan. 21, 1805, made the statement that he was convinced that the vessel was an American one, and after this letter the case was reconsidered and 300,000 francs awarded to Messrs. Nicklin and Griffith. "Examination of the Memorial of the Owners and Underwriters of the American Ship the New Jersey", 137–139.

The most of us here are in expectation of a spanish war. I think it likely, because I have full evidence that Spain is fearless of the event or perhaps wishes it, in order to recover New Orleans and Louisiana. The expedition of Miranda fitted out from one of our Ports against a weak and vulnerable part of the spanish territories might justly provoke an unwilling enemy to War. Spain cannot be persuaded that our Government were ignorant of transactions going on under the noses of its officers and in which in fact they had some participation.[1] The success of Bonaparte will encourage the Spaniard to go to war, and I should not be surprized if the next intelligence should proclaim the event.

Greggs resolutions may be considered as disposed of, and I do not believe that any which have been proposed, will be carried into effect.

Remember me to cousin Sally.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Wilmington, *13 April 1806.*

My dear Andrew: It is a week since my return to this place from Washington. The Session of the Supreme Court was the principal cause of my returning before the adjournment of Congress, tho I was also anxious to lend some assistance to my family in moving into a new house which we have lately taken. Mrs. B. was confined in my absence and presented me on my return with a fine boy five weeks old.[2] She is quite reestablished in her strength and the little fellow grows lustily and has nothing to complain of.

I sent you some time ago an order on Mr. Pearce which he promised to pay about the 25 Ulto. Has he been as good as his engagement?

Shall I beg the favor of you to purchase me a qr. cask of wine for *common use.* I don't care of what kind it is, so that it is dry, sound and palatable.

I shall leave Wilmington in about a week for the Courts in the lower Counties, and shall be absent a month. There is not a greater vagrant in the Country. I hardly know what it is to be at home, for I scarcely cease to be a stranger in my own house, before I am again on the wing. It is a course of life which I cannot pursue much longer.

Present me to cousin Sally.

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[1] Miranda had sailed with the *Leander* Feb. 1, 1806. His own account was that Madison had been fully aware of his expedition to the Spanish Main, and he had made great parade of his friendly relations with the President and the Secretary of State. Adams, "History", III, 189–194. William Steuben Smith, surveyor of the port of New York, had given his active aid to the expedition.

[2] Edward Bayard.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WILMINGTON, *5 October 1806.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: We returned from Bohemia last week, where my family had remained during my absence in Dorset. It is the second time I have visitted the waters of the Choptank this summer.

We have one of the most delightful situations on that beautiful river. And I suspect I shall be tempted to spend a good deal of my time there. The distance is the greatest obstacle. On the score of health Wilmington or Philada. would not be preferable. Being on salt water, the exhalations are exempt from those noxious qualities, which generate the common disorders of the peninsula.

My season of leisure is over for some time and I cannot accept your invitation to the city which you were so good as to give me in your favor of the 3d, which I had the pleasure to receive last evening.

I shall set out on the Circuit the latter end of the week, and there is no intermission in our Courts till Xmas. Congress will then be in Session, and will continue till our Courts begin again. There will be no day till next June, which I shall be able fairly to call my own. I doubt much whether you would submit to my course of life, so much from home and so little at liberty, for twice the profit or honor it affords. I hardly know what keeps me in Congress. It is to please other people more than myself.

Your letter did not contain the Bill of the furniture you refer to as enclosed. I should suppose that other shops would afford as handsome glasses as Kennedys. Mrs. B. liked his pattern—no plate on the top—price $100, more or less. If you can meet with any which you think will please the Lady, I shall certainly be satisfied. Ann would like a set of the mantle ornaments if you find them handsome. And if any clever prints should fall under your hammer I wish you would purchase me some.

Miss Bobb has got one of our curtains and if by chance you should see her you will please to remind her of it. Mrs. B. says she owes 12 Dols. for the bonnets.

I have in my hands a patent for 1000 acres (I believe) of back land and a conveyance from Mr. Adams to Mr. Pettit. I never could recollect the reason of its being left with me. But as I know of no objection to its being delivered to the Heirs of Mr. P. I mean to give it to you.

If you could purchase the glasses and furnish my accts. by Friday I would remit the bal. before I left home.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.[1]

DEAR SIR: I have the satisfaction to congratulate you upon your nomination to the office of Atty. Gen. of the U. S. which was

[1] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

made to the Senate this morning.[1] You have no friend better pleased with the appointment than Your Hum. Sert.

WASHINGTON,
16 Jany. 1807.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *1 Feby. 1807.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: My engagements have put it out of my power to write to you at an earlier date.

I was much grieved at the death of my Uncle your excellent father.[2] His memory will always remain with us, and we shall find a consolation in cherishing it with affection during the short time which separates us from him.

You did very rightly in directing my attention to the subjects before Congress in which some of your friends are interested. There is no person whom I have more pleasure in obliging than yourself and I beg you upon all occasions to make use of any service which my Situation here enables and allows me to render you. I am so much in your debt on the score of personal service that you must furnish me with many opportunities to enable me to pay the balance.

A Bill is before the House of Representatives granting relief in certain cases of Drawback and was the subject of discussion yesterday and on several former days.[3] It has undergone several amendments and I cannot state at present the extent of its provisions. It is the better opinion that it will pass in some shape the House, but its fate is not simply doubtful, but almost hopeless in the Senate. A large majority at the last Session decided against relief in like cases. Many votes are however frequently given from ignorance, mistake, accident, caprice, and other equally strong grounds of opinion, and it is something more than possible that a question decided one way last year may be determined another way this year. I have always considered the principles upon which relief is prayed of Congress in the Memorial of Your Merchants equitable and not opposed to the policy of the revenue system.[4] If the Bill come before our Body from the House I shall certainly support it.

The question as to the charter of the Bank of the U. States will not probably be brought forward this Session of Congress. In our debates a few days ago on the subject of the Potomac Bridge on the question whether the act of incorporation should be absolute or limited as to time Mr. Giles took occasion in order to enforce the

[1] Rodney's appointment as attorney-general was ratified Jan. 20, 1807; he served in that office until 1811.

[2] Col. John Bayard, the writer's adopted father, had died Jan. 7, 1807.

[3] This bill had been introduced Jan. 12; it was defeated Feb. 7. "Annals", 9 Cong., 2 sess., 290, 473.

[4] The petition of the Philadelphia merchants asking for a drawback on certain articles was presented to the Senate Jan. 29. See "Annals", 9 Cong., 2 sess., 49.

propriety of limiting the time to mention the limitation of the charter of the Bank of the U S. and that upon the application to renew it, the Government would probably receive 4 or 5 millions of Dollars. You will percieve therefore that a charter will not be had for a trifle. I do presume the price will be settled at the Treasury before the case is brought before Congress; and that ought to be the course pursued by the Bank.

The Court here have refused to Bail Bollman and Swartwout[1] and they are committed to the cells of the common gaol and a Lieutenant's guard of the Marine corps watch the prison day and night. They will not be tried here, but where else is not settled.

I sent you before I left Wn. a Dft. for $225 dollars—$100 to be placed to the credit of John Hayes in Bank of Pena. and 125 for the glasses and an order upon Mr. Pearce for $100. Will you inform me on the subject of them? If any good madiera wine occurs for sale, not out of the way in price will you let me know of it? With affectionate remembrance to cousin Sally and children.

Bayard to Rodney.

Wilmington, *July 24, 1807.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 231; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 8–9.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *21 Jany. 1808.*

My dear Andrew: My engagements have for a long time put it out of my power to support the correspondence which I wish always to continue between us. Without some intercourse, the best friends may forget each other.

Congress has little business of importance before them at this moment. They will endeavour however to trifle away their time, till the result of the English negociations can be known.[2] The embargo

[1] Erick Bollman (1769–1821), the German physician who made himself famous by the rescue of Lafayette from prison at Olmütz, had acted as Burr's agent in New Orleans, and was arrested in that city Dec. 14, 1806. For an account of his life together with many of his letters see Kapp, "Justus Erich Bollman" (Berlin, 1880). Samuel Swartwout (1783–1856) had carried despatches to Wilkinson. His arrest took place in Fort Adams. To support these illegal arrests a bill suspending the writ of habeas corpus for three months was introduced and passed on Jan. 23, Bayard alone voting against it. It was, however, defeated in the House Jan. 26. The attorney-general on the same day applied to Judge Cranch for a warrant against them on the charge of treason. On the issue of this Bollman and Swartwout applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted Feb. 13. They were discharged Feb. 21. "Annals", 9 Cong., 2 sess., 44, 424; Adams, "History", III, 340. Ex parte Bollman and Swartwout, 8 Cranch 75.

[2] George Henry Rose had arrived in Washington to offer satisfaction for the attack on the *Chesapeake*. The negotiations were on Jan. 21 at a standstill. Adams, "History", IV, 183–199.

has certainly no connection with our disputes with England, but I have little doubt that an attempt will be made to connect the settlement of our differences with that nation with the removal of the embargo. If this operation should be attempted, I suspect our ships will remain in the docks, the greater part of the ensuing summer. The Senate this morning refused even to refer Mr. Adam's resolution (which I take it for granted you have seen) as to the time of raising the embargo and the measures to be adopted upon that event, to a committee. Mr. A. was in favor of the embargo, and what his object was unless to create false hopes as to a speedy removal of the fetters on our commerce, did not seem to be understood on either side of the House.[1]

It is the opinion of those best informed here, that we shall have war either with France or Britain. This sentiment I have repeatedly heard from Gentlemen in Executive confidence. There is no doubt which way the Government lean, but if Britain should offer fair terms of accommodation we shall not yet be thrown into the arms of France.

Mr. Bradley[2] one of the Senate has formally summoned a convention of the democrats on Saturday next for the purpose of proposing Candidates for the offices of P. and V. P. at the ensuing election. Mr. Masters[3] a member of the H. Rep. from N. Y. a Democrat also, set up a paper in the Senate Chamber with his name signed to it, denouncing the meeting as a violation of the rights and privileges

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[1] On Jan. 11 Senator John Quincy Adams had introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed, with leave to report by bill or otherwise, and instructed to inquire at what period the present embargo can, consistently with the public interest, be removed; and whether, in what manner, and to what extent, upon its removal, the merchant vessels of the United States shall be permitted, in defence of their lawful commerce, to be armed against, and to resist, foreign aggression." "Journal of the Senate", 1805–1811, 215. Adams explains this act in a letter to Harrison Gray Otis, as follows: "I have indeed been myself of opinion that the embargo must in its nature be a temporary expedient, and that preparations manifesting a determination of resistance against these outrageous violations of our neutral rights ought at least to have been made a subject of serious deliberation in Congress. I have believed and do still believe that our internal resources are competent to the establishment and maintenance of a naval force, public and private, if not fully adequate to the protection and defence of our commerce, at least sufficient to induce a retreat from these hostilities and to deter from renewal of them, by either of the warring parties; and that a system to that effect might be formed, ultimately far more economical, and certainly more energetic than a three years embargo. Very soon after the closure of our ports, I did submit to the consideration of the Senate, a proposition for the appointment of a committee to institute an enquiry to this end. But my resolution met no encouragement. Attempts of a similar nature have been made in the House of Representatives, but have been equally discountenanced, and from these determinations by decided majorities of both houses, I am not sufficiently confident in the superiority of my own wisdom to appeal, by a topical application to the congenial feelings of any one—not even of my own native section of the Union." Ford, "Writings of John Quincy Adams", III, 199–200.

[2] Stephen R. Bradley (1754–1830) of Vermont, senator 1791–1795, 1801–1813.

[3] Josiah Masters (1763–1832), member of the House 1805–1809.

of the sovereign people. The caucus however will meet and decide who are to govern their masters during the next Presidency.[1]

Remember me affectionately to Mrs. B.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *19 Jany. 1809.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: It is ten days since I have taken my seat in the Senate and during that time, we have had no business to occupy us, more than half an hour in the day. I regret that I did not arrive before the embargo questions where wholly dismissed.[2] The general subject may possibly be brought up again, by the non Intercourse law which it is in contemplation to pass. A Bill to that effect has been reported in the House of Representatives, but its success even in that house is considered as doubtful during this Session.[3] It is the more likely that it will not be pressed at the present moment as it seems determined on to have an extra Session in the month of May.[4] That Session is supposed to be designed to influence the Spring elections and to wait the events which will occur in Spain. The miserable and ruinous measure of the embargo will be persisted in some time longer, and I have no doubt it will be left to the next President to continue or to repeal it.

The New England Gentlemen[5] here give us frightful accounts of the discontents and the serious spirit of opposition which are growing daily in their country. They are fearful that the remedy for present evils may be applied too late.

It is difficult to conjecture what is the system of the Administration. It may be that they find it impossible to execute any system

[1] Of this congressional caucus and the opposition to it Adams says: "23d. . . . I dined with Mr. Bradley at his lodgings, and in the evening attended the convention of members to nominate suitable persons as candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President. There has been much question as to Mr. Bradley's authority to call this convention, which it seems he contends was given him at a convention on the last presidential election, four years ago. The New York members especially are extremely averse to it. There were, however, about ninety members who assembled under Mr. Bradley's summons; upon which he stated the authority formerly given him, and his reasons for calling the meeting. But he said that, as exception had been taken to his exercise of that authority, it was now at an end, and the meeting must proceed at their own pleasure. He said that he had issued his circulars to every republican member of both Houses; indeed, to every member, excepting *five* of the Senate and twenty-two of the House of Representatives. Nor should I have omitted them, said he, but that they have never been in the habit of acting with us." "Memoirs", I, 505–506.

[2] Congress assembled on Nov. 7; Bayard had taken his seat Jan. 10. The President's message had dealt largely with the embargo and the Senate had since Nov. 11 been discussing a bill for further provisons for enforcing it. This bill with the House amendments had passed Jan. 7. "Journal of the Senate", 1805–1811, 294–322, passim.

[3] The bill was reported Dec. 26. It was not passed during the session.

[4] A bill providing that the next meeting of Congress be May 22, 1809, was passed by the Senate Jan. 26. "Annals", 10 Cong., 2 sess., 336.

[5] Gilman and Parker from New Hampshire, Pickering and Lloyd from Massachusetts, Hillhouse and Goodrich from Connecticut, Howland and Mathewson from Rhode Island, and Bradley and Robinson from Vermont were the New England senators then present. "Senate Journal", 1805–1811, 293.

with their unweildy mass of coadjutors in the House of Reps.[1] Never did people delight more in talking and less in acting. They promise to do everything and in the end do nothing. They seem good for little else than to vote resolutions.

Mrs. B. and my two children are in good health, but the Lady passing the chief part of the 24 hours in her chamber, can have but a wearisome time of it. She has not however yet complained. To morrow she dines with Mrs. Madison who has been very civil to her.

I beg you to present me to cousin Sally.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *3 Mar. 1809.*

My dear Andrew: We have received this morning the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the memorial of the stockholders of the Bank U. S. praying for an extension of their charter.[2] It may be a matter of some curiosity and perhaps of interest to you to be informed of the outlines of the Report.

Of the capital Stock of 10 millions 7,200,000 dollars are held by persons residing abroad, 7000 Shares by persons residing within the U. S. The value of a charter for 20 years he calculates at 2,890,000. This he does not suppose the Bank would give for a charter and limits the maximum price which the Government could expect at 1,250,000. This gross sum he proposes however to commute for benefits of a different nature.

1. The capital to be encreased to 30 millions. 5 millions to be limited to the subscription of citizens of the U. S. 15 millions to be apportioned on equitable principles for subscription among the State Governments if they think proper to subscribe, and to be inalienable.

2. The Bank to pay the U. S. 6 Pcent interest upon Deposits when exceeding 3 millions.

3. To be bound to lend the U. S. a sum not exceeding 3/5ths of its capital or 18 millions payable in a regulated manner.

4. A Branch of the Bank to be established in each subscribing State if required and the State to be allowed to appoint a certain number of Directors in respective State Branches.

The U. S. also to appoint a certain number of Directors.

The States to pay their subscriptions in 10 annual instalments.

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[1] The Democratic majority in the House during this session was about eighty.

[2] The charter of the bank would expire in 1811. Its directors had sent their petition to Congress for a renewal of its charter on April 20, 1808, and it had been referred to the Secretary of the Treasury. Gallatin's report, which was distinctly favorable to the bank, did not succeed in overcoming the opposition to it, and the bill for the renewal of the charter was lost Feb. 20, 1811, by the vote of the Vice-President, George Clinton. "Senate Journal", 1805–1811, 274, 578.

This is the amts. of the details which I can recollect from the reading of the report. When it is printed I will send you a copy.

Congress will adjourn to day, but the Senate will be detained till Tuesday or Wednesday next to act on nominations.

Smith states in his paper[1] this morning, that the President has signed the nonintercourse Bill.[2]

And while I am writing, the Secretary is announcing the fact. We expect to be in Session till 12 at night.

Bayard to Bassett.

Wilmington, *9 April 1809.*

Dear Sir: The fish are extremely fine you sent us by Oliver, and we are very much obliged to you for them. You certainly could not have taken the rock in Bohemia, they are large eno' for the Potomac. I was prevented attending the Court in Dover chiefly by the Session of the District Court in this place. Poor Bedford[3] mends very slowly and very little. He has capacity to distinguish between common propositions and that is all. When he comes to express himself he is all confusion.

The news by the Packet from England is unfavorable to Britain. The English are driven out of Spain and in a hard fought battle they lost Sir John Moor the Comma[n]der in Chief, and the second in command Sir David Baird was badly wounded.[4]

We have an account here of the arrival of a frigate at Norfolk with a new British Secretary of Legation.[5] It is said the orders in Council are to be given up upon certain propositions being agreed to on our part.[6]. She is later than the Packet and confirms the spanish news and states the return of the British troops to England.

In New Hampshire they have chosen a federal governor by a small majority,[7] but the change is considerable since the last year.

Richard must have had a fine time of it at Bohemia all alone. Escaping from the rigid discipline of a college, and finding himself without anybody over him was tasting liberty in perfection.

The family are all well. We expect James[8] home in a day or two and Miss Bayard who is now in Philada.

Remember us with kindness to Mrs. B.

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[1] Samuel Harrison Smith; the National Intelligencer.

[2] This bill was reported from the committee Feb. 16, and was passed Feb. 21, by a vote of 21 to 12; the House amendments were agreed to Feb. 28. "Senate Journal", 1805–1811, 346, 350.

[3] See p. 163, note 1.

[4] The battle of Corunna, Jan. 16, 1809.

[5] Charles Oakley.

[6] Canning to Erskine, Jan. 23, 1807, received Apr. 7. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 300.

[7] Jeremiah Smith (1759–1842). New Hampshire had had a Democratic governor since 1805 and Smith was followed by a Democrat.

[8] Bayard's second son, James Asheton. Richard was the eldest.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WILMINGTON, *3 July 1809.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I left Washington on Thursday last, and got home on Friday evening. Before I left the city the weather had become intensely hot and it was almost a burthen to breathe, without the obligation to attend to business. There never was in Congress a more general disposition to adjourn. My great fear was of intelligence from Europe which would detain us. Is it in the temper of Buonaparte to forbear and to conciliate? If he has beaten the Austrians, which probably is the case, it is not unlikely that we shall have his next decree from Vienna, and there is no reason to expect that it will be dictated by a more moderate Spirit than that of Berlin.[1]

If Britain conducts herself with prudence she has it in her power to make us her friend and France our enemy.

If it were possible to be at peace with both these Belligerents, no object could be more desireable. A war with France will forfeit the trade of a great portion of the Continent, but a war with England would leave us little more than the precarious profit of privateering. It seems left to us only to chuse our enemy—I will not say our friend for that is a choice which does not exist between them. A short time will relieve us from the State of doubt and suspense, in which we have so long existed and open to us a clearer view of our probable destiny.

It was equally my intention and wish to have paid you a visit as soon as Congress rose, but I find myself under the necessity of proceeding immediately to Dorset. My affairs necessarily detain me here a few days, but I expect to be off the latter part of the week.

You intimated once a disposition to visit that country. It will give me great pleasure if you will take a seat in my gig—and I will bring you back as soon as you please. We shall have a spacious house to ourselves, and you will enjoy the luxury and benefit in this warm season of bathing in the clearest saltwater. The finest crabs and abundance of fish also invite you.

I will wait for your answer and also as many days as you may require to make arrangements to leave home.

Mrs. B. is desirous that Sally should spend some time with her. Let her at least come and see Wilmington and as soon as she is tired of it we will promise that she shall return home.

Ann and Jane[2] beg to be remembered to you all, and it is hardly necessary for me to renew the assurance.

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[1] In the Ratisbon campaign, April 19–23, Napoleon had completely defeated the Austrians and was able to enter Vienna May 13.

[2] Among the letters in the Bayard Papers not printed here because of their purely personal character is a letter to Andrew Bayard dated Oct. 14, 1809, in which Bayard recounts the circumstances of the death of his sister, which took place Sept. 30, 1809, at the home of an aunt of Mrs. Bayard.

P. S.—Ann requests me to mention that she will want 37 yards of carpetting and that owing to the breaks in the figure of the room instructions cannot be given to make the carpet in the city and that it must be made here. Have the goodness to forward the Bill, that I may remit the amt.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WASHINGTON, *7 Feby. 1810.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I received your favor of the 5th by the mail this afternoon. I perceive we have a common feeling on the subject of correspondence. Nothing having occurred to me of late which I thought of any interest to you, I of course troubled you with no letter. You seem to have been governed by the same sentiment. We perhaps both miscalculate. I never hear from you but with pleasure and if I had had a Confidence of returning an equivalent you would have heard from me oftener.

I beg you upon all occasions to draw upon me for any political information or conjectures which my situation will enable me to afford you. As I am not of a sanguine temperament if I do not instruct you as to facts and probabilities I shall seldom lead you astray.

Macon's Bill is before a Committee of the Senate.[1] Genl. Smith[2] is the chairman and I enquired of him to day as to the sentiments of the Committee and the shape in which it would probably be reported. He is personally against the principle of the Bill, but could not answer for the rest of the Committee. I asked Giles who also is on the Committee his opinion and he answered me by asking mine. He then said he was not determined. It is not possible at present to predict the fate of the Bill in our Body. If it should pass I do not think it would immediately cause a war with G. Britain, but it might a retaliation which would be little short of war. I have seen letters of Mr. Jackson[3] to a friend here which breathe the spirit of peace and conciliation, notwithstanding the treatment he has experienced. His representations to his Court, will be against hostile measures. Nevertheless I should deem it hazzardous to risk a material part of one's property in insurance stocks. The risk is not compensated by the profits.

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[1] Macon had reported to the House, on Dec. 19, 1809, a bill drawn by Gallatin, closing American ports to British or French vessels, but admitting British and French goods when imported directly from their place of origin in American vessels. The House passed the bill on Jan. 29, by a vote of 73 to 52. In the Senate on Feb. 21 everything but the enacting clause and the clause excluding war vessels was struck out. This the House refused to accept and the bill was dropped. Adams, "History", V, 183 et seq.; "Annals", 11 Cong., 2 sess., 754, 1354, 577.

[2] Samuel Smith.

[3] Francis James Jackson (1770-1814) had been received in Washington Oct. 3 as minister from Great Britain. Madison had out-manoeuvred him in the correspondence which followed, and had then cut him off from all further communication.

I am sorry to find cousin Sally does not recover her health. A more gentle season I hope will reestablish it.

I have seen your Sisters here three or four times and should have seen them oftener if the short days and intemperate weather and many engagements had not rendered it impracticable to pay visits at the distance of half a mile.

Present me affectionately to Mrs. B. and Sally.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *5 March 1810.*

Dear Andrew: The House of Representatives disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to Macon's Bill to day by a majority of 20 votes. The Bill of course has come back to us in its original form and it is for the Senate to say whether they will adhere to their amendments or not. I do not think that the Senate will recede but it is possible they may *insist*, which will produce a conference between the two Houses. A motion however will be made to *adhere* which puts an end to the business on our part, but the House may afterwards recede from their disagreement. A convoy Bill has been reported in the House and referred to a Committee of the Whole.[1] Nothing can yet be said as to its probable fate.

It is very evident that many Gentlemen are indisposed to acting at the present moment. They fondly cherish hopes that some events (and they know not what) may extricate them from their difficulties. The fact is they have been struggling to accomplish an object entirely out of their power—to coerce G. Britain by commercial regulations. They know they can't fight here, and no alternative remains for further experiment, unless it be the cultivation of her good Will and that their Stomachs are not yet prepared for.

I hope cousin Sally may find benefit from the softer air of the approaching season. An excursion when the roads admit, would seem adviseable.

It is difficult for me to say any[thing] on the question proposed in your letter of the 27 Ult. concerning the Bill intended to be passed by your Legislature relative to your private Banking Associations, without seeing the Bill.[2] The constitution of the U. S. takes from the several States the power to pass expost facto laws or laws impairing the obligation of Contracts. Any such law cannot therefore constitutionally be passed by your State, but you will perceive that, without seeing the law in a given case, one could not undertake to

[1] A convoy bill had been brought into the House Feb. 9, and the committee discharged from further consideration, Feb. 27; a second bill, doubtless the one here referred to, was brought in Mar. 5, and referred to a committee of the whole. "Annals", 11 Cong., 2 sess., 1403, 1463–1464, 1482.

[2] Probably the act passed Mar. 19, 1810. Smith, "Penn. Laws", V, 108–109.

express an opinion whether it was to be considered expost facto or as impairing the obligation of a contract. Whatever law however the State may pass, it will be an extremely difficult thing for a private corporation to resist. I was glad to see you were appointed President of the Commercial Bank and shall be mortified if your expectations should be disappointed.

Present me to Mrs. B. and Sally.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *19 Mar. 1810.*

My dear Andrew: The case of Pettit and Bayard vs. Barton[1] was continued in the Supreme Court before I received your letter in relation to it. I have examined the record and do not think you have much to apprehend from the errors assigned, but the case necessarily stands over to next February.

The enclosed letter and Certificate were handed to me this morning. They are designed for the use of your Counsel in whose hands you will put them at a proper time.

Macons Bill is before the Senate upon a motion to adhere to our amendments.[2]

General Smith is making a speech about every thing but the point before us. It is doubtful whether the Senate will adhere, but they probably will insist and ask a second conference with the House and chiefly for the purpose of delay.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *March 26, 1810.*

My dear Andrew: I received yesterday yours of the 23 Inst. The case of P. and B. vs. Barton was continued before I recd. your letter relative to it.

I know nothing of the papers you speak of. Tho' it occurs to me this instant that I was informed some time ago, of a package being in the Post office addressed to me which was retained in consequence of being over weight and liable to a charge of postage. We are limited to two ounces, and if the weight be greater they charge the whole postage. It is possible the package contains the papers you

[1] Pettit and Bayard had brought suit in the circuit court for the district of Virginia against Seth Barton and Thomas Fisher, merchants in Virginia. A judgment had been rendered against Barton alone, who pleaded that suit having been brought against both parties judgment should not be rendered against one. This the Supreme Court upheld, overruling the action of the circuit court. 7 Cranch 194.

[2] "Annals", 11 Cong., 2 sess., 602–611; the motion was passed by a vote of 17 to 15.

refer to. I shall be able to determine by the hand writing, which I will examine the first leisure hour, I have to go to the office.

It often happens that large bundles are addressed to Members of Congress upon public or private business before the Legislature on which there will be a postage of 4 or 5 Dls. which we are in the habit of allowing to lie in the office.

I sent you yesterday a printed copy of the Bank Bill reported to the Senate.[1] My project is to continue the charter of the old Bank concurrently with the new, a sufficient length of time to prevent any embarrassments to the Bank or to Individuals connected with it. You will probably have the same President and nearly the same Directors in the new that you have in the old Institution and the thing may be so managed that the new Bank shall simply take the place of the old. In the meantime the new one offers to your Citizens a greater interest than they hold in the old. You will look also to what is gained by the Government of the U. S. and of the respective States. The political effect of the inalienable interest of the States strongly recommends the Scheme in my mind. I shall be very glad to receive any remarks you may have to make upon the general plan or upon the details. But consider the Bill without prejudice and upon the principles of general interest and policy.

The Bill has only been laid upon the tables of the Members of Congress this morning and of course no conjecture can yet be formed as to the sentiment in relation to it. If it fails it will be on the constitutional ground which presents the same obstacle to the continuance of the old charter.

I had an interview this morning with the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject. The effect of dissolving the old institution was the matter of consideration. He suggested the incorporation of the old with the new system. But his difficulties were chiefly removed by a continuance of the old charter a reasonable time. I am satisfied that at present a majority of the Senate are against a renewal of the old charter whether a new Bank be established or not.

Present me to Mrs. B.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *8 Apl. 1810.*

My dear Andrew: I sent you the day before yesterday under cover of the frank of the V. P. the bundle of papers which you requested me to return. And also Amendments which I moved to the

[1] On Mar. 13, a committee, consisting of Bayard, Crawford, Anderson, Samuel Smith, and Franklin, had been appointed to report on provisions for the establishment of a national bank. This committee had reported a bill on Mar. 22. The bill was discussed in committee of the whole until Aug. 25, when on a motion by Bayard the matter was postponed until the next session. "Annals", 11 Cong., 2 sess., 598, 615–662, 669.

Bank Bill reported to the Senate.[1] I am not at all surprized that your Politicians at the Coffee house should have supposed me unfriendly to the Continuance of the charter of the present Bank of the U. S. I know that is the opinion of Hollingsworth the Bank agent here and I have no doubt he has made such representations to his constituents. He is the worst qualified man I ever knew for the management of a political affair. He understands the nature of a Bank institution no doubt, but in understanding and managing men he is worse than useless.

There is no subject upon which opinion in both houses of Congress is so divided and distracted as upon that of a National Bank. Some Gentlemen of the most discernment and understanding of the other Party have told me that they thought there was a majority in the House of Reps. against any Bank. I laid hold of the subject in the Senate in order to keep it out of other hands, and knowing the controle of the business which would be derived from being at the head of the Committee which brought it before the Senate. For myself so far from designing to stand in the way of a continuance of the present Charter, my intention was and is to lead opinions by degrees to that point.

There was no other course that could be successful. It was necessary to wean many members from the constitutional objection. They must be allowed therefore to take any scheme they pleased; but agreeing to any one plan was abandoning the objection on the ground of the Constitution as to all others.

I have suffered Hollingsworth to believe I was enemical to the present Bank, and his manners sufficiently prove that he sincerely thinks so. The effect however has been useful in giving me additional means over several members who are really hostile to the institution.

It is very doubtful whether any thing will be done on the subject this Session. If nothing is done, the Bank ought to go on with their discounts, if they are Creditors, to the same amount at the next Session of Congress as at present, a continuance of their charter cannot be refused.

You must consider the substance of this letter as confidential. As I am not responsible to the Gentlemen of Your City for my political course, it can be of no consequence to justify me in their eyes. As far as I am interested in their good will I shall rely upon their good sense to judge of me by the result.

Both Houses of Congress have agreed to adjourn on the 23d inst. The non Intercourse will then fall.

[1] Presented on Apr. 4. "Annals", 11 Cong., 2 sess., 640.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Jan. 11, 1811.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 231; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 9.]

Bayard to [Andrew Bayard?]

Washington, *27 Jany. 1811.*

My dear Sir: I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22 inst. The same picture which you draw of the embarrassment and distress produced by a prospect of the refusal of the Government to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States is exhibited to us here in numerous letters from New York and from other places. It creates however no great impression on the majority of the Democrats. It was a result many of them foresaw and designed to effect. You will find that the vote for indefinite postponement succeeded by a majority of only one voice.[1] There were however undoubtedly several members who voted against postponement, who would have voted against the Bill. The work is completed in the House of Reps. and it remains only to see what the Senate are disposed to do. The printed list which I sent you gave as accurate a conjecture as to the probable vote in the Senate as at that time could well have been formed. Since then the Legislature of Virginia have instructed their Senators to vote against the renewal of the charter of the Bank. This it is supposed will change the vote of Mr. Brent[2] who has not the hardihood to vote against his instructions, tho his private opinion is decidedly in favor of a renewal. Mr. Giles has not been in the Senate since I have been here and I have heard it stated as likely, that he would not resume his seat during the Session.[3] Brent is also absent and has been for the last week. If neither of them should attend the vote would remain according to the statement sent you. I have some doubt as to Lambert[4] from N. Jersey, altho I put him down in favor of the charter from the best inference I could make

[1] The House had on Jan. 24 voted for indefinite postponement, 65 to 64. "Annals", 11 Cong., 3 sess., 826.

[2] Richard Brent (d. 1814), a representative from 1795 to 1799, and from 1801 to 1803. He entered the Senate May 22, 1809, and served until his death. In spite of his instructions Brent voted with Bayard on the bank bill introduced in this session. "Senate Journal", 1805–1811, 578.

[3] Giles had been present when the Senate convened, and had been on Dec. 20 granted leave of absence for a fortnight. He was present in the Senate on Feb. 14 and spoke against the bank bill, and was again on Feb. 24 granted leave of absence for the remainder of the session. Bayard himself did not arrive until Jan. 7. Ibid., 521, 531, 538, 583.

[4] John Lambert (1784–1823), a representative from 1805 till 1809, a member of the Senate from 1809 till 1815. Bayard was evidently mistaken, as Lambert voted against the renewal of the charter on Feb. 20. Ibid., 578.

from a conversation I had with him on the subject. A majority of the Committee to whom the memorial of the Directors was referred are in favor of the Bank and will report I think accordingly in the course of this week. It is yet possible that the charter may be renewed during the Session. If a Bill for the purpose should pass the Senate, the small majority in the House agt. the Bank, would hardly venture to take upon themselves the responsibility of rejecting it.[1] They would probably fly the question (as we say) as several certainly did that of the indefinite postponement. I can offer you at present nothing but Conjectures, but of whatever may occur on the subject you shall have the earliest information.

You may count with certainty upon a non-Intercourse act with England.[2] The orders in Council not being repealed the Government consider themselves pledged on the subject by their engagement in case the french decrees were revoked. I expect nothing but mischief from anything which will be done this Session and I thank God that we are near the end of it.

Bayard to William Plumer.[3]

Wil., *11 June, 1811.*

Dear Sir: Being removed a considerable distance from the place of *Mr. White's* nativity and of the residence of his connections it has been difficult for me to obtain accurate information as *to early* incidents of his life, which occurred before our personal acquaintance commenced.

Mr. W. I learn was the son of a respectable Farmer who resided on lands reputed to be within the Province of Maryland before the settlement of the line separating that Province from the three lower counties on Delaware, but which upon the final establishment of the line between the grants of Lord Baltimore and Wm. Penn formed a part of the County of Kent one of the three Lower Counties on

[1] A bill for the renewal of the charter was introduced by Crawford on Feb. 5, and was discussed until Feb. 20, when the Senate divided, 17 to 17, on a motion to strike out the enacting clause. On Feb. 21, it was ordered postponed until the next session. "Annals", 11 Cong., 3 sess., 122–347, passim.

[2] The non-intercourse bill was reported in the Senate Feb. 28, and was passed Mar. 2. "Annals", 11 Cong., 3 sess., 355, 361.

[3] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. William Plumer (1759–1850), senator from New Hampshire 1802–1807, governor of New Hampshire 1812–1816 and 1817–1818. Bayard's letter here printed is in answer to the following request from him:

Epping (New Hampshire),
March 23d 1810.

My dear Sir: Engaged in compiling the history of our common country, and being desirous of interweaving a large portion of the biography of eminent men, I take the liberty of requesting from you a brief sketch of the parentage, offices and character of your late worthy colleague, and my much esteemed friend, Samuel White. William Plumer. Plumer's biographical sketches, numbering 1952, were given to the Historical Society of New Hampshire and have been bound by that society in five volumes. His life of White is vol. IV, p. 493, of this collection. "N. H. Hist. Soc. Proc.", I, 456.

Delaware. He was born in the month of Dec. 1770, and after receiving the schooling which the Country afforded, was sent to Cokesberry College in Harford County in the State of M[ar]yland.[1]

I understand that he spent several years at this institution, but the college which had then been recently established, and which some time after was destroyed by fire. Not having the power to confer degrees (*I believe*) he never graduated. Being designed for the law, he was placed in the office of R[ichard] B[assett] Esqr. at Dover in the State of Delaware about the year 1790 but Mr. B. being then engaged a great part of his time from home as a Member of the S[enate] of the U. S. Mr. W. was removed to the office of N. H.[2] Esqr. where he completed his course of reading as a student at law at Easton on the E. S. M.[3]

He was admitted to the Bar of Kent County in Delaware abt. the year 1794. He soon acquired business and reputation, but he did not relish either the nature or the labour of his occupation. He seized with eagerness the opp'y. which offered in the year 99 when the army was augmented by the addn. of 12 Regiments[4] to exchange the profession of the Lawyer for that of the Soldier.

He obtained the commission of a captain and raised a company of Infantry in this State *from which he was appointed.* His compy. composed a part of Col. Ogdens[5] Regimt. and was stationed at the Scotch Plains in N. J. till the 12 Regts. were disbanded under the act of Congress.[6]

Capt. W. was selected by his brother officers to prepare and pronounce a funeral oration on the occasion of the death of Genl. W[ashington]. The oration is in print, but I have not seen it.[7] It is said to contain considerable merit.

When the 12 Regs. were disbanded Mr. W. returned to the practice of the law and again settled at Dover.

But the taste he had acquired for Military life inspired an evident aversion from the practice of the law. A vacancy occurring not long afterwards in the Senate of the U. S. by the resignation of Mr. Latimer[8] he was appointed by Gov. Bassett in the recess of the Leg. a Sen. of the U. S. from this State and took his seat in the Senate under the appointmt. on the 4 March 1801. At the ensuing

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[1] Cokesbury College was founded by the Methodists in 1785 at Abingdon, Md. It was burned down not long after and was rebuilt in Baltimore only to be again burned.

[2] Nicholas Hammond. Information furnished by Mr. Oswald Tilghman of Easton, Md.

[3] Eastern Shore of Maryland.

[4] Approved Mar. 2, 1799; c. 31.

[5] Lieut.-Col. Aaron Ogden.

[6] June 15, 1800.

[7] "Proceedings of the Union Brigade, commanded by Colonel Smith, on the Death of General Washington. With Rev. Mr. Austin's Prayer, and Capt. Samuel White's Oration" (Trenton, Lang's Press, 1800).

[8] Dr. Henry Lattimer.

Meeting of the Leg. the appointmt. was confirmed, and he was twice afterwds. elected by the Leg. into the Same body. He continued a Member of the Senate till his death which happened in the month of Oct. 1809. His Speeches in the Senate and his public conduct I presume, are so fully known to you as to require in relation to them no additional information.

His death was caused by the rupture of a blood vessel of the Stomach which in the period of two years had recurred several times. He died in Wiln. and I was the melancholy witness of the calm resignation and unshaken fortitude with which he passed thro the last awful scene of life.

Mr. W. had the advantage of a fine person and manly appearance and his manners were polished and graceful. His reading was not extensive and when not actively employed he was inclined to indolence. But when excited to industry he possessed uncommon facility in making himself acquainted with the subject of his investigation. He was not a frequent Speaker in the Senate and in desultory debate was not distinguished. But by several Speeches which he delivered upon extraordinary occasions, and particularly the one on the St. Domingo Bill he acquired the reputation of an able and eloquent Speaker.[1]

The character of Mr. W. disposed and fitted him more and better for Military than civil life.

In active pursuits he was eager bold enterprizing patient of fatigue and quick and fruitful in resources. The fame of a soldier was his leading passion and had the times he lived in allowed him to indulge it, I have no doubt he would have attained a distinguished place among military names.

Mr. W. was never married. In private life he was much esteemed and beloved by his friends. His manners were open unassuming and engratiating and uniting an excellent temper and honorable principles to the talent of a sprightly and interesting conversation he was received with pleasure in all companies into which he went.

His death was the source of deep regret to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Such dear Sir are the scanty materials I can furnish for a Sketch of the life and character of Mr. White.

I could have wished them to have been more ample, especially after suffering so much time to elapse before they were provided for your use.

They must derive from you all the interest they can have with the public.

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[1] The bill to suspend commercial intercourse with Santo Domingo was introduced into the Senate Jan. 15, 1806; White's speech on it was delivered Feb. 20, on which day the bill passed, 21 to 8, Bayard, Plumer, and White voting against it.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Dec. 10, 1811.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 231–232; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 10.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Dec. 18, 1811.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 231–232; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 10.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Dec. 22, 1811.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 232–233; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 11–12.]

BAYARD TO AARON OGDEN.[1]

WASHINGTON, *Decb. 23, 1811.*

DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure to receive yesterday the letter you addressed to me on the subject of Mr. Fultons application to Congress relative to his Patent for Steam boats.[2]

The Bill originally introduced into the Senate by Mr. Giles (and drawn by Chancr. Livingston[3]) was extremely exceptionable. It proposed to confirm rights which were questioned and to give new remedies in the Individual case which had been denied on general principles. The bill was referred and every feature of it changed. I was a member of the Committee and drew the second Bill which is now before the Senate. The second sect. of this Bill is exceptionable and will be struck out. The time of Mr. Fultons Patent will probably be extended, but without conferring any new right or quality upon the Patent.

The right of no third person will be in the smallest degree interferred with.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

SENATE CHAMBER, *Jan. 6, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 233; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 12–13.]

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[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

[2] The bill was introduced Dec. 5, was referred to the special committee of which Bayard speaks Dec. 13, reported Dec. 17, and passed the Senate Dec. 31. "Annals", 12 Cong., 1 sess., 28, 32, 33, 92.

[3] Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), first chancellor of New York, secretary of foreign affairs 1781–1783, minister to France 1801–1805. While in Paris he had met Fulton and from that time on they worked together, conducting somewhat unsuccessful experiments on the Seine before returning to this country.

Bayard to William H. Wells.[1]

Washington, *12 Jany. 1812.*

Dear Sir: I presume by this time your Campaign at Dover is fairly opened. To go thro it successfully will require some able manouver ing. There will be much clashing of interests and of course of views and projects. You will take care upon the whole to satisfy and please the People. Many things however apparently popular are not always so, and you will consult deliberately and attentively that good understanding which God has given you in order to discover the means of healing the differences and cementing the interests of the Party which it concerns us all so much to support. The balance at this moment is so nearly poised, that good management or small errors may easily turn it on either side. It does not become me however to make these general reflections to you, whose mind is already in possession of them and whose prudence is always disposed to practice them.

The Banks will give you some trouble. I care about none of them, but the old Mother Bank of the State. I always thought she had every claim to a continuance of her charter.

The general reasons are obvious and need not be suggested to you.

If I were in your situation I would give myself little care about the foundlings you are likely to find at your doors. I would leave it to others to take the public prominent part. It is almost impossible to oppose or support them without making enemies. I think they ought to have your vote, but that is as much as they deserve or you can give with safety. You and I are in the habit of advising each other freely and I am sure you will take no offence at my thoughts about what you ought to do, while you are always at liberty to act as you please.

You will distinctly see from the public papers the course which the Federalists are pursuing here. We have determined that we shall make no opposition to measures of defence. We shall therefore vote to strengthen the army and Navy and to put the nation in the attitude the President requires, and we are determined at all events to go far enough to convince the country that we have no British partialities and if our opponents are resolved to fight the Islanders we will take care at least that they shall have fair play. Their swaggering and blustering about England has served their purpose long enough and the experiment may be worth what it will cost to have it determined whether we are better-of[f] in being at peace or war with her. This will nearly settle the question whether the Feds. or demos. have pursued the wiser course.

[1] New York Public Library. Letter not addressed, but probably to William H. Wells of Delaware, who succeeded Bayard as senator, 1813–1817. He was at this time a candidate for the state senatorship.

De Witt Clinton[1] and Govr. Morris[2] have been hear a considerable time—their ostensible object a canal from the lakes to the Hudson but the real one is supposed to be a political intrigue. I know nothing about it and can therefore only speak of Suppositions.[3]

Do the people of Delaware feel themselves any bigger for having at last obtained two Representatives? Maryland was kind to us, but some of the Demos of Penna. had no other reason for placing their state behind Virginia one vote than the consequence of giving Del. two, if they agreed to the ratio of 35,000.[4] Wishing you a pleasant winter.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *25 Jany. 1812.*

My dear Andrew: I never had any attachment to letter writing and I have often been sorry for it for I am always gratified in receiving letters tho little disposed to write them, and he who wishes to hear from his friends, must be at the pains of allowing them to hear from him.

The winter here has passed on very gaily notwithstanding the prospect of war. And judging from any other indications than those to be found within the walls of Congress it would be impossible to suppose that anything so calamitous as war was apprehended by any one. No person appears to receive less impression from our measures than the British Minister.[5] He gives his dinners to Gentlemen of all Parties in the most friendly style possible. Some evenings ago he gave a grand fete. Not less than 300 invitations went out and nearly 200 persons composed the Party. The supper was very brilliant and was displayed on tables spread in four different but contiguous rooms. Mr. Serrurier[6] does not entertain as often nor with the same expence and profusion as Mr. Foster. He occupies the house belonging to Barlow[7] which you do not find till you have clambered hills and traversed three miles. I do not know whether it happens from accident or design but I have remarked that these Ministers have selected for their liveries each the national military

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[1] De Witt Clinton (1769–1828), at this time lieutenant-governor of New York, as well as mayor of the city of New York.

[2] Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) served as one of the Erie Canal commissioners from 1810 until his death.

[3] Bayard in the letter to Rodney of Dec. 22, 1811 ("Bulletin" of the N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 232) says: "The characters of the two men [Morris and Clinton] are pretty well known and it is rather supposed that they mean to open a road to the presidency than a Canal from the lakes. Tho' a young republic we are already old in intrigue."

[4] The apportionment bill was approved Dec. 21. "Annals", 12 Cong., app., 2227.

[5] Augustus John Foster (1780–1848) had been the British minister since July 2, 1811.

[6] Louis Serurier, the French minister, succeeded Turreau in February, 1811.

[7] Joel Barlow (1754–1812) had in 1811 gone to France as minister. His estate, called Kalorama, lay between the present Florida Avenue and Rock Creek. Bryan, "History of the Capital", I, 240.

uniform of the other—Foster white, Serrurier scarlet. They do not speak and tho I have seen them frequently in the same Company I have not observed the civility of a bow pass between them. I have often seen Turreau and Erskine[1] bow to each other. And there is certainly nothing in the situation of ministers whose nations are at war which forbids them to bear the appearance of civility to each other.

Nothing has depressed the war spirit here more than the frightful exhibition made by Gallatin of War taxes.[2] Many who voted for the army will not vote for the taxes and I much doubt whether any one proposed by the Secretary can be carried thro both Houses of Congress. They are not such fools at the same time as not to know that war cannot be carried on without money. And when they have arrived at the point—no money no war—even they who are now panting after war if they cant have it without taxing the people and of course ruining their popularity will abandon the object.

I shall consider the taxes as the test, and when a majority agree to the proposed taxes, I shall believe them in earnest and determined upon war, but till then I shall consider the whole as a game of juggling in which the presidency and the loaves and fishes belonging to it are the objects they are contending for.

We have the prospect of a long Session and no one pretends to know when it is to end. An adjournment for two months was talked of some weeks ago, but appeared afterwards to be given up. Within a day or two the project is revived and they now speak of adjourning from the 10th of March to the 10th of May, and I should not be surprized if it were to happen; but it is quite uncertain.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Jan. 26, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 233–234; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 13–14.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *1 Feby. 1812.*

My dear Andrew: I had the pleasure a few days ago to receive your letter of the 24 Ult., the first I have been favored with this

[1] General Louis Marie Turreau de Garambouville (1756–1816), the French minister from 1804 to 1811. David Montagu Erskine (1776–1855), minister of Great Britian from 1806 to 1809.

[2] Gallatin's letter estimating the necessary war finances was read to the House Jan. 20. He asked Congress to double the existing duties, to reimpose the duty on salt, and to raise $5,000,000 by internal taxes. "Annals", 12 Cong., 1 sess., 848–858. The letter is in "Am. St. P., Finance", II, 523.

season. We will abstain however if you please from mutual reproaches and if we have neglected the time past, it can only be corrected now by improving the time to come.

The Newspapers at present contain less intelligence for us than for you. For they bring us back chiefly the debates in Congress and reports and rumours of transactions and projects at Washington. Many of the rumours you meet with are destitute of foundation or are grounded merely on surmise. Of this kind was the report you had of a presidential Caucus in which DeWitt Clinton had a majority of votes. No such Caucus has been held and nothing is more difficult than to tell what brought Clinton and Governeur Morris to the seat of Government. The pretence was to obtain the assistance of Congress in cutting a canal from lake Erie to the Hudson. The projected canal performed a route of three hundred miles passing over rivers, lakes, and vallies, and could not be completed for fifteen millions of dollars.[1] Morris who was here nearly two months once appeared upon the subject of the canal before a Committee of the House and Clinton who came on the same business was never heard to say a word about it.

If they intrigued on the subject of the presidency it must have been with great circumspection for they were unusually reserved upon the subject to the men of all others to whom it might have been supposed they would have communicated their views. They probably came to make their observations and designing to profit by them according to future events.

The question you propose of war or peace is still difficult of solution. If the orders in Council are not rescinded or modified so as to change their character it is the declared intention of the Administration and of a majority of the two houses, to commence hostilities, against England. They profess now to wait the return of the *Hornet*[2] and if she bring no favorable intelligence it is said to be the design of the Committee of foreign relations to propose a declaration of war. Mr. Foster I know does not expect that the *Hornet* will bring news of any change and that being the case you have to guess whether these Gentlemen will be hardy enough to execute their professed intentions, and determine accordingly whether we shall have peace or war. I am satisfied that a great number who talk about war, have not yet lost sight of peace and that they have felt nothing of the struggle they will experience in their own minds when they are called upon to abandon that prospect altogether.

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[1] The canal actually cost about $7,000,000.

[2] The *Hornet* did not arrive until May 19. Her despatches from England brought nothing favorable, but renewed the statement that since France's decrees against neutrals were still in force England could but follow her former course.

The House have agreed to fit out all the vessels of war in ordinary but refused to add to the number.[1] The Bill has been sent to the Senate but has not been acted upon. The Bill for 50,000 volunteers has passed the Senate,[2] but the appropriation has been reduced from 3 to one million Dls.

The Budget has not yet been touched in the House and I wait to see how it is there treated, to form my opinion how far the intention is sincere of proceeding to war.

As things now stand the event may well be apprehended. I should not like to hazzard upon it what might embarrass me; nor would I at the same time make a great sacrifice to avoid the risk. The event is in futurity and of course doubtful.

You will make my respects to Cousin Sally and the children.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

SENATE CHAMBER, *13 Feby. 1812.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I have received the letters in which you mention the name of Mr. Kingston[3] and request any service I can render him upon his application for the place of consul. Mr. K. I have long known and should very chearfully from my own knowlege as well as from your recommendation aid him with any means in my power in the accomplishmt. of the object he has in view. And I beg you to be assured that I shall upon all occasions attend with great pleasure to the recommendations you may give in behalf of any of your friends.

Congress is moving very slowly at present, and it is very obvious that the Administration are waiting for intelligence they expect, or events which they hope for.

In a conversation which I had with the President last evening, I found he was little satisfied with the Answer of the Prince Regent to the address of the city of London.[4] He remarked that taken in combination with some circumstance (which he did not mention) it seemed indicative of a perseverance in the present system. If the system be continued and no fortunate events occur, I see not how it is possible that the Administration can avoid a war. In short the sole question seems to be will the orders in council be abandoned. I know of nothing which induces me to think that they will be given up. I am therefore obliged to think that we shall have the war, not instantly but before the year goes round.

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[1] Jan. 29. "Annals", 12 Cong., 1 sess., Pt. I, 1005.

[2] Jan. 31. Ibid., 111–112.

[3] Stephen Kingston, nominated Mar. 23, as consul at Havana. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 240.

[4] The city of London had petitioned on Dec. 18, 1811, that intercourse with foreign nations be resumed. The prince regent had answered that this would be done when "circumstances made it practicable." London Gazette, 1811, no. 16553, p. 2426.

The difficulty will be to get into the war if Britain abstains from hostility. One can discover very little war spirit in either House of Congress. And yet the members will tell you very coldly, that war is inevitable. But I have found no one willing to declare war and very few to adopt any measure of hostile character. There is in fact an unaccountable apathy prevailing which seems indifferent as to what may happen. Affairs however are approaching a crisis which must be productive of a new state of things.

I expect a long Session. We shall be here I have no doubt in July. Mr. Gallatins Bill for the direct tax cannot be prepared in less than six weeks to be laid before the House. And it will take at least six weeks more to pass it. I which [wish] I could offer you better prospects, but I am obliged to present them as they appear to my eyes.

Adieu and remember me with kindness to your family.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 16, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 234; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 15–16.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 27, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 234–235; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 16–17.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

SENATE CHAMBER, *Mar. 6, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 235; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 17–18.]

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Mar. 9, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 235–236; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 18–19.]

GALLATIN TO BAYARD.

Mr. Gallatin encloses some hasty notes in answer to Mr. Wells's queries. Mr. G. has also reflected on Mr. Bayard's suggestion of a loan which would embrace (without any incorporation) all the advantages of a national Bank; and, thinking that the plan is perfectly practicable and at this time would be eminently useful, he wishes

that Mr. Bayard would favor him with an interview or in any other manner communicate his plan more in detail.

March 12th, 1812.

[*Enclosure.*]

The U. States open a loan at Boston for at N. York for at Philadelphia for etc. etc. under the superintendance of one or more Commissioners.

The U. States issue their notes of a convenient denomination to the amount of the loan payable to Bearer at their office of Deposit at Boston, N Y., etc.

By the terms of the loan the U. S. are at liberty at any time to use one half of the money subscribed paying one Pcent. but the other half to remain for the benefit of the office.

The paper may be varied in its Denomination and renewed, but the office shall be supplied with notes to the amt. of the loan during years.

The Subscribers to the loan their Exors., etc., or assigns shall have the right to chuse Directors who shall have the management of the affairs of the office.

Public monies shall be deposited in the said offices and the notes and none other shall be receivable in paymt. of duties, taxes, etc.

The President shall have the power to appoint Directors.

The U. S. guarantee the payment of the notes.

The office may receive deposits from Individuals.

The Directors may make loans at their discresstion, at 6. Pct.

If in the course of business their be a loss on the capital, the subscribers to the loan to bear the loss.

Dividends to be made of the profits among the subscribers.

Securities may be taken in the name of the U. S. for the use of the subscribers and may be transferred or discharged under authority of the Directors.

The Stock shall be transferrable in person or by Atty at the office by the original subscribers their Exors, etc. or assigns.

Directors not to have power to divide more than nette profits.

They may loan to the U. S.

The Secretary of the Treasy to be furnished with Statements etc. (as by old Bank).

The capital is first pledged for the paymt of the notes—2dly. any debt due to U. S. for Deposit.

The Goverment may thus borrow 20 millions at 3 1/2 Pcent.

The system to be so constituted that the different offices shall furnish all the facilities in the financial admn. as the Bank of the U. S.

A solid paper of internal commerce is thus furnished.

The paper may be issued immediately by the Governmt. while the office operates upon the money paid in by subscribers.

The paper may thus gradually be introduced into circulation.

Loan at any given office to be discharged at one payment.

Bayard to Albert Gallatin.

Mr. Bayard returns thanks for Mr. Gallatin's paper in answer to Mr. Wells queries.

Mr. B is engaged on Committees for Friday, Saturday, and Monday mornings. Tuesday morning he will do himself the honor to wait on Mr. G. at the Treasury office with a view to the subject referred to in Mr. G.'s note.

Davis's Hotel[1]

12 Mar. 1812.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Mar. 16, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 236–237; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 19–21.]

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Mar. 22, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Hist. Soc., IV, 237; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 21–22.]

Bayard to Madison.[2]

Wilmington, *14th. April 1812.*

Sir: In conformity to your desire I have availed myself of the most fit occasion which has presented itself to intimate to Mr. Rodney[3] your disposition and views respecting him in relation to the vacant place of Judge of this District. I requested him at the time not to give me an immediate answer but to allow his determination to be the result of consideration on the subject. He has since come to the conclusion to decline the appointment, which he has made known to me with a view to its being communicated to you.

If you should deem it proper to postpone the nomination of a Judge for a few days I would offer you my humble services upon my return to Washington in giving information as to the legal characters in the State, with all of whom I have been acquainted during the time they have been at the Bar.

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[1] On Pennsylvania Avenue and 6th Street. Bryan, "Hist. of the Capital", I, 635.

[2] Library of Congress, Madison Papers, XLIV, 80.

[3] Presumably Caesar A. Rodney, an intimate friend of Bayard, who had in December, 1811, resigned the office of attorney-general of the United States; concerning which resignation see an anecdote in one of Bayard's letters to him, Dec. 22, 1811, printed in the "Bulletin" of the New York Public Library, IV, 232.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *2 May 1812.*

My dear Andrew: I was as near to you as Wilmington during the sitting of our Supreme Court and for a few days afterwards. If I had had leisure I would have paid a visit to the city to see you, but as soon as my business was completed in Delaware I was obliged to repair to my post in this place. I had great hopes upon my return of being dismissed in a short time, but two propositions for recesses of different terms have been negatived in the House of Representatives. And it seems determined to keep us here till the great explosion take place.

The designs of any Government were never veiled in deeper mystery. There is room to guess a great many things and ground to believe nothing. You can rely upon nothing which is told you by men in the most confidential Situations. Less than a week before the Embargo Mr. Gallatin told me the measure was entirely out of the question. That at the commencement of the Session he had been in favor of it, but found all the world against him and therefore yielded. But that he himself then (time of conversation) was decidedly opposed to the measure and he knew of no one in favor of it. About 4 days after it was laid.[1] In fact it was not thought of by a Member of the cabenet 36 hours before it was proposed to Congress.

At the last Drawing room I asked the same gentleman—Mr. Hunter, S.R.I.,[2] and he and myself being in conversation if he thought we should have war. He answered very promptly "yes Sir, war is inevitable." I remarked "You appear very possitive, Mr. Gallatin, but you will allow me to bring to your recollection, that not 4 days before the embargo was proposed, you informed me that the measure was totally out of the question." "That is true Sir," he replied. "The embargo was an incidental affair to be adopted or dispensed with as circumstances might require, but I repeat that the war is inevitable." But I see no reason why Mr. G should not have the same motive to deceive or himself be subject to deception in relation to the war as happened in respect to the embargo.

Judging from the course of conversation it would seem that the plan of the war is changing. The Western and Southern Gentlemen are alarmed by a point very seriously insisted upon by the northern—that in case Canada be conquered, that it shall be divided into States and inalienably incorporated into the Union. You will see the great and permanent weight which such an event would throw into the northern scale. No proposition could have been more frightful to the

[1] The President's message recommending the embargo was dated Apr. 1; the embargo passed the Senate Apr. 2. "Annals", 12 Cong., 1 sess., pt. I, 186–189.

[2] Senator from Rhode Island. William Hunter (1774–1849), a member of the Senate from 1811 till 1821.

southern men, and it seems they had never thought of what they were to do with Canada before, in case they conquered the country, but they prefer that Canada should remain a British Province rather than become States of America. The consequence has been that they now begin to talk of maritime war, and of the ocean being the only place where G. Britain is tangible. What I am now telling you is not an affair generally or publicly spoken of. It has existed but a short time and passes as yet in whispers and a semi confidential way. I am inclined to think it true and likely to produce important results.

I wish it were in my power to do anything for you in this place. If there be anything which will suit you and you will inform me the worst that can happen will be a fruitless effort to serve you. But in fact there is much less repugnance to employing Federalists than formerly existed.

Present me to Cousin Sally and the children.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *May 6, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 237; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 22.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *9 May 1812.*

My dear Andrew: I have just received your letter of the 6th inst. and in making you an early answer in compliance with your request, can say nothing on the point of the practicability of obtaining some employment for you under the new state of things. Objects of the kind are obtained with difficulty and not without much management. The competitors for every appointment of profit are numerous and active and success depends frequently upon causes wholly out of view. Knowing your disposition at present I will avail myself of any favorable occasion which may present itself to serve you. I cannot answer for any success. I can only promise the most friendly and faithful use of the means in my power. And if nothing can be accomplished in the meantime there will be nothing at *risk and nothing can be lost.* You will have nothing to say or do as the matter will be altogether an affair of my own.

I send you a resolution laid on the table of the Senate yesterday by Mr. Pope.[1] Mr. P. has always been a decided friend of the

[1] John Pope (1770–1845), senator from Kentucky 1807 to 1813. His resolution had moved the repeal of the acts concerning commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France passed May 1, 1810, and Mar. 2, 1811, on the ground of the continued aggressions of the French. "Senate Journal", 1811–1815, 127.

administration and the resolution may create an impression that it is a measure of the Government. This however is not the fact and the Party of the Admn. will oppose and reject the motion.

The only thing important about it is that it will probably add Mr. Pope to the number of the denounced.

War is in the mouths of all the supporters of the admn. They say we are detained here only to declare it. But it is impossible to ascertain when the event is to happen or for what reasons it is deferred. It is said however that early in the month of June the leap will be made.

Bayard to Rodney.[1]

Washington, *1 June, 1812.*

My dear Rodney: I arrived here to day about two o'clock and about half an hour after a confidential message of the President to the two houses of Congress.[2] The doors are closed and so of consequence are my lips, but remember the sixty days are out.[3]

P. S.—You must make Thomson and Moris pay me a handsome fee if they expect I am to re embark in their case.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Senate Chamber, *4 June, 1812.*

My dear Andrew: Altho our doors are closed I do not presume that our proceedings here are a secret to you in Philadelphia. They certainly are no secret here and there are none but members of congress who are denied the privilege of talking openly about them. Being one of those whose lips are sealed you can expect no explanations from me.

I may express it as a conjectural opinion, that the course which will be pursued is by no means certain. In the House it may be foreseen, but in the Senate no calculation can be made.

Much will depend upon discretion and management in giving a direction to wavering and balancing opinions. The direct question must be avoided and a good cover provided for those who are disposed to retreat. We have five members absent, Giles, Hunter, Franklin[4], Campbell[5] (Ohio), and Bradley. We have to regret the absence of all of them. Hunter is expected within the week, Giles and Franklin it is said will return, but the other two are not expected.

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[1] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

[2] Richardson, "Messages", I, 499–505.

[3] The time for which the embargo had been laid.

[4] Jesse Franklin (1760–1823) of North Carolina, a representative from 1795 to 1797, a senator from 1799 to 1805, and again from 1807 to 1813.

[5] Alexander Campbell (1779–1857), senator from Ohio 1810–1813.

What have you done with your Insurance Stock? Have you ventured to hold it? The future is so doubtful, that I could wish information of the probable effect of War upon the Stock. I would thank you to furnish me with the prices of the N. A. Phenix and Union Stocks and your opinion from the State of their affairs how they would bear the shock of a War. This communication you would oblige me by making without loss of time.

Great Britain certainly does not expect a war with us and she will not be prepared to strike suddenly, even if we commence hostilities. And it is also doubtful what species of war she would carry on against us. Probably only against our armed vessels.

We are in the midst of uncertainty and it will not be the most judicious but the most lucky man who profits by events. In the affairs of this world good fortune does more for men than good sense. The best sense penetrates but a little way and the primary causes upon which events depend are always out of sight.

I have done nothing for you tho I have made an attempt. And I can only promise to avail myself of any favorable occasion which may present itself.

I was in Delaware the last week for a few days—I can hardly say at home as I was obliged to attend the Court at New Castle every day while I was in the State.

Nobody can tell when this terrible Session which already has lasted eight months is to end. Probably not before our famous anniversary.[1]

With the kindest wishes for yourself and family.

Bayard to Rodney.

Senate Chamber, *June 11, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 237–238; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 22–24.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Senate Chamber, *11 June, 1812.*

My dear Andrew: I received two days ago your letter of the 6th inst. I thank you for the information as to the stocks. The low price at which the Insurancies stand, will induce me to hold what I possess at all hazards. There is a bare possibility that a war with England may be escaped, there is every probability that it will happen. If the value of the stocks depended solely on the question of war, I would willingly take $20 in the 100 for all I hold.

[1] Congress adjourned on July 6.

But I am not inclined to think that Britain especially in the commencement will endeavour to make it an active and destructive war against this Country. And probably a change of sentiment among the People may render it a war of no great duration. I should suppose also that the operation of the embargo and the notice it gave of the intention of the Government must have guarded the Insurance companies against the risks consequent upon a rupture with Great Britain. This is a speculation on my part, but you may know the fact by enquiring into the State of the affairs of the companies.

You know my Situation as to the proceedings in Congress with closed doors. There is no secrecy between the members of the two Houses and we communicate with each other in every stage of business before either House. As to the rest of the world our lips are sealed and it is very difficult even to hint anything without trespassing upon the bounds prescribed to us. No vote has yet been taken in the Senate, but one not decisive but important will I apprehend be taken to day.[1] The probability is that the two Branches will not agree as to the course of measures, in the first instance, but ultimately will agree in a course which will result in a common point.

You will perceive the propriety of not quoting my name for any opinions you may form inferred from my letters. What I suggest is conjectural and has no advantage over your own conjectures but what arises from a certain knowledge of some facts of which you must be doubtfully informed.

I should almost agree to anything to have an end of the Session of which I am most heartily tired. I am in hopes that we shall get off by the end of the month but that will depend on contingencies.

I beg you to present me to my cousins.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *17 June 1812.*

My dear Andrew: A word to you at present may be important—consider the *War as certain* and act accordingly. You will receive this letter a day or perhaps two or three before it is announced. But you may rely with entire confidence upon what I state to you.

Bayard to Rodney.[2]

Senate Chamber, *18 June 1812.*

Dear Sir: I am at liberty to tell you that the Bill has finally passed declaring *War* agt. Great Britain.

[1] On June 11 the bill for declaring war was recommitted for amendment. The vote on the bill in the Senate was taken June 17, the vote being 19 to 13. "Annals", 12 Cong., 1 sess., 267–297.

[2] Hist. Soc. of Penn., Dreer Collection, American Lawyers, vol. I.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

SENATE CHAMBER, *18 June 1812.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: We have just had announced to us that the President has signed the act declaring war against G. Britain and the U. S. and the injunction of secrecy has been removed.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *June 20, 1812.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 238; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 24–25.]

KINDELAN TO APODACA.

Aug. 9, 1812.

[See pp. 223–225.]

KINDELAN TO MUNNINGS.

Aug. 9, 1812.

[See pp. 225–226.]

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

WILMINGTON, *13 Oct. 1812.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: The pipe of wine you sent me was safely delivered yesterday, but I shall not be able to dispose of it as you direct in a warm and dry place, as its size and weight necessarily consign it to the cellar.

The success of our elections exceeds our expectations. The Legislature is secure and you can inform your Gentlemen of the Committee that Delaware may be entirely relied upon for the support of that ticket in the presidential election which the Body of the federal Party may take up.[1]

Tomorrow or next day I go to Bohemia and shall be absent between two and three weeks. Within is a check for the amt. of the wine, which you will present at the Bank of Pena.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

WASHINGTON, *Jan. 17, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 239; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 25–26.]

[1] Three Democrats and 6 Federalists had been returned to the Delaware Senate; 7 Democrats and 14 Federalists to the lower house.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Jan. 31, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 239–240; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 26–27.]

Bayard to Rodney.[1]

Senate Chamber, *9 Feby. 1813.*

My dear Rodney: Letters and papers have been received by the western mail this morning bringing undoubted intelligence of a most disastrous defeat sustained by our troops under Genl. Winchester[2] at the river Ra[i]sin.[3] Winchester who had a 1,000 men under him suffered himself to be surprised. His men could not be formed, were soon thrown into confusion and not more than 40 escaped out of the thousand. Winchester was killed and scalped.[4] The details are in a Chillicothe paper of the 2nd. inst.[5] and Genl. Smith[6] and Worthington[7] and Dr. Campbell[8] have numerous letters conveying and confirming the melancholy intelligence. At the last account Harrison had fallen back about 18 miles and destroyed a part of his provision. His plan of campaign does not seem however to be abandoned.

Bayard to Rodney.

Senate Chamber, *Feb. 13, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 240; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 27–28.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Washington, *14 Feby. 1813.*

My dear Andrew: You have made me many reproaches I presume and certainly not without apparent reason, for not answering your letter of the 22 of last month. It has literally however been out of my power owing to the circumstances in which I have found myself. No small consumption of time proceeds from my being lodged nearly three miles from the capitol and obstinately persisting when

[1] From the papers of Mrs. W. S. Hilles.

[2] Brig.-Gen. James Winchester (1752–1826).

[3] The attack took place Jan. 22, and Winchester's surrender was followed by a massacre.

[4] Winchester was taken prisoner and carried to Quebec, near which he remained till he was exchanged in 1814.

[5] Probably the Scioto Gazette, established by Nathaniel Willis in 1800.

[6] Either Gen. Samuel Smith, still senator from Maryland, or Gen. Alexander Smyth, inspector general of the army.

[7] Thomas Worthington (1773–1827), U. S. senator from Ohio 1803–1807, and 1811–1814, governor of Ohio 1814–1818.

[8] Alexander Campbell.

the weather will allow, to measure the whole distance twice a day on foot. Additionally it has been my good or bad luck to have been constantly a member of two, three or four Committees at the same time. In consequence I have been obliged to attend at the capitol as early and to remain as late as possible. We seldom dine before five and after dinner you have just time to dress to go to some Party. You return at bed time and so the day is passed. You have lost very little however by my silence, as in fact nothing has occurred here, which you have not immediately learnt thro the public papers.

I see no prospect of peace and discover nothing which seems to lead to it. The Seamen's Bill (as it is called) might appear to have an aspect to peace, but I fear it is an artful and deceitful measure. It proposes to exclude English seamen from our Service in order to remove all foundation for the British pretension to search our vessels for their seamen. This enables the administration to require that G. B. shall renounce the right of search. It is of importance to the Admn. to commit as large a portion of the Legislature and of the Nation upon the justice and equity of this principle as can be ensnared. The explicit abandonment of the right of search is never to be expected from G. B. And if we are to continue to fight till the point is conceded to us, you and I at least will grow grey in the war.

The Bill I have been speaking of is now before the Senate. It divided in the House the federal votes.[1] Few of us doubt as to its object, but upon a view of the whole subject we doubt as to its effects. I have not decided what course I shall take with regard to it.

The Treasury note Bill has not yet passed.[2] It was yesterday in the Senate, after a very long debate, recommitted to a Select Com'ee. The objections were made to the provisions which allowed the notes to be received in payment of custom house bonds, and to be paid for supplies. If these provisions are struck out, Mr. Gallatin will not thank us for the Bill.

Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to be useful to you here. But I can promise little, nay I ought to say nothing. People in power have so many of their own folks to provide for, that there is not a crumb remaining. If I attempt any thing it must be thro the agency of third persons and I certainly will not fail to make an attempt if I perceive any prospect of success.

Mrs. B. has enjoyed good health during her residence here. And she begs me to present her with all kindness to Cousin Sally and the children to whom you will also remember me affectionately.

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[1] A bill "for the regulation of seamen on board the public ships, and in the merchant service of the United States", was reported from the House, Feb. 13; it was passed by the Senate Feb. 22. "Annals", 12 Cong., 2 sess., 84, 97. The vote in the House had been 89 to 33. Ibid., 1055.

[2] The bill authorizing an issue of Treasury notes was reported from the House on Jan. 27; it was passed by the Senate Feb. 20, with the clauses Bayard mentions unchanged. "Annals", 12 Cong., 2 sess., 64, 96.

Bayard to Rodney.

Washington, *Feb. 21, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 240–241; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 28–29.]

Bayard to Monroe.[1]

Wilmington, *7th April, 1813.*

Sir: I have had the honor to receive by the mail to-day your letter of the 5th inst.

The proposition which it contains was entirely unexpected. I do not allow myself however to hesitate in my determination on the subject.

If the President considers that it is within the means of my abilities to render any service to our common country, it is for him to command the full exertion of them. The occasion is of that nature that I do not allow myself to enquire what is my private interest or convenience.

I beg you Sir to make known to the President that I am highly flattered by this mark of his confidence which certainly shall be met by a correspondent fidelity and I will also beg you at the same time to assure Him that I can promise every thing which belongs to an unbiassed devotion to the interests of the Country.[2]

Monroe to Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.[3]

April 15, 1813.

[*Confidential paragraph 1.*]

Knowing their origin,[4] he[5] would naturally seek a complete and permanent remedy to them, consistent with his own principles

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[1] From the archives of the Department of State, volume lettered "American Commissioners Ghent, etc., 1813–1816."

[2] This letter is signed in Bayard's own hand "James Ashstone Bayard", a spelling of the second name which seems to be most unusual. As was stated in the preface, the name was originally Ashton but custom has fixed the modern spelling as Asheton. Whether Bayard himself habitually spelled it as it appears in this letter can not be stated with certainty, as this is the only signature the editor has seen which gives the middle name in full.

[3] In January the Russian minister, Daschkoff, had suggested Russian mediation to the President, but the formal offer was not made until Mar. 8, and was accepted Mar. 11. The appointment of Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary was made Apr. 17, and Gallatin and Bayard prepared to join Adams in St. Petersburg at once. Hildt, "Early Diplomatic Negotiations of the United States with Russia" (Johns Hopkins University Studies), 63–66. The instructions of the Secretary of State which are printed in "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 695–700, omit certain paragraphs which are here given from Bayard's copy. Their places are indicated in the printed text. These paragraphs are also printed in "Writings of Monroe", V, 255.

[4] I. e., the origin of the differences between Great Britain and the United States.

[5] The Emperor of Russia.

and fame. It may also be reasonably presumed, that Great Britain herself, will see the advantage, of adopting a more just and enlarged policy towards neutral powers. Her cabinet must be aware that it will be difficult to preserve peace, especially after the relations of the moment subside, with Russia and the other Balt[i]c powers as well as with the United States, if a satisfactory arrangement be not made with them, respecting neutral rights. It must be equally so, of the tendency which the unjust and extravagant pretensions heretofore maintained by Great Britain, could not fail to have, to incline all neutral powers, in every war, to the scale of her adversary.

[*Confidential paragraph 2.*]

The article in the Treaty of 1794,[1] which allows British traders from Canada and the North West Company, to carry on trade with the Indian tribes within the limits of the U. States, must not be renewed. The pernicious effects of this privilege have been most sensibly felt in the present war, by the influence which it gave to the traders over the Indians, whose whole force has been wielded by means thereof against the inhabitants of our Western States and Territories. You will avoid also any stipulation which might restrain the United States from increasing their naval force to any extent they may think proper on the Lakes held in common; or excluding the British traders from the navigation of the Lakes and rivers exclusively within our own jurisdiction.

A reciprocal stipulation will be entered into, for the restoration of any territory which either party may have acquired by the War. The probable state of the War at the date of the Treaty will render this stipulation favorable to G. Britain. It ought therefore not only to make her the more acquiescent in our reserving to ourselves the right of excluding her Indian traders from our territory and keeping a superiority of naval force on the Lakes, but the more liberal also on other subjects to be arranged.

[*Confidential paragraph 4.*] [2]

There is not a single interest which you have to arrange in which Russia and the other Baltic powers may not be considered as having a common interest with the United States. It is not to be presumed that the Emperor of Russia will wish the U. States to make concessions which are to operate to his own disadvantage.

It has been intimated by our Commercial Agt. at Stockholm[3] that the Crown Prince of Sweden[4] is disposed to promote by his

[1] Article III.

[2] No additional paragraph appears in the manuscript at the point in the "State Papers" marked "confidential paragraph 3."

[3] John Speyer.

[4] The French marshal Bernadotte, now virtual ruler of Sweden under Charles XIII, and subsequently king as Charles XIV John.

good offices, a peace between the United States and Great Britain, and that he did not hesitate to disapprove the British practice of impressment, with the extraordinary claim set up by G. Britain to the right of search in foreign vessels for British seamen. This favorable disposition of Sweden is an interesting circumstance, and a knowledge of it may be useful in your negotiations. The President has it in contemplation to send a Minister to Sweden[1] immediately after the meeting of Congress.

[*Confidential paragraph 5.*]

A good intelligence between the United States and Russia respecting neutral rights, may have an important influence in securing them from violation in any future war, and may even tend to p[revent] war, to the advantage of all nations. The [oppor]tunity afforded by this mediation to explain fully to the Govt. of Russia, the just views and concurring policy of the United States, will, it is presumed, contribute much to the establishment of such an understanding, and in that respect will merit your particular attention.

K. K. Van Rensselaer[2] to Bayard.

Albany, *April 17, 1813.*

My Dear Bayard: The publick prints say that Madison has nominated you as one of the Comrs. to go to Russia.

On this subject I cannot indulge myself in giving you such ideas as have occur'd to me on the propriety or impropriety of your accepting the mission.

I am jealous about the motive that has induced the Cabinet to select you—perhaps I may be mistaken. With federalists in the East they consider you as the only efficient character in the South (beyond the delaware) on whom they have founded great expectations in the event of a continuance of the War, or, in case of civil commotion in our Country; our fears are, that the cabinet knowing this are disposed to sacrifice you in the apparent attempt to make a peace, when no one here has the least idea that the Administration is sincere. I am convinced you have weighed the subject fully and what ever decision you have made has been done after mature consideration and from the best motives to serve our bleeding country. If this letter should not be considered by you as a piece of inquisitiveness or presumption in me to ask an answer, I hope I shall in due season be favored with a line in return.

[1] The President nominated Jonathan Russell as minister to Sweden on May 29, but the Senate voted it inexpedient to send a minister to Sweden. Six months later they approved Russell's appointment. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1814, 347, 384, 451, 454.

[2] Killiam K. Van Rensselaer (1763–1845) of New York, a member of the House from 1800 till 1811.

W. K. Hillyard to Bayard.[1]

Dover, *April 19, 1813.*

Most Noble: Do you recollect that you were at Dover last evening, my impression is that you were. There was a large party (or Levee) highly *delucidate.* Do you recollect that you took my commission for Minister to the Court of London from me after it was delivered to me by Mr. Madison with the great seal affixed to it. If you do and have got it I wish you would send it to me. Did you receive an answer to the letter you sent me by express appointing me secretary of Legation to Russia? My impression is that I answered it. I expected to have received another by mail. When do you expect to start for Russia? Be so good as to answer this by next mail. My compliments to your family. With sentiments of respect.

Erick Bollman[2] to Bayard.

Philada., *April 20, 1813.*

Sir: Understanding that you will shortly embark for Europe, and finally proceed to England, where the Impressment of Seamen, from on Board of American Vessels, is likely to form a prominent Point of the political Discussions in which You will be engaged; permit me to address to You a few Observations on this subject, which to You, certainly cannot be *new*, yet which I feel a Desire to state, because they have not—at least not to my Knowledge—been brought into View during the Debates in Congress, or on any other Occasion when this Topic was under Consideration.

If the British Government regard the Control over their Seamen, particularly in Times of War, as essential to the Prosperity of the British Empire, it is not presumable that they will ever relinquish the pretended Right, and Practice, of searching for them in American Vessels, and of seizing them, unless an arrangement can be devised which shall effectually prevent British Seamen from finding a Shelter under the American Flag.

Laws, which affect only the Owners, and Masters of Vessels—like the One brought forward by the Administration last Winter—can, most evidently, not answer the End in View. Suppose even that the Law made the Offence of shipping British Seamen punishable with Death—the Masters of Vessels would naturally ask "how shall we know whether a Seaman that offers is actually an American Seaman or not?" The answer must be "from his Evidences of Citizenship!" because no other answer can be given. Then, ultimately, every Thing depends *on these Evidences*, and any Law on the Sub-

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.
[2] See p. 172, note 1.

ject, however severe, must prove perfectly nugatory as long as these Evidences can be corruptly, or surreptitiously obtained, and improperly held.

The Difficulty of a better arrangement, with Regard to these Evidences, arises from their *Multiplicity.*

Their multiplicity is a necessary Consequence of their *perishable* Nature; and this again is owing to the *Material* and the *Form* usually employed.

The Life of a Sailor is a wandering Life, and the Evidence of his Citizenship ought to be constantly with him. While this, therefore, remains a Document of Paper, or Parchment, it must be subject to innumerable Accidents. It is easily lost, easily mislaid, easily stolen. It easily wears out. Wet, Vermin, and many other Agents may destroy it. The constant Renewal of it can, of Course, in Justice not be denied to fair Claimants. It must also be renewable in every Seaport Town. The native Seaman of New hampshire, the Province of Main, the State of Ohio, etc., arriving at New Orleans, by Chance deprived of his Certificate, must be able to obtain there another, particularly if he cannot otherwise find Employment. But how is he to substantiate the Identity of his Person, and the Validity of his Title, at such a Distance from the Place of his Nativity? No other Proof of the Fairness of his Claim can be demanded than his Word, or, at most, his Oath. Hence the obtaining of Protections—as the Evidences in Question are called—by corrupt means, in the Country itself; or their improper Transfer from American to British Seamen abroad, can, under the present Circumstances, not be prevented.

If the material of those Protections were of an *imperishable* Nature, and if they could be rendered *inseparable*, except by Violence, from the Person to whom they belong, then the Subject would be susceptible of a better Regulation.

Protections might then be granted, regularly, but Once for Life, and be considered as not renewable, except in the Case of circumstantial Proof being brought on the Part of the Applicant, of his having been deprived of the first by Violence, or another unusual Occurrence.

The Business of bestowing them might then be exclusively vested in One respectable Person—perhaps the Collector—in every Seaport-town, who might be required, under a severe Penalty, not to grant them, except to Applicants whose Right should be unquestionably established. Acts which do not often recur (as would be the Case with this after some Time) may be performed with deliberate Caution, whilst Routine, and Abuse, are almost inseparable from constant Recurrence.

These Protections might be numbered, and a Register kept at the Seat of the general Government, a Copy of which ought to be for-

warded to every Collector, shewing the Name, Age, and Designation, of the Holder of every Number. This would enable the Collectors to verify the Crew, as often as a Vessel clears out. Whoever should be found improperly possessed of a Protection—whether obtained from a Person not authorised by Law to bestow it; or, from the proper Authority by foul means, might be rendered punishable by hard Labour.

The principal Difficulty seems to be to contrive an Evidence of Citizenship of the Character mentioned.

The Cause of the multiplicity of the Evidences now in Use, and of their incessant Renewal—as far as owing to their perishable nature—would be done away, if, instead of a written Protection, a Medal were given, of a suitable metallic Alloy (for Instance of Platina and Copper, which would be handsome, durable, and of no, or little commercial Value) struck at the public mint, bearing the arms of the United States on One Side, a number—say A 1 to A 10,000, and so on through the Rest of the Alphabet—on the other. It would still remain to contrive that such a medal could not be lost, or mislaid by the Holder.

This would be in some measure attained if these medals were worn on the bare Breast, suspended at a small chain, of the same material, round the neck.

Still better if the Evidence could be transformed into a Ring of the same material, to be worn on the Finger.

Still better if the medal, made very small, could be suspended to Earrings.

In Order to obviate, or overcome Prejudices, and to render the measure popular, they might be made an honorable Distinction of People, following the Sea—like the Uniform of Soldiers—to be worn generally, from the Commodore to the Cabbinboy and Cook.

A similar measure might be insisted on to be adopted by the British—who now not unfrequently brand their Seamen on the Arm—should it be deemed that national Honor required this Reciprocity.

On the Demise of a Seaman, or, on his withdrawing from seafaring Life, his medal ought to be returned to the Collector of the nearest Seaporttown, who should be held to pay, to the Person delivering it, a Sum, fixed by Law, exceeding its intrinsic Value, etc., etc.

I am aware that these Suggestions will be apt to provoke a Smile, but this could be no Proof against the Expediency of the Idea. The Point is to devise a national characteristic for seafaring People, approaching, with Regard to Permanency, and Adherence to the Individual, as near as possible to Peculiarity of Idiom, and Countenance. It seems difficult to imagine another, than the One proposed,

and the Object—to extinguish forever the Source of a very serious national Grievance—is well worth a trifling national Expence, and the Trouble of some unusual Efforts on the Part of Government.

But your moments must be precious—I rely on your Goodness for excusing that I have engrossed a few of them.

André de Daschkoff[1] to Count Orloff.[2]

Washington, *le 23 Avril 1813.*

Monsieur le Comte: Jaloux de mériter vôtre bienveillance je me flatte d'acquérir quelque titre à cette faveur en récommandant à Vôtre Excellence un des citoyens les plus distingués des Etats Unis. Mr. Bayard Sénateur et Ministre Plénipotentaire des Etats Unis qui a la complaisance de se charger de cette lettre appartient à la classe la plus réspéctable des Américains, autant par ses talens que par le rang qu'il occupe dans la société.

J'espère Monsieur le Comte que vous éprouveres beaucoup de satisfaction, de faire la connoissance d'une personne de son mérite, et que vous me permettrés de prendre quelque chose pour ma part de l'accueil obligeant que vous aures la bonté de faire à Mr Bayard.

Je prie Vôtre Excellence de considérer mon empressment dans cette occasion comme une preuve inéquivoque des sentimens réspectueux et du parfait dévouement avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, [etc.]

Monroe to Bayard.

Washington, *April 23, 1813.*

Sir: In two or three days I shall have the pleasure to forward to you a separate copy of your instructions; the object of this is to communicate some details which being interesting to you personally it is proper that you should become acquainted with, without delay. The President allows to each of you an outfit, which you had better take in specie with you. For your salary I shall give you authority to draw either on our bankers in Holland or London.[3] Mr. Harris,[4] counsul at St. Petersburg will be the Secretary of legation. He has considerable merit; in addition to which he stands well with the Emperor personally. A complete collection of all papers connected with the duties of the mission, will be forwarded with the in-

[1] André de Daschkoff had been Russian chargé d'affaires and consul-general in this country 1809–1810; he was the Russian minister from 1811 till 1819. In writing to Romanzoff after the appointment of the commissioners he speaks most favorably of Gallatin but seems to be doubtful of Bayard's fitness.

[2] The letter is addressed: "Son Excelc'e Mr. le Comte Orloff, Ministre de Justice, etc., etc." It does not appear that any Count Orloff was Minister of Justice, however.

[3] Baring Brothers and Company in London; Willink and Van Staphorst in Amsterdam.

[4] Levett Harris had been appointed to the consulship at St. Petersburg, Nov. 11, 1803. For an interesting exposition of his character see "Writings of J. Q. Adams", III, 327.

structions. I shall, with the approbation of the President, prescribe an uniform for our ministers abroad, which while it will give a national character, and make a good appearance, will comport with our system of economy.

Bayard to Samuel Bayard.

Wilmington, *23 April, 1813.*

My Dear Samuel: A few days past I had the pleasure to receive from you a letter in which you notice with some jealousy the design of the government in the proposed mission to Europe. I am entirely at liberty to state to you the little I know with regard to it, and perhaps you will derive some satisfaction from the consideration, that I know no more about it.

The Appointment as E[nvoy] E[xtraordinary] and M[inister] P[lenipotentiary] has been offered to me, to act in conjunction with Mr. G[allatin] and Mr. A[dams] under the mediation of the E[mperor] of R[ussia] in the negociation of a Treaty of peace with England. You will view it as an important circumstance in relation to the real intentions of the Government, that this offer was made without any previous understanding and without a condition of any kind being prescribed. The Administration take me as the man, that they and the people at large have known me in public life for years past. This is a fact which I know perfectly, which you will believe upon my representation, but about which the public mind may doubt.

If the proposed mission be designed for any sinister purpose I cannot conceive how a person who could not be expected to enter into the views entertained, should be selected to form a component part of it. The force of circumstances is too strong to allow me to doubt that the Administration desire peace if it can be obtained upon decent terms. A Disposition to make peace may proceed as well from an experimental knowledge, that the Government in the actual state of affairs has not the means of attaining the objects of the war, as from the attainment of those objects.

Taking into view all that belongs to this remark and particularly our financial imbecility it is not at all wonderful, that a hopeless project should be abandoned, which evidently could not be persevered in but at the risk of the absolute ruin of the Government and Country. This is reasoning upon the case without confidence and without charity; and Political adversaries seldom reason in any other manner. The situation of public affairs is at present so critical and alarming, not from the pressure of the foreign enemy, but from the danger of intestine division, that I have felt it as a Solemn duty not to refuse to the government any means in my power which could aid in extricating the Country from its embarrassments. If in the course

of events it should be out of my power to do any good yet I shall always have the power to abstain from doing any harm.

An experiment therefore upon which the happiness and welfare of a nation may depend, is certainly worth the making at the risk of the small consequences likely to follow from its failure.

I expect to embark in a week or ten days. The prospect of separating from my family has cost me much pain and anxiety. But the occasion commands the sacrifice of personal feeling and I must look for remuneration in the satisfaction, which will follow a knowledge of having rendered any service to my Country. Begging you to present me kindly to Mrs. B. and your family I bid you an affectionate adieu.

Monroe to Bayard.

Dept. of State, *24th April 1813.*

Sir: I have the Honor to inform you that I shall forward your Instructions and the other Papers intended for you by Mr. Todd[1] who will leave this on Tuesday morning. In the mean time I forward the inclosed Memo. (a Copy of which has been sent to Mr. Gallatin) that you and he may fix before your Departure what is hereafter to be the uniform of the Ministers of the United States.

Bayard to K. K. Van Rensselaer.

Wilmington, *24 April 1813.*

Dear Sir: I had the pleasure to receive yesterday your letter of the 17 inst. It is quite true as the public prints have stated, that the President has offered me the appointment of one of the Commissioners proposed to be sent to the Court of Russia.

The object of the mission being to negociate a peace with Great Britain under the Mediation of the Emperor of Russia, I have considered it as my duty not to refuse any aid in my power to contribute towards its attainment. I can assure you that the selection for the service which the Government have thought proper to make is entirely exparte and that they have *not* asked for any private understanding upon any point whatsoever. They have taken me as that man whom they and the People at large have known in public life for years past. If any Sinister views be entertained, they are unknown to me, but if that be the case I should think it very wonderful, that they should select a political adversary to trust with the Secret. I can well imagine without the exercise of either confidence or charity that peace may be sincerely desired by the Administration.

They who are most jealous cannot suppose it to be their wish to ruin themselves as well as the Country. But such must be the conse-

[1] John Payne Todd, son of Mrs. Madison by her first husband.

quence of the war [if it] be protracted when there are means of terminating it on any fair grounds. I am employed to assist in settling the differences between Great [Britain] and the U. S. These differences we all wish to see settled, and how could I consistently, refuse my aid in accomplishing so desireable an end?

If the negociation should fail (the worst event which can happen) the nation can sustain no injury from my having been a member of the mission. *I can only be called upon to attest the true grounds* upon which the negociation may have terminated, and it certainly will be important to the country to be informed of the truth upon the subject.

I have ventured to flatter myself that it was possible that I might do some good, and that it was next to impossible that I could do any harm. Sensible that *nothing* has or can enter into my views upon the occasion unconnected with the honor, interest and welfare of our Country, I cannot feel apprehensive of losing, while I am confident that I shall never deserve to forfeit, the confidence of my political friends.

Monroe to Bayard.

Department of State,
April 26, 1813.

Sir: The cypher which I herewith forward to you, is the same as that used by Mr. Adams. Such public documents as it is supposed may be useful in the execution of your functions, have been put under an unsealed cover to Mr. Harris, the Secretary of the Mission, and will, of course, at all times be accessible to you. Blank paper for passports, with the Seal of this Department and my signature, which I now transmit,[1] may be filled up in any form which Mr. Gallatin and yourself may deem most proper. The printed forms, likewise sent,[2] will answer for servants. The passport for yourself, as you will observe, is perfect.

I enclose a copy of the letter to the Bankers of the United States at London and Amsterdam, directing them to pay your drafts for your salary, at the rate of 9,000$ per annum, and the contingencies of the mission; but if you find it more convenient, you may draw on this Department. These different credits are given that you may avail yourself of that which can be used to the most advantage. The contingencies of the mission are understood to be postage, stationary, newspapers, couriers, and, if necessary, office rent, with the usual presents to the Servants of the Court.

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[1] Note in original: "Sent by Mr. Todd."
[2] Note in original: "By Mr. Todd."

Monroe to Baring Brothers and Co., London, and to Willink and Van Staphorst, Amsterdam.

[*Enclosure.*]

Department of State,
April 15, 1813.

Gentlemen: Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and James A. Bayard, esquires, having been appointed Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States, to repair to St. Petersburg, Messrs Gallatin and Bayard have permission to draw upon you for their Salaries, at the rate of nine thousand Dollars per annum each. Messrs. Gallatin, Adams and Bayard, are also empowered to draw for the contingent expenses of the Mission; and I have the honor to request you will pay their Bills accordingly. Levitt Harris, esquire, is appointed Secretary to the Mission, and is therefore authorised to draw upon you for his Salary, at the rate of two Thousand Dollars per annum.

Monroe to Bayard.

Department of State,
April 26, 1813.

Sir: Presuming that it might be of advantage to the young gentlemen who may be attached to the Mission to St. Petersburg, to be clothed with a military character, those who are to accompany Mr. Gallatin[1] have received letters of appointment in the army. With the same view, I have now the honor to enclose a similar letter for the young gentleman who is to accompany you on the Mission,[2] whose christian name, if the appointment should be agreeable to him, you will be pleased to insert.

P. S.—No emolument will be attached to this appointment.

Monroe to Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.[3]

Department of State,
April 27th, 1813.

Gentlemen: Should Great Britain accept the mediation of Russia and a negotiation ensue, you may perhaps find it advantageous to bring to the view of her Ministers, the relation which the United States bear to the Floridas, having a right to West Florida by cession

[1] Gallatin's son, James, whose diary of the mission has been printed in Scribner's Magazine, Sept. and Oct., 1914, and in a volume, "A Great Peace Maker: the Diary of James Gallatin in Europe", and George Mifflin Dallas, son of Alexander J. Dallas and afterward vice-president of the United States.

[2] George B. Milligan; John Payne Todd also accompanied the ministers.

[3] Printed with Gallatin's answer, in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 539–540.

from France, and a claim to East Florida as an indemnity for spoliations. The Town of Mobile, the only part of West Florida remaining in the possession of Spain, will it is expected have been taken possession of by the Troops of the United States, before you commence your negotiation, a Law authorising it having passed Congress at the last Session.[1] And as the Law authoris[ing] the President to take possession of East Florida, in case an attempt should be made by any foreign power to occupy it, is still in force, it will be proper for you to have the object of that law in your recollection in your negotiations.

Monroe to Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.

Department of State,
April 27, 1813.

Gentlemen: The President presuming that the mediation of the Emperor of Russia may afford a favorable opportunity for improving our relations with Russia herself, is disposed to avail himself of it, so far as it may be done, to the mutual advantage of both Countries. With this view, he has thought it proper to authorise you to enter into a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with that power.

In regulating our Commerce with Russia a reciprocation of the right of the most favored Nation, will as it is presumed be the most suitable ground on which to place it. The President is desirous to adopt it as the basis of the Treaty. Should special stipulations by Treaty be useful, to remove any impediments to our Commerce or Navigation in the Ports of Russia, and her Government be disposed to remove them in that mode, you will avail yourselves of it. Should the mode of Treaty be objected to, you will endeavour to obtain the beneficial effect by changes in the existing laws and regulations of the Emperor.

A good intelligence between the United States and Russia respecting neutral rights, is an object of the highest importance. It is believed that it would produce the most beneficial effect on the interests of both Countries, and indeed of all other commercial Nations. The present mediation is considered peculiarly auspicious to such an event. A violation of our neutral rights was among the principal causes of the War with England. In promoting peace those rights will come into view, in each of which the Government of Russia will form and probably express an opinion. It is not doubted that the opinion thus expressed will be such as might be expected from the Emperor, cor-

[1] Act of Feb. 12, 1813. "Annals", 12 Cong., 2 sess., 124, 127; Wilkinson, "Memoirs", III, 339–340.

rect and sound in itself, and such as ought to be satisfactory to every other power.

Whatever stipulations you may enter into with Russia, on the subject of neutral rights, you will be careful not to commit the United States, in any way, to maintain and enforce those rights on other powers, or to prolong the present War with Great Britain.

Monroe to Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.

Department of State,
27th April 1813.

Gentlemen: On the presumption that you may be able to conclude a Treaty of peace, the President has thought it expedient to authorize you to enter likewise into a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain. For this purpose you are furnished with a separate commission.

It will be unnecessary for me, to enter into any detail or illustration of this subject, with you, who have had so much experience in the important concerns of the United States. You will endeavour to open to our commerce, every part of the British dominions, on a footing of reciprocity and equality with each. In pursuing this object, you will avail yourself[v]es of the light shed on the subject by the Treaty of 1794, and its effect on the general commerce of the Country; by the instructions from this department to Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney of the 17th of May 1806[1] by the project of a Treaty signed by them with the British Commissioners on the 31st of Decr. of the same year, and by the remarks and instructions from this Department respecting that project.

In regulating the trade between the United States and Great Britain you are authorized to adopt the 5th Article[2] of the project above recited. Should the British Government be unwilling to regulate the commerce generally between the two countries, in a satisfactory manner, you may apply to it the rule of the most favored nation, and should the non importation act not be terminated by the Treaty of peace, you may provide for it in the proposed Treaty of Commerce.

Monroe to Bayard.

[*April 27, 1813.*]

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

I Certify that the Bearer hereof James A. Bayard Esquire, a Citizen of the United States of America, is proceeding with his Suite to

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 119–122.
[2] Ibid., 148.

St. Petersburg in Russia, in the Character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America: These are therefore to request all whom it may concern to act towards him according to the law and courtesy of Nations in such cases; giving him on all occasions every necessary aid, succour and protection, as these United States would do under similar circumstances.

In Faith whereof, I James Monroe, Secretary for the Department of State of the United States, have signed these presents, and caused the Seal of my office to be affixed thereto, at the City of Washington the Twenty Seventh day of April in the year of our Lord 1813; and in the Thirty Seventh year of the Independence of the said United States.

SEAL

Bayard to Monroe.

29 Apl. [*1813*].

Sir; I have been absent some days from Wiln. having had occasion to go to the city of Philad., principally with a view to some minor arrangements which I thought it might be material to make with Mr. Gallatin previously to our leaving the Country. Upon my return I had the honor to receive your letter of the 24 inst.

While in the city Mr. G. shewed me the paper relative to the uniform of which you have pleased had the goodness to send me a Duplicate. It was a matter of gratification to both of us, for the reasons which you suggested. We were both extremely satisfied, that the Government had fixed a uniform for their foreign Ministers.

Upon the points left to our taste we decided for the embroidery in favor of gold and of White as to colour for the undercloaths. The time which we understand to be limited for our departure does not allow us to have the coats embroidered in this Country. They will be finished in other respects according to the instructions.[1]

Mr. Tod has not yet arrived. It would have been desireable that the instructions should have been in my hands a sufficient time to have enabled me fully to consider them, in order that if anything was doubtful as to the intention of the Government, and Mr. Gallatin and myself should differ in our constructions, we might have an oppor-

[1] The following memorandum, found among the Bayard Papers, explains what points were left to the taste of Bayard and Gallatin: "The uniform of the American Ministers.

"The coat to be of blue Cloth, lined with Silk, either white or buff, standing Collar and Single breasted. The collar, cuffs, button-holes and Pocket flaps embroidered, either with gold or silver, and the button to correspond, (if by rule a correspondence is necessary) if not, to be either white or yellow according to the decision of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard.

"The under cloaths to be either white or buff as Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard may prefer. The style of Embroidery to be determined by them." See also Moore, "International Law Digest", IV, 761.

tunity of receiving your explanations. This object should it be thought of importance, still remains in your power.

GALLATIN TO BAYARD.

PHILADA., *29th April 1813.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Todd arrived here last night, and put this morning in my hands a trunk containing both your and my dispatches. I would send your's by mail, but apprehend you may leave Wilmington to morrow. It is at all events necessary that you should come, as an unexpected defect in Admiral Warren's[1] passport renders it necessary that we should consult on the best means to get over the difficulty. The passport is for the ship *Neptune from New York.*[2] How the mistake happened I do not know, and how it escaped notice in the Dept. of State I cannot conceive. I would feel more reluctance in requesting you to come, did I not know that you must be here in order to convert your draft into money or bills.

P. S.—Mr. Svertchcoff[3] has just arrived. I have not seen him but understand that he has a letter from Dashcoff to Beresford[4] on the subject. I think that in the mean while it will be best not to mention the circumstance of the defect in the passport.

STEPHEN PLEASONTON[5] TO BAYARD.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
April 29, 1813.

DEAR SIR: Since the joint passport, with the instructions and other papers of the Mission, was forwarded, it was thought that Mr. Gallatin and yourself might possibly be separated before you reached St Petersburg, in which case separate passports would be necessary. To provide for such an event, I have made out, and have now the honor to inclose, a passport for you and your suite singly, and shall forward at the same time, a similar one to Mr. Gallatin. The joint passport may, therefore, be either returned or destroyed.

Permit me on this occasion to express a hope that your efforts for peace, may be attended with success, and that state of things be restored which alone suits our condition,—a free trade and intercourse with all the world. I indulge the hope with more confidence, as the Government has now taken the ground, upon the chief point of difference, which all parties will unite in maintaining, that of excluding

[1] Sir John Borlase Warren (1753–1822), who was British naval commander-in-chief on the North American Station.

[2] Bayard and Gallatin were to sail, and did sail, from the Delaware.

[3] Presumably an attaché of the Russian legation.

[4] Sir John P. Beresford (1766–1844), admiral, senior officer on the North American Station 1812–1814.

[5] Stephen Pleasonton was one of the three clerks in the Department of State who at the capture of Washington saved the records. National Intelligencer, June 10, 1867.

British seamen altogether from our service. Further than this no party I am sure will go, and if the object of the British Govt. be really the recovery of their men, as is avowed, they must meet, and adjust the matter with us, upon that ground, or manifest to the world that their object is not a legitimate one.

Wishing you a safe passage out and home, etc.

MONROE TO GALLATIN, ADAMS, AND BAYARD.

DEPT. OF STATE, *April 30th, 1813.*

GENTLEMEN: It appears that the note promised in my Letter of the 15th relative to certain claims to indemnity which were supposed to stand on peculiarly strong ground, being under the special pledge of the british Government, in each case, was not included among the papers forwarded to you by Mr. Todd. I have now the honor to transmit it to you.

Seizures within our jurisdiction form a class which merits at least the same distinction, and is therefore added to them.

[*Enclosure.*]

1. Blockade of Guadaloupe and Martinique. See printed Documents: Letter from Mr. Merry[1] to Mr. Madison of the 12th of April 1804.[2]

2. Blockade of Curraçoa. See the same: Mr. Merry to Mr. Madison; same date.[3]

3. Colonial Trade—relative to continuity of voyage—as explained by lord Hawkesbury's[4] letter to Mr. King of the 11th of April 1801. See inclosure.

4. Cases where the territorial jurisdiction of the United States has been violated. See printed Documents: Instructions to Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney of the 17th of May 1806.[5]

5. Retrospective effects of the order of June 1803, as to return from contraband voyages; and of the orders of January 7, 1807. See printed Documents.[6]

MONROE TO GALLATIN, ADAMS, AND BAYARD.

DEPT. OF STATE, *May 3d, 1813.*

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to enclose to you a letter from Admiral Warren to Com: Beresford, containing an order, as it is under-

[1] Anthony Merry, minister from Great Britain, 1803–1806.
[2] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 265–266.
[3] Ibid., 266.
[4] Charles Jenkinson, first Baron Hawkesbury and first Earl of Liverpool (1727–1808). For the documents referred to, see "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", II, 491.
[5] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 119–124.
[6] Orders in Council. See ibid., III, 267.

stood, to permit the *Neptune* to sail from the Delaware with you and your families for Russia. A new passport to that effect would have been more satisfactory. The omission to send one, has induced an application to Mr. Daschkoff for a document, shewing that you had *such an authority*, from Admiral Warren, the British commander off our coast. Should I receive it in time for the mail it shall be forwarded. I send you papers relating to the subject. which it may be proper for you to possess.

[P. S.]—Mr. Dashkoff informs me that his passport states that you are to sail from the Delaware, which makes the document desired of him unnecessary.

André Daschkoff to Monroe.

Washington, *le 3 May.*

Monsieur: Dans cet instant je viens de reçevoir la reponse de l'Admiral Warren à ma dernière qui m'a ete apportee de votre Departement: Je m'empresse de vous transmettre l'incluse par le Commodore Beresford qui renferme les Ordres de l'Admiral Warren relativement à la sortie du batiment *Neptune* de la Delaware. L'Admiral me marque son etonnement, et je ne sais pourquoi puisqu'il à ete prevenu par Mr. Sverschkoff, qu'on eut choisi le navire dans un port bloqué.

Agreez Monsieur je vous prie les assurances de ma haute estime et des sentimens les plus distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

Monroe to Daschkoff.

Mr. Monroe presents his compliments to Mr. Daschkoff and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his letter of this morning, with one addressed from Admiral Warren, to Commodore Berresford, which he will forward by the mail of this Evening to Mr. Gallatin and Mr. Bayard at Philadelphia.

It was desirable that Admiral Warren should have granted another passport authorizing our Ministers to sail from Philadelphia instead of New York. His letter will enable them to leave the Delaware, but in case the ship should be stopped by a British Cruiser on her voyage, it will appear by her papers that she sailed from a port not authorized by the passport. It is possible that this might subject them to some inconvenience, or at least, remarks to which they ought not to be exposed. I have therefore to request that you will have the goodness to grant them, some document, to shew the fact, that they had an authority from the Commander of the British Squadron on our coast to sail from the Delaware.

Mr. Monroe requests Mr. Daschkoff to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
May 3d, 1813.

BAYARD TO JOSEPH HASLETT.[1]

WILMINGTON, *3 May 1813.*

SIR: Having been appointed by the Government of the U. S. a Minister etc. to the Court of St. Petersburgh and having accepted the office, I avail myself of the first moment after receiving my commission to perform the duty of making known to you the fact, as the acceptance of the appointment is on my part an implied and virtual resignation of my seat in the Senate of the U States.

You will of consequence Sir accordingly communicate this resignation to the Legislature, at their ensuing Session.[2]

BAYARD TO MONROE.

WILMN., *5 May 1813.*

SIR: At the date of the last letter which I had the honor to write to you Mr. Todd had passed thro W. with his despatches, but without my knowle[d]ge. In consequence of a letter from Mr. G. I proceeded to Philad and recd. from him the packets directed to my address. The instructions prepared for the Mission[3] I have read with as much attention as time would admit. There is nothing in them of doubtful construction nor anything which I cannot very cordially promote.

Whether the chief point of difficulty be placed upon practicable ground you will permit me to doubt when I assure you that it is placed upon a ground on which I am fully disposed to use every exertion to maintain it.

I never doubted as to the point of right, but a nation without yielding may occasionally find an interest in temporizing with regard to its rights.[4]

Recent occurrences have releived G. B. from much of the pressure of the War in Europe and we shall probably find Her even less disposed than heretofore to concede anything with a view to conciliation. I beg however that the government will have full confidence, that nothing which is with[in] my means shall be wanting on my part to accomplish the objects of the mission.

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[1] Joseph Haslett (d. 1823), governor of Delaware in 1811–1814, and 1822–1823.

[2] William H. Wells completed Bayard's term in the Senate.

[3] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 695–700.

[4] Bayard had expressed a similar sentiment to Gallatin, a fact which Gallatin had mentioned to Monroe. See "Writings of Gallatin", I, 540.

Monroe to Bayard.[1]

Washington, *May 6, 1813.*

Sir: I had the honor to receive yours of the 5th to day, acknowledging the receit of the despatches that were forwarded to you by Mr. Todd. I had indulged the hope that he would have found it convenient to deliver them to you, as he passed thro' Wilmington, for which purpose they were addressed to you in a separate packet.

It is very satisfactory to the President to hear that there is nothing in your instructions which you cannot cordially promote. Of this no doubt was before entertained, but it is particularly gratifying to know it from yourself. That you will use your best exertions to support the rights and honor of your country, and to promote its interest, he has the most perfect confidence.

It is believed that the ground taken in your instructions is the only safe ground for the U States to rest on. An informal understanding only, would be considered by G Britain as a complete victory in her favor, the fatal effects of which, would soon be felt, on all the most important interests of the nation. Her government would conclude, that in accepting such an accom[m]odation, we had resolved to give up the cause rather than maintain it by a prosecution of the war. As G Britain will be completely secur[e]d, against the injury of which she has complain'd, by the arrangements you may enter into, and must lose in many respects by the war, it is hoped that she will avail herself of the opportunity presented of giving to it, an honorable and advantageous termination.[2]

I beg you to accept my best wishes for your success, and the assurance of the great consideration and esteem etc.

Monroe to Gallatin and Bayard.

Department of State, *May, 1813.*

Gentlemen: I have the honor to transmit to you by Mr. Brent[3] a copy of the order by the Secretary of war for the evacuation of E. Florida.[4] It is proper to state to you that information has been received, every way entitled to credit, that the Regency at Cadiz have sold both the Floridas to Great Britain.[5] Whether, if this be true, she will attempt to take possession of it, we know not. It

[1] Printed in "Writings of Monroe", V, 254–255.

[2] For Monroe's letter to Gallatin on this subject see "Writings of Gallatin", I, 542, and "Writings of Monroe", V, 255–259.

[3] Daniel Brent, who became in 1817 chief clerk in the Department of State. Hunt, "Department of State of the United States", 200.

[4] Armstrong had ordered Jackson to dismiss his forces in February; his order to withdraw the troops from Amelia Island and Spanish territory was given Mar. 7; the troops were withdrawn May 16. Adams, "History", VII, 209–210.

[5] See Monroe to Gallatin, May 6, 1813, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 543.

is known however that a considerable force is collecting at Bermuda, and that an embarcation had been made at Cadiz of a strong reinforcement destined for this continent. Florida may be the object, tho' it is more probable, that its destination will be, either Canada, or Some part of our Coast. You know the contingency on which a power is vested in the President by law to take possession of this Province.

West Florida will soon be taken possession of under an order from the Secretary at War, in obedience to a law of the last Session,[1] if it has not already been done.

I transmit to you a copy of my answer to Mr. Daschkoff, communicating the acceptance, by the President, of the Mediation of Russia.[2] It was accidental that it was not forwarded, with Mr. Daschkoff's letter announcing it.

P. S.—I enclose you also two letters from Governor Kindelan[3] indicating a sperit of hostility towards the U States.

Sebastian Kindelan to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.[4]

[*Enclosure—Translation.*]

St. Augustine, *9th Augt. 1812.*

Most Exct. Sir: The Spanish Schooner *Two Brothers*, the property of Don Manuel Lopes, an Inhabitant of this Garrison which with Passengers and the official correspondence arrived at this place, having left it on the 2d inst, was, on the 4th of the same month, attacked and plundered near cape Canaveral by some American Privateers, one of them with English Flag, and the other with french, and in consequence of this occurrence, and being left without provisions, or any Instruments of Navigation, she returned here on the 6th inst.

This circumstance greatly increases my cares, more especially as I am in almost total want of provisions, and on this account, I have decided to have recourse, as a more immediate remedy, to the Captain General of the Bahama Islands,[5] the navigation of which I am assured is more safe, because the Vessels, by getting well into the Gulf the same night of their departure, ought to elude the vigilance of the Enemy, who endeavor to obstruct the communication between this place and your Capital. Not having heard from you in answer to my despatches of the 23d of June and 3d July last, I fear they have miscarried, since the succours which I demanded were of a

[1] See p. 215, note 1.

[2] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 624–625.

[3] Sebastian Kindelan, Spanish governor of Florida from 1812 to 1815. The letters mentioned follow.

[4] Juan Ruiz de Apodaca was captain-general of Cuba from 1812 to 1816.

[5] William Vesey Munnings, governor of the Bahama Islands.

nature not to admit of delay. I have been by this means [re]duced to the last extremity, and obliged to take the step I have mentioned to you, more especially considering also, that Y[our] E[xcellency] from an equal scarcity may be embarrassed in supplying me with the promptitude demanded for the preservation of this place in the distressed situation to which it is now reduced.

Although I do not doubt that the before mentioned Britannick Chief will succour me as far as lays in his power; yet I should not rely entirely upon him, I therefore apply again to Your Excellency, reiterating my supplications, in order that in being impressed with the difficulties under which I labour, you may be pleased to send me immediately those articles I have demanded in my former despatches, adding that Meat and Flour are those which I stand most in need of.

For greater security, I send this despatch by way of Providence,[1] and I shall take other means of sending to you my despatches. May you live etc.

NOTE OF THE ARTICLES WANTING IN THIS GARRISON FOR THE FORTIFICATIONS.

[*Enclosure.*]

4,000 pounds of lead in bars.
4,000 flints. 2,000 for Soldiers Guns, and 2000 for Indians.
1,500 pounds of match rope.
12 Reams of Paper for Cartridges (musket).
100 Barrels of Tar.
2 Pieces of red Buntine.
2 do. of yellow.

FOR ANNUAL PRESENTS TO THE INDIANS.

200 pounds leaf Tobacco.
14 Pieces of Indian Cloth.
800 Yards of fine cloth.
45 pieces of Sarage[2] of 28 yards each.
66 do. of Platillas.[3]
100 do. of woollen binding.
24 do. Cloaks.
22 pounds of Vermillion in powder.
350 Razors.

[1] New Providence in the Bahamas.
[2] Serge.
[3] Silesia.

3,000 Needles (sewing).
3 Gross of thimbles.
700 Common looking Glasses.
20 pounds of Colored thread.
1 Piece table carpeting of hemp (coloured).

ST. AUGUSTINE IN FLORIDA,
9th Augt. 1812.

SEBASTIAN KINDELAN TO WILLIAM VESEY MUNNINGS.

ST. AUGUSTINE, *9th Augt. 1812.*

[*Enclosure—Translation.*]

MOST EX'T SIR: The close and intimate alliance which happily unites Spain with Great Britain, animates me, amidst the afflictions to which this place is reduced, to have recourse for speedy remedy to Y[our] E[xcellency] beseeching you to afford me assistance in provisions and other articles which are included in the two annexed Notes, for although with sufficient anticipation I asked it from the Havana, I infer from the delay that obstacles have presented themselves to the receiving it, so that this place under my command is reduced to the last extremity, already worn out with the almost entire want of provisions. The Bearer will inform you verbally of our present critical situation, so much the more painful as it may facilitate to the Enemy the completion of their plans which would be continually frustrated should we not be in want of such provisions as are necessary to our existence.

After a variety of measures and stratagems, I have at last succeeded in breaking down the barriers with which the Band of Highway Robbers in front of me had obstructed our Communication with the Indians, and having won them over to our cause they have already commenced hostilities; in four or five days I expect a greater number and the consumption of our short supply will consequently be accelerated. Y. E. knows the inconstancy of these forest warriors, and how necessary it is in order to derive some advantage from their service to gratify them continually in their repeated and impertinent petitions; for the least want of attention to these is sufficient to cause their sudden disappearance, and, them to change their side, circumstances which augmenting my cares force me as I have already said to make Y. E. this respectful reclamation.

The Royal Coffers here being empty I have to represent to your Exy. that for the amount of what you send me I will draw on the Havana where you will certainly be religiously paid; and I also pray

your Exy. that in case you accede to this supplication, to send a sufficient force with the convoy to secure its arrival.

This motive Most Ex't Sir, although disagreeable to me in some respects ceases to be so in a measure by its affording me an opportunity of tendering to you my high Respects, etc. etc. etc.

[*Enclosure—No. 1.*]

400 Barrels of salted Beef.
150 do. of salted Pork.
500 do. of Flour.
30 do. Lard.
50 Kegs of Rice.
100 Bushels Salt.
1,000 do. of shelled Corn.
30 Boxes of tallow Candles 4 to a pound.
80 do. 5 to a pound.
1 Pipe of red Catalonia Wine.
1 do. White Spanish Wine.

St. Augustine, *9th Augt., 1812.*

Bayard to Rodney.[1]

Neptune off Capes of Delaware.

May 11, 1813

My Dear Rodney: We have passed the enemy's squadron and are just entering the Atlantic. The rules of the Flag, forbid my communicating to you the number or description of the British Fleet. The pilot is about to leave us and I have only time to add

May God bless and preserve you always.

Monroe to Gallatin and Bayard.

(*Fifth.*)

Department of State,

June 23d, 1813.

Gentlemen: An opportunity offering by one of Mr Daschkoff's Secretaries, I avail myself of it to explain more fully the view of the President on certain subjects already treated on in your instructions, and to communicate his centiments on some others not adverted in them.

The British Government having repealed the orders in Council,[2] and the blockade of May 1805, and all other illegal blockades, and having declared that it would institute no blockade which would not

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

[2] The Orders in Council were suspended in June, 1812. Adams, "History", VI, 285–286.

be supported by an adequate force it was thought better to leave that question on that ground than to continue the war to obtain a more precise definition of blockade after the other cause of the war, that of impressment, should be removed. But when it is considered that a stipulated definition of blockade will cost G B. nothing after having thus recognized the principle and that such definition is calculated to give additional confidence in the future security of our commerce it is expected that she will agree to it. It is true this cause of war being removed, the United States are under no obligation to continue it for the want of such stipulated definition more especially as they retain in their hands, the remedy against any new violation of their rights when ever made, the same remark is applicable to the case of impressment for if the British Government had issued to its cruisers not to impress seamen from our vessels and notified the same to this Government that cause of war would also have been removed, in making peace it is better for both nations that the controversy respecting blockade be arranged by Treaty as well as that respecting impressment, the omission to arrange it may be productive of injury. Without a precise definition of blockade improper pretensions might be set up on each side respecting their rights which might possibly hazard the future good understanding between the two Countries.

Our combined land and naval forces have taken York,[1] the British port on the North side of Lake Ontario, and the forts George and Erie, on the Straight of Niagara, and driven the British forces from that Straight. Our recruiting service succeeds well, and our officers have improved in a knowledge of their duty, so that our force has already become very imposing there is a fair prospect of our obtaining possession in the course of the Campai[g]n of all Upper Canada. The War too is becoming more popular and taking a more steady and consistent character throughout every part of the United States, the pres[s]ure on our coast and the menace of our towns have accomplished no important objects to G. B. The neighboring militia have rallied in defence of New York, Lewistown,[2] Baltimore, Norfolk and other places to the South and more recently to New London to the North in a manner to acquire to themselves and to their Country the highest honor. These successes ought to have a salutary influence on your negociations and to stren[g]then the general expectations of the U S. From it they will render any accommodation which falls short of their expectations the less acceptable to the Nation. These

[1] Or Toronto, captured by Gen. Dearborn, Apr. 27, 1813. The destruction of the assembly houses here was alleged as a reason for the burning of the capitol at Washington. Fort George was captured in May. The advantage to the Americans proved to be much less than was at first hoped. Adams, "History", VII, 154–159.

[2] Lewes, Delaware.

instructions are formed on a presumption that the British Government will make the restitution of Canada sine qui non in any treaty you may make although it may happen that it may have no equivalent restitution to make to the U S. Should this be the case it is not intended to carry on the War rather than yield to that unequal condition but it may justly be expected that G B. will be the more liberal on other points to be adjusted and although Governments and nations are apt on such occasions to consult rather the pride of dominion than their true interest it may be worth while to bring to view the advantages to both Countries which is promised by a transfer of the upper parts and even the whole of Canada to the U S. In time of peace G. B. would derive the same advantage from it in their hands as a source of supplies as if it were her own, the U S. being precluded by policy as well as by the Constitution from taxing exports, in war she would derive as little advantage from it whether in her hands or in those of the U S. as her commerce with it in either case would be much interrupted. The possession of it by England must hereafter prove a fruitful source of controversy which its transfer to the U S. would remove, it would also relieve from the burden of supporting it which must be considerable in peace or war especially in war. That these provinces will be severed from G B. at no distant day by their own career may fairly be presumed even against the strongest efforts to retain them. These considerations shew that her interest well understood is in favor of a separation at the present time, it may be hoped therefore that the view which you may give of the subject may produce a salutary effect and induce the British Government to adopt such an arrangement as may be equally advantageous to both nations. In the case of a cession you may stipulate the same advantages in trade to G B for a certain term of years that were secured to France by the treaty of Louisiana.[1] It is not presumable that the British Government will indulge a vindictive spirit after peace against any of the inhabitants of Canada who may take part with us in the war, it will be proper however for you to use your best exertions to secure a right to those who may be disposed to sell their effects and remove into the U S. and an amnesty for those who may prefer to remain in Canada. Should a restitution of ter[r]itory be agreed on it will be proper for you to make a provision for settling the boundary between the U S. and G B. on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes from the point at which the line between them strikes the St. Lawrence to the North Western corner of the Lake of the Woods according to the principles of the treaty of Peace. The settlement of this boundary is important from the circumstance that there are several Islands in the river and Lakes of some extent and great value,

[1] See Art. VII of the treaty of 1803.

the dominion over which is claimed by both parties. It may be an advisable course to appoint Commissioners, on each side with full powers to adjust on fair and equitable considerations this boundary. To enable you to adopt a suitable provision for the purpose it will be proper for you to recur to the instructions heretofore given on the subject published in the documents in your possession.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

No. 79. COPENHAGEN, *27 June 1813.*[1]

MY DEAR COUSIN: You find me in the capital of the ancient Kingdom of Denmark. We have stopt here to obtain information as to the state of things on the Continent. The military events which have occurred and the armistice which exists and the proposition for a Congress to be held at Prague, will have been communicated to you long before this letter reaches you, thro the medium of the English papers. In fact we have learnt little here but what came from England by the way of Gottenburg. This channel of communication is now stopt, as all intercourse is cut off between the Danes and Swedes. These two nations appear to be on the eve of war, and that event would appear inevitable if the armistice should not be followed by a peace.[2] I saw to day a Gentleman high in office and near the Kings person who expressed the opinion that there would be no congress. And that appears to be here the general opinion. The battles which have been fought have been very sanguinary but indecisive. The armies occupy an exhausted Country and it is impossible that they should be able to retain their possitions till *anything* could result from the proceedings of a general congress.

My return to America is altogether contingent in point of time. If the Mediation of the Emperor should be refused, there will be nothing to detain me in Russia. If it should be accepted, there will be little prospect of my seeing the U States before the next year. The rumour here is that the mediation will not be accepted but I do not consider it entitled to any credit.

We have been obliged to wait here a day or two, for a wind to carry us into the Baltic. The moment the pilot will agree to make sail we shall go on board. The average passage to St. Petersburg is ten days. Our passage out was much more rough and boisterous, than anticipated. We encountered a gale of wind as soon as we got into the gulf stream, and we had not three days of pleasant weather, till we arrived at Gottenburg which was at the end of six weeks from the time of our embarkation.

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[1] This letter is endorsed: "Received 9th May 1814".

[2] The armistice was to extend from June 4 to July 20; it was prolonged till Aug. 10. Sweden was determined upon the acquisition of Norway, which object she achieved the following year by the treaty of Kiel.

We stopt at G. one day for information and we stopt also at Elsinuer on account of the Sound duties. I availed myself of this last stoppage to visit the castle at the entrance of the Sound and the garden of Hamlet immortalized by the pen of Shakespeare. This was worth half the voyage tempestuous as we found it.

I have seen the King and Queen[1] and Princess Royal. The royal Pair have no male issue. Prince Christian,[2] who is heir Presumptive, is at present in Norway where he is gone to protect or console a miserable people who are literally dying of hunger. Norway does not produce grain sufficient for its sustenance and the supplies from Zealand and Holstein on which it depended are intercepted by the British cruisers.

I do assure you my dear Andrew that all the novelties I meet with do not half indemnify me for the loss of home.

I look forward to no moment with pleasure but that of my return.

If we should not leave St. Petersburg by the 1st of October we shall probably winter in Russia.

I have written from this place to my wife and I also wrote to her from Gottenburg and from off the Banks of Newfoundland by a Boston Letter of Marque. This I will thank you to mention if the letters should not have been received. The Letters I have written from this place I shall direct to be forwarded by different routes to multiply the chances of some one arriving.

I beg you to present my sincere affection to your family.

Bayard to Rodney.

Copenhagen, *June 27, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 241; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 29–31.]

Commissioners to Romanzoff.[3]

[Translation.]

[*July 18/30, 1813.*]

The undersigned Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America have the honor to make known to his Excellency the Count Romanzoff chancellor of the Empire, that the President of the United States having accepted the mediation offered by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to the United States and Great Britain, has invested

[1] Frederick VI and Elizabeth Christina, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick-Bevern.

[2] Prince Christian, later Christian VII, had been sent to Norway in May to strengthen the bond between Norway and Denmark. He was in 1814 elected King of Norway, but was soon defeated by Swedish forces, surrendered his crown, and returned to Copenhagen. He did not ascend the Danish throne until 1839.

[3] Archives of the Department of State, volume lettered "American Commissioners, Ghent, etc., 1813–1816"; also in the collections of the New York Public Library.

the undersigned with full powers to enter upon the negotiation and conclude a peace under the mediation of his Imperial Majesty.

The President being animated with a sincere desire for the restoration of peace, and reposing a just confidence in the personal qualities and high character of his Imperial Majesty, has not hesitated in accepting the good offices proffered by his Imperial Majesty for the settlement of the differences which have produced the present war between the United States and Great Britain.

In the expectation that the known impartiality of his Imperial Majesty and his friendly relations with both nations would inspire the British Government with a like disposition and desirous to avoid the delay which must necessarily have arisen from the distance of the United States from the theatre of the proposed negotiation, and to manifest his high respect for the Emperor personally, the President has not allowed himself to wait for the formal acceptance of the proffered mediation on the part of the British Government but has proceeded immediately to do all which belonged to the United States to accomplish the views of his Imperial Majesty, by dispatching for that end an Extraordinary Mission.

The undersigned are happy in having it in their power to assure his Excellency the Chancellor that their instructions are founded on principles so just and moderate that they cannot but flatter themselves, that a negotiation opened under the auspices of his Imperial Majesty, would not fail of a favorable issue, and in establishing a lasting peace on the basis of the common interest and equal honor of both the belligerents.

The undersigned, presuming that the measures necessary to give effect to the mediation of his Imperial Majesty have been taken in relation to the Government of Great Britain hope to receive from his Excellency Count Romanzoff information of the dispositions manifested by that Government on the subject.

The undersigned are charged by the President to make known the high sense he entertains of the distinguished proofs uniformly given by his Imperial Majesty of friendly dispositions towards the United States and they avail themselves of this occasion to pray his Excellency the Count Romanzoff to accept the assurance of their highest consideration.

Conversation between Romanzoff and Bayard and Gallatin.[1]

Sunday *1 Augt.* [*1813*].

The Count Romanzoff having granted a conference to Messrs. G. and B. and appointed this morning between 11 and one for the

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. Count Nicolas de Romanzoff (1754–1826), Russian minister of foreign affairs. This conversation is briefly summarized in the letter of the commissioners to Monroe of Aug. 29, printed in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 569–574.

time, we proceeded to his Chateau a short distance on the Peterhoff road, which he directed for the place of the interview.

The objects upon our part were:

1. To state the strong impression of our Govn. in immediately accepting the mediation of the Emperor, and sending to this Court a Special Mission; that G. B. influenced by a consideration of the relations subsisting between Her and Russia and the personal respect due to his imperial Majesty would not hesitate in acceding to the mediation. That in this conviction, no provision was made by our Govn. for a different state of things. That our Powers were confined to a Russian Mediation, without which we could proceed to no negociation. That it was extremely material for us to be informed as early as practicable of the intention of the British Government, especially if it was, or could be unequivocally ascertained, that G. B. would not act under the Mediation. That in such event our Govt. and Country would expect that we should immediately return to the U. States and not protract a public residence in Russia from which no beneficial result could be expected and which might embarrass operations at home.

2. To ask leave to present to the County [court] the Young Gentlemen composing the suit.

3. To enquire as to the propriety of visiting the different officers of the Government before the formal presentation to the Empresses.

As soon as we were seated, the conversation was opened on the part of the Count, who stated that he had been engaged in preparing an answer to the official note which we had sent him but as the opportunity presented itself he would verbally explain himself freely on the subject.

He said that the British Government had in a note addressed in the Month of Nov. last to Count Levien[1] the Russian Minister in London after a civil acknowledgement of the offer of mediation by his Majesty the Emperor rather declined accepting the Mediation.

They intimated that the pretensions of the U. States were of such a nature that the intervention of a third Power however friendly to both Parties must necessarily fail of a successful issue.

That it was alleged by Lord Castlereagh[2] that in relation to the point of impressment, that the two Governments had heretofore by negociation attempted to enter into arrangement, on the Subject, but without success and that Admiral Warren was at this time clothed with powers to treat of peace with the U. States.

On these points the Count observed that as he had only the suggestions of the British Minister, he should be glad to receive any information we might think proper to communicate. In answer the

[1] Prince de Lieven, Russian ambassador to England.
[2] Viscount Castlereagh became foreign secretary in 1812.

substance of the overtures made by our Government thro' Mr. Russel[1] and by the British Government thro Adml. Warren[2] was stated and a concise narrative given of the course of the negociations with the British Government in relation to the subject of impressment by Mr. King[3] and by Mess. Monroe and Pinckney[4] while American Ministers at the Court of St. James (London). It was stated that in the time of Mr. K. the difficulty was not thought insuperable. That G. B. was disposed to yield the point so far as regarded the high seas in general, insisting however upon the right to impress in what were called the narrow seas. That Mr. K. did not consider himself as authorized to concede to G. B. a peculiar jurisdiction even over the narrow seas, and upon this point the negociation ended at that time. But it was then supposed that if Mr. K. had remained but a short time longer than he did at the British Court that a complete arrangement on the subject would have been formed. That in 1806 when the subject was again brought into view in the negociation carried on by Mess. M. and P it was agreed on the part of G. B. that an informal understanding should exist between the Governments, that without making it a part of the treaty, that altho the right to impress seamen on board of American vessels, should not be considered as surrendered on the part of the B. G. yet that it should not be exercised, in a manner that could tend to injure the American navigation or to offend the American Govt.

But the Govt. of the U. States having instructed their Ministers as a sine qua non, to insist that the pretension should be abandoned, the treaty was sent back with instructions to open a new negociation. That for a long time the question between the Governments was confined to the reception and protection given to Deserters, which connected with this subject was the only ground of complaint on the part of G. B. That the U. S. were at all times ready to remove any just grounds of complaint which any foreign government might have arising out of a state of things which had not been provided for. That it was only of late that Britain had complained of the employment of her seamen on board of American Merchant Ships and had adopted the practice of seizing them by force on board such ships on the high seas. That this being the basis upon which was rested the right claimed to impress on board of Am. Ships the Govt. of the U. States in order to remove all colourable ground for the pretension, were willing to adopt any measures which could be required to pre-

[1] Jonathan Russell (1771–1832) had been sent to London as chargé d'affaires in July, 1811; see p. 266, note 1.

[2] See Adams, "History", VII, 2–4.

[3] Rufus King, minister to Great Britain 1796–1803.

[4] Monroe was in England from 1803 to 1807; William Pinkney joined Monroe in 1806 and remained as minister till 1811. For a careful discussion of this entire subject see Updyke's "Diplomacy of the War of 1812", Johns Hopkins University Press, 1915.

vent the employment of British Seaman on board of American Ships, both public and Private, and that in fact an act of Congress at their Session of the last Winter had been passed to this effect.[1]

The Count having heard of the act requested, that we would communicate to him the heads of it and in answer we promised to furnish him with a copy of it. He then informed us that he had sent information to the Emperor of our arrival and of the full powers in conjunction with Mr. A. with which we were invested, and had submitted to his consideration the propriety of renewing the offer of Mediation to the British Government on the ground that the U. States had accepted the offer and had actually despatched an extraordinary Mission in consequence of it. That he intended to prepare a letter on the subject to the Russian Minister in London, which he should immediately submit to the Emperor. That he wished in the mean time all the information we might think proper to communicate in relation to our disputes with England and especially connected with the point of impressment which appeared to be the only serious obstacle to the adjustment of our differences.[2] He observed that in order to prevent any misunderstanding that the letter should be submitted to our inspection and that so far as regarded our views on the subject we should be at liberty to strike out or to insert whatever we might deem proper. He seemed desirous to be able to present some new view of the subject to the British Govt. which might afford them an opportunity to vary their previous determination, but at the same time to avoid the danger of holding out any false expectations.

It was answered generally that as we knew of no ground for the British pretension of impressment, but the employment in American vessels of British Seamen, we flattered ourselves, that the act of Congress which had been referred to, would furnish such new and full evidence of the desire of the American Government to reestablish peace between the two nations by all reasonable concessions, that whatever erroneous opinion had heretofore been entertained on the subject by the British Cabinet they would now find ground for more just sentiments. That taking the provisions of the act of Congress as the basis, that we had authority to agree to any arrangements which were in conformity with its spirit and intentions. We promised to furnish him with an historical Memoir, which should detail what had passed on the subject. He expressed himself freely, that from any thing that had taken place on the part of either of the Governments

[1] Approved Mar. 3, 1913; c. 42.

[2] A draft of the note on impressment drawn up in response to this request is among the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. It is printed in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 652–662.

he did not perceive any formidable obstacle in the way of an amicable arrangement.[1]

We thought it material to put the question in a pointed manner, whether from the terms or nature of the answer which Lord Castlereagh had given to the proposition of the Mediation of Russia in his opinion it was not the intention of the British, tho certainly in a civil manner, to say to the Russian Government, that her mediation could not be accepted. He replied that whatever the real intention might be, he did not consider, that there was anything in the answer of the British Govt. which ought to be deemed final or to preclude the Russian Govt. from requesting a more explicit declaration of intention.

We begged him to inform us whether in his opinion, after the answer which had been given by the British Cabinet to the offer of Mediation, it was probable that the Emperor would be disposed to proceed farther in the business, by making any new proposition or requiring a more unequivocal declaration. That his opinion on this point would decide us as to the course we should take. To obtain this information was the chief object on our part in asking an audience. That whilst he considered that there was any ground to hope, that the Mediation upon which all our powers depended, would be accepted we were content to wait patiently for the event but we relied upon his candour and friendly disposition, to make it known to us, whenever such expectation ceased to be entertained. That we knew that the spirit of our nation would illy brook any act upon our part, which had the appearance of seeking for what the enemy had already refused. That the design of our mission was to demonstrate to the world the sincere desire of our Government to reestablish peace, by unfolding our pretensions to a third Power but if our enemy were not willing to meet us upon this ground, the object of the mission was frustrated, and however the evils of war were to be deprecated, we could not attempt to remove them, by any conduct on our part, which could compromit the honor of the Country.

The Count very civilly expressed his wish that we would remain for the other objects of our Mission and promised to give us the earliest information of the fact, of no farther hope being entertained of the Mediation being accepted on the part of G. B.

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[1] The English ambassador Lord Cathcart had informed the emperor in June that England could not accept the mediation, and on July 6 had communicated the refusal to Alexander in writing. Romanzoff had told Adams on June 22 that from despatches from Count Lieven he was informed that the mediation would not be accepted. He was not, however, willing to accept this answer as final and had, as he says, asked permission to renew the offer to Great Britain. This was the situation when Gallatin and Bayard arrived in St. Petersburg. Hildt, "Early Diplomatic Negotiations", 69; Adams, "Memoirs", II, 479–480.

In the course of the conversation we brought into view a contingency to which the U. States was exposed in some degree from her full reliance, that the Mediation of Russia could not be refused by G. B. That in this reliance our powers were limited to the Mediation. That a new state of things had occurred and there was now some prospect in the general European Congress proposed to be held, that in the result the U. States might find themselves a single Party in the war against G. B. That altho in such event we should feel no apprehension for the ultimate safety of the nation, yet it could not but happen that the pressure of the war would be increased.

The Count in answer stated in the first place his decided opinion which was attended with no doubt, that peace would not result from the proposed Congress. That peace was not to be expected till things were in a state to admit of it, which was not the case at present. And then added, that if however it should be found, that the Congress could be productive of any arrangements tending to a general peace, that under such circumstances we should have a right to ask of the Emperor an attention to the interest of the U. States while they remained unrepresented in the Congress, and went on to observe that we should have full time to apply to our Government for powers applicable to the state of things before anything effectual could be done. We answered that our powers and instructions were of that nature that we should feel ourselves bound to return to the U. States so soon as it was definitely ascertained that the Mediation of the Emperor was rejected on the part of G. Britain.

The Count after repeating his wish that we should remain in the expectation of the enlargement of our powers, remarked that placing our intention to depart on the ground mentioned, in the communication he designed to make to the British Govt. might be productive of effect, as no nation willingly exposed itself to the imputation of peremptorily rejecting the advances of her enemy towards peace, and he believed that the Ministry in G. Britain, besides the necessity of observing a course which would enable them to manage the opposition at home had also strong motives not to disregard altogether the interposition of Russia.

The Count having appointed a day for the presentation of our suite and without refusing us the liberty of making any visits we thought [best] rather intimated his opinion, that we could not be considered as completely invested with our diplomatic character till we were presented at Court which would take place as soon as the Emperors answer was received, and of consequence that visits depending on that character might be deferred—the interview was terminated.

Memorandum of Bayard.[1]

In relation to the first object, the moderation of our pretensions I would state the pressure of the grievance which originates the resistance to the right claimed to seize British seamen on board Amn. Ships.

1. As to Individuals torn from their families, and forced into a foreign service.

2. The inevitable abuse to which the British pretension is liable—arising from similarity of language, manners, etc.

3. The effect upon sea service, in preventing Amn. citizens to enter into that service.

4. That the pple.[2] once admitted, the Amn. navigation has no Security, but the discretion of British naval officers and the policy of their Govt.

It will be well to bring into the most prominent and distinct point of view, that the basis of the British pretension is the employmt. of British Seamen. This removed no ground remains. The U. S. sincerely desire to furnish a complete remedy for the evil complain'd of.

They agree not to employ British Seamen.

The objn. is that this arrangemt is not feazible, because if capable of exn. no pretence remains.

The U States have passed a law merely to indicate general views and intentions on the subject. But they are willing to leave it to G B herself to devise the plan of exn., provided it be compatible with the independence and honor of the Country.

The proposed treaty may be considered in its nature merely experimental.

Its duration shall be limited and its continuance to depend upon the *good faith and effect* with which it is executed.

The history of the controversy should have for its point, to shew the progressive enlargemt of British pretension, and that forcible resistance was the sole ground left before absolute submission.

Commissioners to Romanzoff.[3]

[*Translation.*]

[*July 22/August 3, 1813.*]

The undersigned, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers plenipotentiary from the United States of America, have the honor to in-

[1] Apparently a memorandum of points to be discussed in the note on impressment drawn up by Gallatin and sent to Alexander Aug. 14. See "Writings of Gallatin", I, 552–562.

[2] Principle.

[3] From the Archives of the Department of State, volume lettered "American Commissioners, Ghent, etc., 1813–1816"; also in the collections of the New York Public Library.

form his Excellency Count Romanzoff, Chancellor of the Empire, that they are furnished with full powers by the President of the United States, to enter into negotiation and conclude a Treaty of commerce between the United States and Russia.

The President having determined, from motives which have already been made known in a preceding Note, to send hear his Emperial Majesty an Extraordinary Mission, has thought the occasion favorable for consulting with the Government of his Imperial Majesty, concerning the commercial Interests of the two nations, and for agreeing upon measures which may contribute to facilitate, to strengthen and to extend the commercial relations between them which have long subsisted, and of which experience has proved the mutual and reciprocal advantage.

The President, in authorizing the undersigned to make this overture, has been influenced by his knowledge of the liberal principles which have distinguished the commercial policy of the Russian Empire, and by a conviction that the United States proceeding on the same principles a Treaty may be formed, which shall have for its basis the equal and Common interests of both nations.

If his Imperial Majesty should be disposed to accede to this overture, the undersigned will at all times be ready on the part of the United States to enter upon the proposed negotiation.

The undersigned request his Excelency The Chancellor, to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

Memorandum of Bayard.

Arrived at St. P. *Wednesday, 21 July*, the Emperor then absent in Silicia with his army.

Saturday 24.—Presented to Count Romanzoff and delivered to him a copy of letter of credence and of the Powers to treat of commerce with Russia and under her mediation of peace with G. B.

The notes apprizing the Chancellor that we were prepared to enter upon the negociations respectively.

The Chancellor's Answers.

A Note of part of the conversation between the Chancellor and Mess. G. and B.[1]

The inofficial note.[2]

The opinion of the Chancellor that the British Cabinet was not to be considered as having refused the mediation of Russia. And the assurance of his authority and intention to renew the offer of Mediation, in a solemn and formal manner.

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[1] See pp. 231–236.

[2] Probably the note on impressment referred to on p. 234, note 2.

The Chancellors communication of the despatches he had prepared to Count Levin at the Ct. of St. James.

Letter of Mr. Baring[1]—Parts omitted.

Monroe to Adams and Bayard.[2]

[*Triplicate.*]

Dept. of State, *Augt. 5, 1813.*

Gentlemen: I am very sorry to be under the necessity of communicating to you an event, of which there was no anticipation when you left the United States. The event to which I allude, is the rejection by the Senate, of the nomination of Mr. Gallatin, on the idea, that his Mission to Russia was incompatible with the Office of Secretary of the Treasury.[3] After the appointment of Mr. Jay,[4] when Chief Justice of the United States, by President Washington, and of Mr. Ellsworth,[5] when holding the same Office, by President Adams, by which a Member of a separate branch of the Government, was brought into an Office under the Executive, and after the sanction given in practice, as well as by law, to the appointment of persons, during the absence of a head of a Department to perform its duties, it was presumed that there would not be any serious or substantial objection to the employment, in a similar service, for a short term and especial occasion of a Member of the Administration itself. Altho' the nomination was opposed, in the Senate, as soon as it was acted on, yet it was not believed that it would be rejected until the vote was taken. At an early stage, the President was called on by a Resolution of the Senate to state whether Mr. Gallatin retained the Office of Secretary of the Treasury, and in case he did, who performed the duties of that Department in his absence. The President replied that the Office of Secretary of the Treasury was not vacated by Mr. Gallatin's appointment to Russia, and that the Secretary of the Navy performed its duties, in his, Mr. Gallatin's absence. After this reply, which was given in conformity with the President's own views of the subject, and with those of Mr. Gallatin, when he left the United States, it was impossible for the President, without departing from his ideas of propriety in both respects, to have removed Mr. Gallatin from the Treasury, to secure the confirmation of his nomination to Russia. It would have been still more improper to have taken that step, after the rejection of the

[1] Printed in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 546–552. Alexander Baring, afterward Lord Ashburton.

[2] Endorsed, "Recd. at Amsterdam by Mr. Dallas 22 Mar. 1814."

[3] The nomination was made to the Senate May 31; the vote which failed to confirm the nomination was taken July 19. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 355; see Monroe to Jefferson in Adams, "Life of Gallatin", 484–485.

[4] Jay's appointment as special envoy to England in 1794.

[5] Ellsworth's appointment, with Patrick Henry and Davie, as envoy to France in 1799.

nomination. The President resolved, therefore, to leave the Mission on the footing on which it was placed by the vote of the Senate, by which the nomination of Mr. Adams and Mr. Bayard was confirmed. Whatever has been done jointly under the Commission given to the three Commissioners, by the President, when you left the United States, in compliance with your instructions, will not be affected by this event.[1]

Should the objects of the Mission not have been completed, on the receipt of this, you will pursue them jointly or severally according to the tenor of the Commission now forwarded, issued with the advice and consent of the Senate and the instructions now in your possession. The President desires that you will explain to the Ministry of the Emperor of Russia, and to the British Ministers, in case the British Government has accepted the mediation of Russia, and sent Ministers to Petersburg to treat with those of the United States, that the omission of Mr. Gallatin, has resulted from the opinion of a majority of the Senate, by one vote only, that his appointments in Russia were incompatible, with his Office in the Treasury, and not from any change of opinion, or the want of full confidence of the Government and Nation in him. The President feels much solicitude that this occurrence be placed in its true light, more especially to the Emperor of Russia, by whom the principles of our Constitution may not be fully understood, to prevent the possibility of an inference proceeding from misconception or misconstruction that a change of opinion had taken place in the President, respecting the mediation of the Emperor, the great object of the Mission, or any other of the important objects confided to it.

Should[2] *the British government have accepted the mediation and sent ministers or a minister to St. Petersburg and the negociation not have been terminated, the President has full confidence that you will pursue in the spirit of your instructions on the several subjects which they embrace* 'till it be concluded.

[Should] *Great Britain have declined to accept the mediation, as it is understood by a letter just received from Mr. Beasly*[3] *of the thirty first of May that she has done, the mission with respect to her will of course be at an end. A treaty of commerce with Russia will be the only remaining object to be attended to. This it is hoped will be formed on fair and liberal conditions. The existing instructions, with the light you will acquire on the ground, will, it is confidently believed, enable you to accomplish this object to the satisfaction of the President.*

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[1] Up to this point the letter is printed in Adams, "Life of Gallatin", 485–486.
[2] The following italicized matter is in cipher in the manuscript.
[3] R. G. Beasley, agent for American seamen in London.

By your instructions bearing date on the 15th April 1813, you were informed that the President had it in contemplation to appoint a Minister to Sweden as soon as the Senate should be convened.[1] By the papers sent you will observe that he nominated Mr. Russell to that station, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary, and that the nomination was rejected.[2] It is inferred that the grade of the Minister was the ground of the objection and not the Mission itself, Sweden having sent to the United States a Minister Resident only, and it is distinctly understood that it was not imputable in any degree to a want of confidence in Mr. Russell personally. As much time elapsed before the nomination was decided on, and Mr. Kantzow's[3] arrival was soon expected here, the President thought it advisable to take no new step in the affair for the present. It will be acted on again as soon as circumstances will admit. You are desired to explain the nature of this occurrence in a manner and through the channel which you may find most suitable, to the Government of Sweden, to prevent any injury resulting from the rejection of the nomination by the Senate.

Mr. Gallatin's functions in Russia having ceased and it being necessary that he should return to the United States without delay, Captn. Jones who commands the Vessel which conveyed him and Mr. Bayard to Europe, is instructed to bring him home as soon as he may be ready to sail. Should the business confided to the three Commissioners not have been concluded, and it be proper for you to pursue it under the Commission which I now enclose, of which you will judge by the actual state of things, Mr. Bayard will, it is hoped, be able to find a convenient passage home, when his Mission shall have terminated.

A Copy of this despatch is communicated to Mr. Gallatin, to prevent the necessity of repeating its contents in a separate one to him.

The Despatches now forwarded, are committed to Mr. Wyer,[4] whom the President has appointed Consul to Riga, and who is about to set out thither to commence the duties of his Office.

P. S.—*Mr. Beasly in a letter of June the fifth from London states on authority* in which he has *entire confidence that the British government had rejected the mediation of Russia;* indeed he states that *the overture has then been rejected a second time. If this is correct* it is presumed that *you may soon be expected in the United States, as* it will have *taken but a short time to conclude a treaty of commerce with Russia.*

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[1] See p. 206.

[2] Russell's name had been sent to the Senate May 29. It was rejected July 9. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 347, 384.

[3] Baron Johan Albert de Kantzow, Swedish minister to the United States 1813–1817.

[4] Edward Wyer of Massachusetts.

COMMISSIONERS TO ALEXANDER I.

ST. PETERSBURG, *Aug. 14, 1813.*

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 552–562.]

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

ST. PETERSBURG, *27 Augt. 1813.*

MY DEAR ANDREW: I wrote to you from Copenhagen and gave you an account of all that was worth knowing in our voyage which had occurred before our arrival at that place. We left the Danish Capital on the 1st of July and were encountered by head winds in the entire navigation of the Baltic. Our fortune was not better after entering the gulf of Finland, and after beating for several days against wind and current, we were at length glad to cast anchor in the port of Revel, and wait till the God of the Winds should prove more propitious. After spending several days at Revel and being advised, that it was not likely that the wind would allow us to proceed by water for ten or fifteen days, we determined to complete our journey by land. We accordingly hired one carriage and bought another and setting off from Revel on Sunday evening at 8 oclock, with six horses in each carriage, we arrived at St. Petersburg on Wednesday the 21 July about two oclock. The distance is 340 versts.[1] The Country is level and the roads fine, which enabled us to travel with great rapidity. You see nothing in the books of travels thro Russia respecting the filthy and squalid appearance of the Russian Peasantry which is not true.

We were travelling however in the most pleasant season of the year and the verdant appearance of the fields was very grateful to the eye after so recently quitting the ocean.

Since my arrival here I had the pleasure on the 9th inst. to receive your favor of the 12th June, accompanied by packets of newspapers. Mr. Swenin[2] by whom they were brought, sent them by a Courier from Gottenburg to the public Department in this place and we received them with a very polite note from Count Romanzoff.

By the same conveyance I had a letter from my Son Richard, but none from my wife, a circumstance I cannot account for unless Mr. Swenin being particularly charged with a letter from her, may have detained it in his possession and carried it with him to Head Quarters whether he went from Gottenburg to accompany General Moreau.[3]

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[1] Two hundred and twenty-five miles.

[2] Paul Svinin, author of "Some Details concerning General Moreau and his Last Moments" (Boston, 1814, from London ed.).

[3] General Jean Victor Marie Moreau (1763–1813) was mortally wounded on the day this letter was written, while talking to the czar at the battle of Dresden. He had, on Aug. 21, offered to assist Gallatin in establishing communications with the emperor. Gallatin replied on Sept. 2, the day that Moreau died. "Writings of Gallatin," I, 562, 576; Adams, "Life of Gallatin", 499, 501.

On the Saturday following our arrival here we were presented to Count Romanzoff and delivered to him copies of our letter of credence and Powers. They were immediately expedited by a Courier to the Imperial Head Quarters in Silicia distant about 1200 miles, but no answer has yet been received from the Emperor in relation to them. G. Britain has appointed no ministers to act under the proferred Mediation, and we have not at present any reason to believe that the mediation will be accepted on her part.

The Count Romanzoff is desirous and has requested that we should remain here till he receives an answer to a despatch which will be sent to the Russian Minister at London in the course of the present week. This I fear will detain us till we are locked in for the year by the winter. However no personal considerations can be permitted to interfere with the great duties we are at present charged with in relation to our Country. I shall certainly not consent to abandon the object of the Mission so long as the smallest prospect remains, that it can be accomplished. St. Petersburg is said to be one of the most splendid cities in Europe and in fact to be in no degree rivalled by any but Berlin. It certainly abounds in palaces, and in very superb public Buildings designed for various public institutions.

We have been admitted into most of the imperial palaces and shewn many of the public institutions. The whole are on a scale of expence and grandeur which could be afforded only by an imperial Treasury.

Among the palaces the winter palace and the Hermitage [1] in Town and Zarskoe Zelo [2] in the Country are the most magnificent in their style of architecture, and most sumptuous in their furniture and decorations. But I was soon tired of looking at them, and there is nothing so homely in my own Country the sight of which would not please me better at present.

I envy you the happiness of being with your wife and children and in the land which gave you birth, the want of which cannot be compensated by anything to be found in a foreign land.

Present me affectionately to all your family.

Commissioners to Monroe.

St. Petersburg, *Aug. 29, 1813.*

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 569.]

Bayard to Rodney.

St. Petersburg, *Aug. 30, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 241–242; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 31–33.]

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[1] The imperial palace of the Hermitage. See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 74.

[2] Tsarskoe Selo, a summer residence of the emperor about fifteen miles southeast of St. Petersburg.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

St. Petersburg, *21 Septr. 1813.*[1]

My dear Andrew: Since my arrival at this place I have written twice to you and have had the pleasure of receiving one letter from you.

It is with great regret I tell you that altho we have now been two months in St. P. we are as distant from the object of our Mission as upon the day of our arrival The British Government have not accepted the Mediation of Russia nor have they explicitly refused it.[2]

The Russian Minister at London has been instructed to repeat the offer of the mediation, and to request a distinct answer as to the intentions of the British Cabinet on the subject.

It is this answer which we are now waiting for, and which we cannot expect to get before the 1st of November. The probability is that we shall be detained here during the winter, and this to me is a very sad prospect.

England will not be disposed to gave a categorical answer to the Russian proposition. I am very confident she will not accept the Mediation, but she will not be disposed in the face of Europe to repel abruptly an advance towards peace. She will pursue the common policy of all Courts in like circumstances, endeavour to gain time and take advantage of events.

The absence of the Emperor has been to us a great misfortune. We are here at a moment when he is engrossed with the affairs of a vast army engaged in an active campaign, and when he can have little time to think of the concerns of a foreign nation. Had he been here he would have felt the homage paid him by a solemn mission from so distant a Government and might have taken a personal interest in giving effect to the Mediation he had proferred and which had brought us so far from our homes. The Count Romanzoff, the Chancellor of the Empire, I believe is our sincere friend. From him we have received every mark of Attention and respect. But in a Government like that of Russia the Emperor is everything. There is no moving without Him and at the distance of a thousand miles you can well imagine how difficult it is to move with him. In fact we are not informed that he knows of our arrival. The suspence in which we have existed has been to me extremely distressing. I am willing to remain here any length of time while a reasonable expectation can be cherished that the object of our

[1] Endorsed, "Rec'd Pr. Mr. Willing September. 1814."

[2] See p. 235, note 1. On Sept. 1 Cathcart had sent to Nesselrode, who was with the emperor, an official note informing him of the refusal of the British government to accept Russian mediation, and suggesting negotiations at London or Gottenburg. Hildt, "Early Diplomatic Negotiations," 77.

Mission can be accomplished, but dispairing as I almost do of that result, I confess my anxiety to be relieved in some form from our present condition.

Adieu. I beg you to present me affectionately to all my cousins.

Commissioners to Monroe.

Oct. 15, 1813.

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 587–588.]

Bayard to Rodney.

St. Petersburg, *Oct. 15, 1813.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 242–243; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 33–34.]

Romanzoff to Gallatin and Bayard.

Le Chancelier de l'Empire a l'honneur d'envoyer ci-joint à Messieurs Gallatin et Bayard, Envoyés Extraordinaires et Ministres Plénipotentiaires des Etats Unis d'Amérique, sur la demande qu'ils lui ont adressé en date du 2/14 de ce mois, 1°—le passe-port du department de la Marine Impériale, pour le Vaisseau *Neptune* retournant à Gothenbourg et de là en Amérique, Commandé par Mr. Loyd Jones; 2°—un autre passe-port du Ministère des affaires étrangères; quant au passeport pour le Négre Henri Smothers,[1] il a été remis ce matin à Monsieur Lewetes Harris.

Le Chancelier saisit cette occasion pour renouveler a Messieurs les Envoyés, les assurances de sa considération très distinguée.

Ce 12 Octobre,[2] *1813.*

Bayard and Gallatin to Capt. Lloyd Jones.

St. Petersburg, *October 13/25 1813.*

Capt. Loyd Jones.

Sir: The probability that a longer detention of the Ship *Neptune* at Cronstadt will expose her to the danger of being shut up in that port by the ice, and understanding that the navigation does not open there till about the middle of May, we deem it proper to direct you to proceed immediately to the harbour of Gottenburg, at which place generally the navigation is at all seasons free, and to remain there till you receive further orders. We recommend to you, strict attention to the conduct and health of your crew and also a strict observance of economy in all expenditures on account of the ship.

[1] Henry Smothers was one of the three negro servants that had accompanied the commissioners to Russia.

[2] Oct. 24, new style.

For unavoidable expences you are at liberty to draw on Messrs. Baring Brothers and Compy. of London not exceeding however in the whole the sum of three hundred pounds Sterling.

BAYARD AND GALLATIN TO BARING BROTHERS AND COMPANY.

ST. PETERSBURG, *13/25 October 1813.*

GENTLEMEN: Being still detained here, and apprehensive that the Ship *Neptune* which brought us to this country from the United States might be in danger of being stopt by the ice, we have concluded to send her immediately to Gottenburg, where we intend to join her by land as soon as we shall have received a definitive answer on the subject of the mediation offered by this Government. The expences of the vessel whilst here having amounted to eighteen thousand Rubles which have been advanced by Levett Harris Esqre. to her commander, Captn. Lloyd Jones, he has, by my direction drawn this day on you at thirty days sight, in favor of the said Levett Harris, for twelve hundred Pounds Sterling, being, at the current exchange of Sixteen pence pr. Ruble, the precise value of the above mentioned Sum of 18000 Rubles. I request that you will pay the said bill and charge the amount to the United States diplomatic account, stating it to be a payment made to the said Lloyd Jones, for which he will be accountable to the said States.

We have also authorised Captn. Jones to draw on you for such further Sum, not exceeding in the whole three hundred Pounds Sterling, as may be necessary to discharge such other expences as may hereafter be incurred on account of the Ship. You will be pleased to charge to the United States, in the same manner as above stated, the amount paid by you on account of the bills which he may draw on you accordingly.

COMMISSIONERS TO MONROE.[1]

19 Novr. 1813.

SIR: Notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since the date of the last dispatches which we had the honor to address to you nothing has intermediately occurred requiring an earlier communication.[2]

We have already had the honor to inform you that after the arrival of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard at St. Petersburg Count Romanzoff Chancellor of the Empire sent a Special Courier to Lon-

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. Note in the margin of the original: "Original and dup'te by Mr. Roberts who left here for Sweden and England." The copy of this despatch in the State Department is dated Nov. 21.

[2] Despatches 1 and 2, of Aug. 29 and Oct. 15, are printed in "Writings of Gallatin," I, 569–574, 587–588. Preliminary drafts of all three despatches are among the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, but the difference between these drafts and the final form in which the despatches were sent is not great enough to justify printing them.

don charged with instructions to Count Leiven the Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James to renew the offer of mediation.[1] Within a few days past Count Romanzoff has inofficially informed us that he had received from Count Leiven an answer to his dispatch on the subject of the mediation in which it was stated by the Ambassador that knowing that the British Government had decided not to accede to the mediation and that the decision had been distinctly communicated to the Emperor at his Head Quarters (a fact which he presumed the Chancellor was not acquainted with) he had declined executing the instructions to renew the offer of a mediation.

Lord Walpole who in the absence of Lord Cathcart is accredited as Minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain at this Court in a conversation with Mr. Bayard explicitly and fully confirmed the statement that the British Cabinet had decided not to treat in any form under a mediation, with the United States, and said that Lord Cathcart had officially communicated that determination to the Emperor. Lord Walpole however observed that altho he had full knowledge of the fact, he did not speak officially on the subject as he had neither instructions nor powers to that effect.

Under these circumstances we enquired of the Chancelor whether he could make an official communication on the state of the mediation and particularly inform us whether the Russian Government considered it as subsisting or terminated, that being a point which they alone in relation to ourselves were to decide. The Chancellor has not deemed it proper to make a decision upon the point himself but has transmitted the letter of Count Leiven and the information he has received upon the subject to the Imperial Head Quarters and we are now waiting for the Emperor's answer.

Upon the near approach of the common season of ice we thought it advisable to direct Capt. Jones in the Ship *Neptune* to proceed to Gottenburg and to wait there till he received further orders. The navigation is generally open at all times at Gottenburg and is closed at Cronstadt till the month of May.

It is the intention of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard after being officially informed by this Government that the object of their mission is not attainable, and so soon as the condition of the roads will permit (which will not happen until after a considerable fall of snow) to leave St. Petersburg and by the route which they shall find the best to proceed to Gottenburg this according to advice which they have at present received will probably be by Riga, Koningsberg, Berlin, thro' Holstein and Denmark crossing the sound into Sweden. The journey will cost sometime being nearly two thousand miles, but the route promises most certainty of joining the ship in a limited time.

[1] "Writings of Gallatin", I, 573.

R. G. Beasley to Bayard.

London, *Decr. 17, 1813.*

Sir: I had the honour of writing you the 10th Instant. You must have seen by the English Newspapers that the arrival of Mr. Dallas in this Country has made a considerable noise.[1] I beg to copy for your information a Note which I received from him two days ago—viz.—

Dear Sir: I have not concluded to write home. Mr. Baring told me yesterday that Lord Castlereagh had crossed the floor of the House of Commons merely to question him on the subject of my arrival here. The Noble Lord though not inclined to be harsh or rude, nevertheless deemed it strange that I should enter the Country without apprizing him, and thought it excessive condescension and mildness to allow me to remain. Baring has promised to arrange the matter, and to undertake a personal responsibility for me. I am therefore unwilling to write even about Peace. In the mean time I should see no impropriety in your venturing a letter to our Government in order to repeat the ardent desire of the British Cabinet to negotiate with American Ministers in London. On this point not the slightest doubt remains on my mind. I think it probable that the report[2] you mentioned yesterday originated from the conversation held by the Noble Lord and Baring, in the Commons; for in it the reception of a letter from our Commissioners, by the latter was referred to.

Yrs, etc. (Signed) G. M. Dallas.[3]

So much for the Report. Now to the fact. You have heard I presume that Lord Castlereagh addressed a letter to the Secretary of State in the month of October offering to Negotiate directly.[4] This the Russian Ambassador informed Dallas of two days ago.

I am happy to inform you that the American Consul at Amsterdam[5] has received a satisfactory explanation on what occurred at the arrival of the Prince of Orange in that City.[6]

There is nothing new from the west.

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[1] Gallatin had sent his secretary, George M. Dallas, to London in October, hoping to make possible more direct communication between London and St. Petersburg. See Adams, "Gallatin", 502; "Writings of Gallatin", I, 588–590; also "A Great Peace Maker; the Diary of James Gallatin", 12.

[2] Note in the original: "The report alluded to was among the Merchants in the City; that Mr. D. did not come here merely to see his relations as represented; 'that the Yankeys had come down on their marrow bones'—that Mr. D. was bearer of a letter to a Member of Parliament who was to enquire on what ground His Majesty's Govnt: was disposed to make Peace."

[3] See Dallas to Gallatin, Jan. 11, 1814, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 594–598, esp. 597.

[4] The offer was made Nov. 4, 1813. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621.

[5] Sylvanus Bourne.

[6] William Frederick (1772–1843) William VI as Prince of Orange, landed in Holland on Nov. 30, after eighteen years of exile. On the following day at Amsterdam he received the offer of the sovereignty of the land, and accepted it under the style of William I, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands (King, under the new Constitution, from 1815). A letter of Bourne, probably to Beasley, of Dec. 10, found in "Consular Despatches, Department of State, Amsterdam", vol. II, explains this passage. "Sir, It becomes my duty to acquaint you that on the return of the Prince of Orange to this Country, I was excluded from a participation in the ceremonies which took place on his arrival in this City, while the Consuls of other nations (except Denmark) were invited and I may add that it was informally intimated to me by a note from one of the commissaries of the provisional government here, that he could not hold any conference with me as *Consul of the United States.*" Suitable explanations followed and are described in the letter.

JOHN MASON[1] TO [BAYARD?]

WASHINGTON, *6 January 1814.*

Without further comments on the subject, I will barely recapitulate the circumstances of the Several retaliatory acts of our Government, in the order, in which they occurred.

First, on the capture of the United States brig *Nautilus*,[2] six of the crew of that vessel, having been detained at Halifax as British Subjects, twelve of the crew of the late British frigate *Guerrier*[3] were designated by Commodore Rodgers[4] at Boston, to be held as hostages, to answer, in their persons, for the safety and proper treatment of our six men so detained. After a considerable lapse of time, five of these six were restored to the ordinary state of Prisoners, by the Enemy; in consequence of which, ten of the twelve of the *Guerrier's* Crew were in like manner restored to their original condition of Prisoners, and have been exchanged, two only being held as before, for the safety of the sixth, of whom no account had been given.

The second measure of Retaliation on our part, was the designation of twelve British Prisoners at Charleston, in South Carolina, by Genl. Pinkney,[5] as hostages for the safety and proper treatment of six of the crew of the private armed vessel *Sarah-Ann*, who had been detained by the British authorities at Jamaica in Octr. 1812, but were restored to the common State of Prisoners, by Admiral Sterling,[6] in march last. This produced the corresponding relaxation on our part, and these twelve men were accordingly restored to their former State of Prisoners of war.

The third retaliatory act on our part, was the designation by General Dearborn,[7] of 23 British Soldiers, to be held as hostages for the 23 American Soldiers, who had been sent to England from Quebec, to be tried for treason, on the pretence, that they were British subjects. These are still held.

The fourth act, was the designation of four British Prisoners as hostages, for the safety and proper treatment of John Stephens and Thomas King,[8] who having been paroled at Jamaica, to return to the United States, were, on entering the Deleware in may last in a

[1] General John Mason, commissary of prisoners. Fuller details respecting these cases may be found in "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 632–684.

[2] Captured by the *Shannon*, Capt. P. B. V. Broke, July 16, 1812.

[3] Destroyed by Capt. Isaac Hull, Aug. 19, 1812.

[4] Commodore John Rodgers (1771–1838).

[5] Maj.-Gen. Thomas Pinckney, commanding the sixth military district—North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

[6] Vice-Admiral Charles Stirling (1760–1833), commander-in-chief on the Jamaica Station 1811–1813.

[7] Maj.-Gen. Henry Dearborn (1751–1829), commander of the Northern Department from Jan. 27, 1812, until July 6, 1813.

[8] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 644–646.

licensed Ship, regularly appointed by the British Authorities for the conveyance of American prisoners, forcibly detained by Commodore Beresford, of the *Poictiers*, and sent to Bermuda for trial, as British subjects. One of these men, Thomas King, at the imminent peril of his life, escaped from Bermuda in an open boat, and arrived in safety on the American coast in August last; Two of the four, were in consequence immediately restored to their ordinary State of Prisoners, and two are still held for John Stephens.

The fifth, was the confinement of two Masters of British vessels, Barss and Woodward, as hostages for the safety of Capt. Wm. Nicholls late Commr. of the private armed vessel *Decatur*,[1] whose case is fully detailed in my letter to Coll. Barclay of Octr 5th[2] now sent you. They are still held.

The Sixth, was the designation of 101 British maritime Prisoners in retaliation for an equal number of Americans, who had, on various pretexts, been sent from Halifax to England for trial. On explanation however from Coll. Barclay, it appears, that no Specific charge had been made against 83 of these 101 Americans. Consequently, a like number will be held only in confinement, but are not to be considered as exchangeable, until our 83 men are brought back to the British Depot of Prisoners in America, from whence they ought never to have been sent; and the designation of six officers of Privateers and Merchant vessels, and of ten petty officers and Seamen belonging to Public Ships, confined in retaliation for the like number of American prisoners, of similar grade and service, severely and ignominiously confined at Halifax, as described in my letters of Septr 22d and Novr 23d to Coll Barclay,[3] copies of which are now sent you. These were at first placed in the same kind of confinement, as that used in Halifax, but are now, on a similar relaxation having taken place there, held in ordinary confinement.

The seventh was the designation of 59 British soldiers as hostages, for that number of American Soldiers, who were sent from Halifax to England, in August last, to be tried as British subjects. They are still held.

The eight[h], was the designating and confining a masters mate, in the British Navy, as an hostage for the safety of Joshua Penny,[4] a non combattant, who was seized at night, in his house on Long Island, and has been carried to Halifax. He is still held.

The ninth, was the confinement of a mate in the British Merchant Service, in retaliation for the detention by the Enemy of J. Swan-

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 646–652.

[2] Ibid., 650. Col. Thomas Barclay, British commissary for prisoners. See his "Life and Correspondence" (N. Y., 1894), by George L. Rives.

[3] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 653, 660.

[4] Ibid., 669.

ton,[1] a Captain of Marines in a private armed vessel, and sending him to England for trial as a British subject. He is still held to answer for J. Swanton's safety, as explained in my letter of the 2d Instant.

The tenth was the designation and confinement of 46 British officers, in retaliation for that number of American officers and non-commissioned officers confined at Quebec, in counter-retaliation for the 23 men designated by General Dearborn, as before stated.

The eleventh has been the designation of a British Seaman, captured on Lake Ontario, to be held as an hostage for an American seaman detained by Commodore Yeo,[2] to be tried as a British subject.

The twelfth has been the designation and confinement of T. A. Clarke, Indian Interpreter in the Service of the Enemy, as an hostage for the safety of Captn Maggs[3] of Detroit, who has been detained in Canada by the British Authorities.

Gallatin and Bayard to Capt. Jones.

26 Decr./17 Janry. 1814.

Sir, As soon as you may find it safe and convenient after the receipt of this letter, we desire that you will make sail for some port in Holland where we shall in a short time endeavour to join you. Upon your arrival you will make known the place to Messrs. Wilhelm and Jan Willink and N. I. and R. Van Staphorst the Bankers of the United States at Amsterdam.

It is our intention to leave St. Petersburg in the course of a fortnight and to proceed to that city where we shall expect intelligence from you.

You will recollect that according to the tenor of the passport granted by the British Government to the *Neptune*, the port in Holland where you will go must be one not in the possession or under the authority of the French.

Monroe to Beasley.

Depar[t]ment of State,
January 8th, 1814.

Sir, The *Bramble*, a British flag, which lately arrived at Annapolis, with a letter from Lord Castlereagh to me, concerning the mediation of Russia for an accommodation of differences between the United States and Great Britain, will immediately return to England with my answer. The interesting nature of the subject to which this

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 670.
[2] Sir James Lucas Yeo (1782–1818), commander-in-chief of the British naval forces on the Lakes, 1813.
[3] Capt. Whitmore Knaggs. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 672.

correspondence relates, has not permitted this government to withhold from the public an early knowledge of its intentions; and I now forward to you a printed copy of a Message from the President to both Houses of Congress, including my reply to his Lordship, and the documents to which it has reference.[1]

You will also receive, by this conveyance, some packets of newspapers, which recite the principal events that have occurred in this quarter.

The Ship *Fair American*, Captain Jacob Adams, will sail, in a few days, as a cartel, from New York for a port in Great Britain. The Captain has been instructed to transmit the papers of the vessel, as soon as he arrives, directly to you. Mr. Strong[2] will embark in this ship, and to him will be confided, a triplicate of a letter to our Ministers at St Petersburg. It is possible they may have left that City, and proceeded to Gothenburg, or Stockholm, on their route there. Wherever they may be Mr. Strong is instructed to find and deliver the dispatches to them. The original of the letter to our Ministers at St Petersburg will be conveyed also by the *Fair American* under the auspices of the Russian Minister here, who incloses it to his colleague at London with a request to forward it to them without delay. A duplicate, it is expected, will be sent under the same protection by the *Bramble*.

[P. S.]—Should the *Bramble* arrive in England, before the *Fair American*, you are requested, in availing yourself of the friendly offices of the Russian Ambassador, to facilitate the transmission of the duplicate letter to our Ministers by all the other means within your power, without however employing a special Messenger, Mr. Strong being the only person intended to proceed in that character.

Adams and Bayard to Romanzoff.

Jan. 12, 1814.

[See pp. 258–259.]

Romanzoff to Adams and Bayard.

Jan. 17, 1814.

[See pp. 259–260.]

Levett Harris to Bayard.[3]

Sir:—In pursuance of your request made to me on the 31 ulto./12 inst. I waited upon the Chancellor the same evening and informed

[1] The papers included Castlereagh's letter of Nov. 4, 1813, and a note of Cathcart to Nesselrode, dated Sept. 1, 1813. Ibid., 621–623, 701.

[2] Nathaniel W. Strong, consul at Gottenburg, nominated Jan. 11, 1814. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1816, 450.

[3] From the papers of Thomas F. Bayard.

him of your great anxiety to receive some answer from him to the Note which you and Mr. Adams addressed to him, that day,[1] which might serve you as a justification near your Government for the course which now seemed the only one left you to pursue. I also made fully known to the Count the unpleasant feeling you were under at witnessing the delay of the Emperor in making the reply which was thought due to you, and dwelt upon this point with the interest which the occasion required. The Chancellor observed that he had not yet seen the Note I alluded to; that as he was very unwell he had given orders to be private the whole day. He requested me to inform him of its contents, which I did, and I added that it was still hoped such an answer would be given to it as would enable you to judge how far a longer stay here would be justifiable, that otherwise it was your design to leave this residence very shortly. He replied that the answer to be given to the Note could not be such as you were naturally solicitous to receive; that he should transmit your letter to the Emperor and await His Majesty's order for any ulterior official answer that it would be proper to make to it; that he had obtained no answer from the Emperor to the communication already made him of the dispatches received from Count Lieven respecting the renewed offer of the mediation to the British Government, and he now almost dispaired of receiving any; that the chagrin and mortification he felt on this occasion equalled the solicitude testified by the Mission, and he lamented beyond measure his inability to comply with the request I made him in your name. I shortly after took my leave. On Saturday the 15 inst. I received a note from the Count requesting me to call upon him the next day, Sunday. I waited upon him, as you know, agreeably to his invitation. The Chancellor observed upon my entering his Cabinet that he desired to see me and converse[d] confidentially with me on the subject of my last visit to him; that he had since received the Note of Mr. Adams and Mr. Bayard; he had considered it attentively and had also reflected upon what had passed between us on the occasion; that he saw the course which was to be taken by you, and had nothing to say against it; that being still without instructions from the Emperor he was unable to meet your wishes officially, but he could not disguise that he plainly perceived an indisposition in the British Government to a negotiation at St. Petersburg; that he was grieved at it for on this occasion he was life and soul American, qu'il etait pour l'Amerique coeur et ame was his expression; that he felt a most lively desire to see good understanding restored between two Belligerents. But he could not, however withhold from me his opinion that we had shewn rather too much ardour in pursuing

[1] See pp. 258–259.

peace; that he was sure peace was to be obtained for the United States on terms highly honorable and advantageous to them, and he thought it probable even that after the news of the departure of the Mission from Petersburg reached England, Propositions would be made to it by the British Government and that they might be induced to meet us even on our own ground. I repeated to the Chancellor how satisfactory it would be to you to perceive in the reply which was to be made to your last note, the expression of his opinion relative of this disposition of the British Government as to a negotiation at St. Petersburg. It was unnecessary, he said, further to convince me that such at this moment was impracticable. I acquainted him that I would immediately report this conversation to Mr Bayard who would perhaps consider it conclusive as to the propriety of limiting his stay here; and that if any official advices should be received from the Emperor regarding this mission, they would of course be communicated to Mr. Adams, and might yet reach Mr. Bayard before he left the continent. It is necessary perhaps to say but little additional on the subject of the extreme pain and embarrassment felt and expressed by the Chancellor at his receiving no information from the Emperor capable of guiding him in the final answer which he thought due to the Mission. He was indeed greatly affected by the view of his declining credit, and closed the conversation by candidly assuring me, that after having since the Month of May last seen that he was no longer of any use in the councils of his Sovereign, he had repeatedly asked his Majesty's permission to resign; that not having obtained it he had determined no longer to administer the higher duties of Chancellor. He had consequently removed from the Hotel of Foreign affairs and would continue now to reside in his own house; and until the desired dispositions were made by the Emperor in relation to him, he would confine himself to the mere ordinary and indispensable parts of his ministry.

SAINT PETERSBURG, *5/17 January 1814.*

CREDENTIALS OF THE FOUR COMMISSIONERS.[1]

January 18, 1814.

JAMES MADISON PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To all whom these Presents shall concern Greeting:

Reposing especial trust and confidence in the integrity prudence and ability of John Quincy Adams, at present the Minister plenepotentiary of the United States at the Court of His Imperial Majesty

[1] From Bayard's official letter-book, in the possession of Mr. R. H. Bayard. Gallatin had not yet been appointed on the commission. See p. 263, note 3.

the Emperor of all the Russias, James A. Bayard, late a Senator of the United States, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and Jonathan Russel, one of their distinguished citizens, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed them jointly and severally Ministers Plenepotentiary and Extraordinary of the United States with authority to meet a Minister or Ministers having like authority from the Government [of Great Britain] and with him or them to negociate and conclude a settlement of the subsisting differences and a lasting peace and friendship between the United States and that Power; transmitting the treaty or convention so to be concluded for the ratification of the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at the city of Washington the 18th day of January A. D., 1814, and of the Independence of the United States the 38th.

(Signed) JAMES MADISON.

[Counter signed] By the President.

JAMES MONROE,
Secretary of State.

CREDENTIALS OF THE FOUR COMMISSIONERS.[1]

[*January 18, 1814.*]

JAMES MADISON PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To all whom these Presents shall concern Greeting:

Know ye that for the purpose of confirming between the United States and His Britannic Majesty perfect harmony and good correspondence and of removing all grounds of dissatisfaction and reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity prudence and abilities of John Quincy Adams, Minister Plenepotentiary of the United States at the Court of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, James A. Bayard, late a Senator of the United States, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and Jonathan Russel, one of their distinguished citizens, I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed them jointly and severally Ministers Plenepoten'y and Extraordinary of the United States, with full power and all manner of power and authority for and in the name of the United States to meet and confer with a Minister or Ministers of his said Britannic

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

Majesty being furnished with the like powers and authority and with him or them to agree, treat, consult and negociate of and concerning the general commerce between the United States and Great Britain and its dominions or dependencies and of all matters and subjects connected therewith which may be interesting to the two nations, And to conclude and sign a treaty or treaties, convention or conventions touching the premises; transmitting the same to the President of the United States for his final ratification by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

In testimony, etc.[1]

Commission of Christopher Hughes.[2]

[*February 3, 1814.*]

James Madison President of the United States of America

To Christopher Hughes Junr Greeting:

Reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity prudence and Ability I have nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate have appointed you the said Christopher Hughes Junr. Secretary of the Mission extraordinary of the United States for entering into negociations with Great Britain of and concerning a treaty of peace and commerce.

In testimony, etc.

Monroe to the Four Commissioners.[3]

Department of State.

Gentlemen: Mr. William Shaler[4] it is believed possesses qualities which may be very useful in the course of the negociation with Great Britain as the Bearer of written and verbal communications to our Ministers at the different Courts of Europe which circumstances may render necessary and with this view he is attached to the Mission. He is to be allowed a compensation at the rate of 2000 Dls. a year from the time of his leaving the United States and you will accordingly on your arrival at Gottenburg draw on the Bankers at Amsterdam at this rate from time to time as it may be due him as a contingency of the Mission.

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[1] Note in the letter-book: "There are separate Commissions of the same tenor and effect to Albert Gallatin, late Secretary of the Treasury, to act jointly and severally, etc. Dated 9th February 1814."

[2] From Bayard's letter-book. Christopher Hughes (1786–1849) of Baltimore, son-in-law of Gen. Samuel Smith, was commissioned secretary to the United States legation at London Feb. 3, 1814. It was he who brought the treaty signed at Ghent to this country.

[3] From Bayard's letter-book.

[4] William Shaler, afterward U. S. consul-general at Algiers and at Havana.

ADAMS AND BAYARD TO ROMANZOFF.

Jan. 19, 1814.

[See pp. 260–262.]

ROMANZOFF TO ADAMS AND BAYARD.

Jan. 22, 1814.

[See p. 262.]

W. H. LYTTELTON [1] TO BAYARD.

Mr. Lyttelton presents his Compts. to Mr. Bayard and begs him to accept his very sincere Thanks for the kind and polite offer he has had the goodness to make him. Mr. L. will so far avail himself of it, as to trouble Mr. B. with one or two Letters, which he will be so good as to put into the Post immediately on his arrival in England. With Mr. Bayard's permission, Mr. Lyttelton will add a Letter of Introduction for Mr. B. to Mr. Tierney,[2] a Gentleman fully capable of giving the soundest political Information to Mr. B. and of making him acquainted with the Persons best qualified to discuss with him the Affairs of Great Britain and the United States. Mr. L. prefers offering Mr. B. a Letter to Mr. Tierney to giving him one to Lord Spencer,[3] because Lord S. has less exclusively devoted himself, of late, to public Business than Mr. T. has, and Mr. T. is so much Mr. L.'s friend, that he flatters himself he will pay as much attention to a recommendation from him as could be expected to be bestowed upon it even by his Father-in-Law.

Lady Sarah Lyttelton [4] desires Mr. Bayard will accept her best Thanks for his civility to her, and regrets that she has not had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with him.

SUNDAY, *Jany. 23.*

ADAMS AND BAYARD TO MONROE.

24 January, 1814.

SIR: We have the honor to enclose copies and translations of two Notes,[5] recently addressed by us, to the Chancellor, Count

[1] William Henry Lyttelton, afterward third Baron Lyttelton (1782–1837), a member of the Whig party in Parliament 1807–1820.

[2] George Tierney (1761–1830), the opponent of Pitt's financial policy, who had served as treasurer of the navy, and president of the board of control.

[3] George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer (1758–1834), famous as first lord of the admiralty 1794–1801, had held no public office since 1807.

[4] Mr. Lyttelton had on Mar. 4, 1813, married Lady Sarah Spencer, eldest daughter of the second Earl Spencer.

[5] The notes referred to follow.

Romanzoff; together with copies of the answers to them, received from him. Our Notes will disclose to you the motives upon which Mr. Bayard has concluded to depart, without waiting any longer for the communication which we have been expecting from this Government.

ADAMS AND BAYARD TO ROMANZOFF.

31 Dec./12 Jan. 1814.

[*Enclosure—Translation.*]

The undersigned, Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, have the honor to address themselves to his Excellency the Count Romanzoff, Chancellor of the Empire, to request of him a communication of the information received by the Government of his Imperial Majesty upon the subject of the course taken by the British Government relative to the offer of the mediation of his Imperial Majesty to effectuate peace between the United States and England.

More than four months have elapsed since his Excellency the Chancellor of the Empire informed the undersigned that the Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty near the Court of London would receive instructions to renew to that Court the overture of the mediation of his Imperial Majesty; and they have since waited with patience and solicitude the result of these instructions. Knowing the sincere disposition of their Government and of their Country to treat of peace with Great Britain under the proferred mediation of his Imperial Majesty, they have imposed upon themselves the duty of exhausting every reasonable expectation of its success rather than yield to the persuasion that the offer would be fruitless. But his Excellency the Chancellor of the Empire will be sensible that there is another duty not less imperious equally imposed upon them—it is not to leave their Government in the uncertainty of vain expectation, which may have the effect of diverting them from the pursuit of measures which in the actual state of things may be required by the interests of their nation.

If the offer of the mediation of his Imperial Majesty has not been accepted by the British Government, the continuance of the Extraordinary Mission of the United States becomes useless and the protraction of the residence here of one of the undersigned, without an object. But the United States will not be the less grateful for the friendly intentions of his Imperial Majesty and for the effort which he has made in order to reestablish peace between them and England.

[*The Additional Paragraph.*] [1]

In the first official Communication which the undersigned had the honour of addressing to His Excellency the Chancellor of the Empire, on the subject of their Mission, they exposed to him the motives upon which they were desirous of receiving from the Government of His Imperial Majesty the information of the decision of the British Government, which they could regularly receive from no other source. They have been six months waiting for a result, of which they might make to their own Government an authentic Report, and which might serve as a Justification for the steps which in either alternative it would remain for them to take. They would still wait with the same Patience, for a Communication so important to the Commission with which they are charged, if they could flatter themselves that by protracting the term of their Mission they could contribute to the accomplishment of the just and beneficient Views, which induced the offer of His Imperial Majesty's Mediation. But if from the unavoidable delays which may result from the absence of His Imperial Majesty, and the multiplied and momentous occupations which engage his attention, His Excellency the Chancellor should not now be enabled to make to the Undersigned the Communication which they invite, one of them proposes in the course of a few days to ask of His Excellency the Chancellor, His Passports to return to his Country, leaving to the other the care of receiving and transmitting to their Government the Answer which shall officially notify to them the Resolution of the British Government, with regard to the Proposal of His Imperial Majesty's Mediation.

Romanzoff to Adams and Bayard.

[*Enclosure.*]

Le Chancelier de l'Empire a eu l'honneur de recevoir la Note que Messieurs les Envoyés extraordinaires et Ministres plénipotentiaires des Etats Unis d'Amérique lui ont adressée, pour demander de sa part la communication des renseignemens que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Impériale peut avoir reçus au sujet du parti pris par le Gouvernement Britannique sur l'offre de la médiation de Sa Majesté Impériale pour effectuer la paix entre les Etats Unis et l'Angleterre.

Le soussigné, fidèle à ses habitudes, et se faisant un plaisir de conserver cette manière franche et simple qu'il a établie dans ses relations avec Messieurs les Envoyés extraordinaires et Ministres plénipotentiaires, a l'honneur de leur écrire ce qu'il avoit eu celui de leur

[1] The body of this note was drafted by Bayard, the "additional paragraph" by Adams. To the last sentence in the "additional paragraph" Bayard objected and the paragraph was not included. Adams, "Memoirs", II, 553, 556–560.

dire dans des conversations de vive-voix, que Mr. le Comte de Lieven, l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Impériale à Londres, en recevant la Note que le Chancelier lui avoit prescrit de présenter au Ministère de S. M. Britannique, lui a écrit, qu'il supposoit que le Chancelier devant au premier jour avoir connoissance d'une de ses dépêches à l'Empereur, jugeroit lui-meme, qu'il n'étoit plus en mesure de présenter la Note qu'on le chargeoit de remettre.

Jusqu'à cette heure, le Chancelier n'a point connoissance de cette dépêche. Il n'est pas surpris de ce que la juste et continuelle préoccupation d'une guerre que l'Empereur soutient avec tant de succès pour faire rentrer la presque totalité de l'Europe en sa propre indépendance, que la nécessité de joindre à des faits de guerre rapides et multiplies un mouvement de négociations tout aussi pressé absorbent tout le tems de Sa Majesté Impériale, etaient retardé plusieurs des communications qu'Elle se proposoit de faire au soussigné.

Le Chancelier de l'Empire sait, et en a plusieurs preuves, que Sa Majesté Impériale porte une estime et une affection particulières à la République des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, qu'Elle a à Coeur la prospérité de cet Etat, et que c'est dans cet esprit et même dans l'intérêt commercial de Son propre Empire, qu'Elle a manifesté le désir, qu'Elle conserve encore, de voir la paix et la bonne harmonie succéder à la guerre qui divise maintenant la République des Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre, Son allié.

Le soussigné saisit avec plaisir cette occasion pour témoigner à Messieurs les Envoyés extraordinaires et Ministres plénipotentiaires des Etats-Unis d'Amérique l'estime particulière qu'ils lui ont inspirée, et leur réïtérer en même tems les assurances de sa Consideration très distinguée.

St. Petersbourg, *ce 5 Janvier 1814.*[1]

Adams and Bayard to Romanzoff.

[*Enclosure—Translation.*]

Jan. 7/19, 1814.

The Undersigned Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Note of his Exy. Count Romanzoff Chancellor of the Empire under the date of the 5/17 inst. They had hoped and flattered themselves that after the length of time which has elapsed since the existance of the Extraordinary Mission of the United States at St. Petersburg, his Exy the Chancellor would have been able officially to have informed them of the acceptance or refusal upon the part of the British Govt. of the Mediation offered by H. I. M. The

[1] Jan. 17, n. s.

fact however from the last communication of the Chancellor and from concurrent circumstances remaining no longer doubtful have relieved the Undersigned from all uncertainty and have marked out to one of them the duty which remains to be performed by him. They would be warranted in inferring that G Britain had refused to act under the mediation from the circumstance alone that, after it has been known to the British Cabinet for more than seven months that the mediation was accepted by the American Government and Ministers dispatched from the U S. to St. Petersburg cloathed with full powers to treat under it, no corresponding step has been taken upon their part. The Speech of the Prince Regent of G Britain upon the opening of the late Session of Parliament[1] fully evidences by implication the intention of the Government not to accept the Mediation. But the information now officially communicated by his Ex. the Chancellor that Count Lieven, the Ambassador of H. I. M. at the Court of London, upon receiving the Note which the Chancellor had prescribed to him, declined presenting it to the Minister of His Britannic Majesty, supposing that the Chancellor would soon have knowledge of one of his dispatches to the Emperor and that he would judge himself that it was no longer proper for him to deliver the Note which he had in charge to present, admits of no other inference but that he had been officially informed that the Mediation would not be accepted.

The declarations of Lord Walpole,[2] the British Minister at this Court, though not official yet being open and explicit, that G. Britain would not treat under any Mediation, contribute also to the evidence on the subject. Under the full conviction entertained by the undersigned that the Mediation has been refused by the British Govt., Mr. Bayard deems it useless to protract his residence longer at St. Petersburg. He has the honor therefore to request of his Exy. the Chancellor that he will procure for Mr. Bayard an audience of Leave and that the necessary passports may be furnished him.

The undersigned avail themselves of the occasion to repeat and to assure the Chancellor that, altho. the friendly intentions of H. I. M. have not been attended with their designed effect, Yet they do not less highly appreciate the beneficient views with which the Mediation was offered, and they are peculiarly gratified with the assurance of the Chancellor that H. I. M. entertains a particular esteem and affection for the Republic of the U. S. of America, who upon their part

[1] In speaking of the American war the Prince Regent had said in his speech on the opening of Parliament Nov. 4, 1813, "I have not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the Government of the United States to close it [the war], of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of His Majesty's subjects." "Journals of the House of Commons", 1813–1814, 4.

[2] Lord Walpole, hitherto first secretary of the British legation at St. Petersburg, now minister at St. Petersburg while Lord Cathcart represented Great Britain at the emperor's headquarters.

have always cherished Sentiments of veneration for the exalted character and personal qualities of His Imperial Majesty.

In offering to His Excellency the Chancellor of the Empire their acknowledgments for the sentiments which he is pleased to express in relation to themselves, the undersigned feel it their duty to declare how deeply they have been impressed with the frankness and rectitude which they have uniformly experienced from him. They request him to be persuaded that they shall always retain a grateful remembrance of it, with that of sincere respect and attachment for him.

They have the honour of renewing to his Exy. the Chancellor the assurance of their highest consideration.

Romanzoff to Adams and Bayard.

[*Enclosure.*]

Le Soussigné Chancelier de l'Empire a eu l'honneur de recevoir la Note par laquelle Messieurs les Envoyés Extraordinaires et Ministres Plénipotentiaires des Etats Unis d'Amerique, l'informent qu'ils considerent leur Mission Extraordinaire à Petersbourg comme ne pouvant pas atteindre le but pour lequel elle avait été formée, et que dans cette opinion Monsieur Bayard, l'un d'entr' eux, se prepare de retourner dans sa patrie.

Le Chancelier de l'Empire répète ici ce qu'il a eu l'honneur de dire à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires dans une Note précédente, c'est que jusqu'à présent, il n'a aucune donnée suffisante pour pouvoir préjuger de l'état de cette question.

Le parti que prend Monsieur Bayard lui fournit une circonstance qu'il embrasse avec plaisir, celle de lui temoigner ici la juste et véritable considération que son merite lui avoit inspiré, et les regrets que son départ laisse au soussigné.

Le Chancelier de l'Empire prie Messieurs les Envoyés Extraordinaires et Ministres Plénipotentiaries des Etats Unis d'Amérique, de recevoir ici les assurances de sa considération trés distinguée.

St. Petersbourg, *le 10 Janvier*[1] *1814.*

Romanzoff to Bayard.

Le Chancelier de l'Empire ayant déja eû l'honneur de faire parvenir à Monsieur Gallatin son passeport, envoye maintenant à Monsieur Bayard celui qu'il lui avoit demandé dernièrement. Il y joint deux feuilles ouvertes de la part du Ministre de l'Interieur à l'usage de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires, qu'ils voudront bien faire produire à chaque poste, afin d'être servi avec tous les soins et sans le moindre retard, et de plus un billet pour recevoir *les padoroschajas.*

[1] Jan. 22, n. s.

Le Chancelier joint également ici des lettres que Messieurs les Plenipotentiaires lui ont demandées, savoir: une pour Mr. d'Alopeus, Ministre de sa Majesté Impériale à Berlin, une autre pour son frère également à Berlin,[1] et la troisième pour Mr. le Comte de Lieven à Londres. Il ajoute un gros paquet à l'adresse de Mr. Alopeus dont l'exacte remission il recommande aux soins obligeans de Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires.

Le Chancelier saisit cette occasion pour leur souhaiter un très heureux voyage, et pour leur réïterer l'assurance de tous les sentimens d'estime et de considération très distinguée qu'ils ont sû lui inspirer.

Le 12 Janvier[2] *1814.*

Instructions to the Four Commissioners.[3]

Jan. 28, 1814.

[*Confidential paragraph 1.*]

The reasons given in my letter of the 23d of June—and 1st[4] of this month, in favor of a cession of the Canadas to the United States, have also gained much additional force from further reflection. Experience has shewn that Great Britain cannot participate in the dominion and navigation, without incurring the danger of an early renewal of the war. It was by means of the Lakes that the British Government interfered with and gained an ascendancy over the Indians, even within our limits. The effect produced by the massacre of our Citizens, after they are made prisoners, and of defenceless women and children along our frontiers, need not be described. It will perhaps never be removed, while Great Britain retains in her hands the Government of those Provinces. This alone will prove a fruitful source of controversy; but there are others. Our settlements had reached, before the war, from our northern boundary with Lower Canada, along the St. Lawrence to the south western extremity of Lake Erie, and after peace it cannot be doubted that

[1] Maxim Maximovitch Alopaeus and his younger brother David, who was appointed the minister in 1815. Maxim had first gone to Berlin as minister in 1790.

[2] Jan. 24, n. s

[3] Secretary Monroe's instructions to the four American plenipotentiaries who were first appointed to negotiate at Gottenburg—Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Russell—are found in manuscript in the Bayard Papers, in a text which differs from that printed in "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 701–702, by containing the confidential paragraphs which were omitted from the letter. These confidential paragraphs are therefore printed here. But whereas the places of three are indicated in the printed text, the manuscript contains four. The additional one which we have designated as "Confidential paragraph 1a," belongs at the end of the second paragraph after the place which the printed version assigns to "Confidential paragraph No. 1." Madison had nominated Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Russell commissioners to treat directly with Great Britain, and the nominations had been ratified Jan. 18. Gallatin's name was not presented to the Senate at this time, as it was supposed that he was on his way home. As soon as it was learned in Washington that he had remained in England his name was added to the list and was confirmed by the Senate Feb. 8. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 451, 454.

[4] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 700–701.

they will soon extend by a continued population to Detroit, where there is now a strong establishment, and to the Banks of the Michigan, and even of the other Lakes, spreading rapidly over all our vacant Territory. With the disposition already existing, collisions may be daily expected between the Inhabitants on each side, which it may not be in the power of either Government to prevent. The cupidity of the British Traders will admit of no controul. The inevitable consequence of another war, and even of the present, if persevered in by the British Government, must be to sever these provinces by force from Great Britain. Their Inhabitants themselves will soon feel their strength, and assert their independence. All these evils had therefore better be anticipated, and provided for, by timely arrangement between the two Governments in the mode proposed.

Should the british Government decline a cession of Territory to an extent to remedy the evils complained of, you will not fail to attend to the injunctions, contained in my Letter of the 15th of April last,[1] as the mean of mitigating them, so far as we are able.

[*Confidential paragraph 1*[e].]

I shall proceed to notice the conduct of the British Government in declining the Russian Mediation and proposing to treat directly with the U. States. It's policy in so doing cannot be mistaken. Indeed the British Minister explains it himself, in stating that his object was to keep the business unmixed with the affairs of the Continent. Whence this desire, supposing it to be the real and only object, unless it be founded in an opinion that in the most important questions, in which we have to treat with the British Government, Russia and all the other powers of the Continent, have a common interest with the United States against Great Britain, and a dread thence arising, if a negotiation should be carried on under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, that it might produce a concert between parties having a common interest?

To this cause alone, as is presumed, is the conduct of the British Government to be imputed. It is therefore the interest of the United States to avoid becoming its victims, and to improve the occurrence, to their advantage, so far as it may be practicable.

It is believed that there is not a power in Europe, that would give the slightest countenance to the British practice of impressment. Had that practice been brought into discussion, under the auspices of Russia, it may reasonably be presumed, that it would have been treated by the Emperor, so far as he might have expressed an opinion on it, as novel, absurd and inadmissible in regard to other nations, and that the British Ministers would have been forced to support it

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 695–700, and ante, pp. 204–206.

against the United States, by arguments drawn from their former connection, and dependence on Great Britain.[1] * * * *

* * * * * * *

Had the British Government supported the practice on the ground of a maritime right, applicable to all Nations, it would have offended, and might have excited all against Great Britain. Had it supported it as a right applicable only to the U. States, thereby degrading them below the condition of other Nations, it was easy to anticipate the effect here. The objection of the British Government to a negotiation, which formed an appeal, on any question of neutral right, to the impartial judgement of Russia, or of any other powers, tho not as an umpire, would be still stronger, for all Europe has long known, and suffered under, British violations of neutral rights. It must have been on this view of the subject, that the British Government declined a negotiation which could not fail to shew, in their naked deformity, the injustice of the British claims.

[*Confidential paragraph 2.*]

By meeting their overture, in the manner it has been done, those powers will see the manifestation of a desire, to keep open the door of a communication with them; and to this communication great facility will be afforded by Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell, who while joined in the commission to treat with England, may preserve a direct correspondence with the Governments to which the[y] are respectively appointed.

[*Confidential paragraph 3.*]

In availing yourselves of the good offices of Russia and Sweden, so far as it may be practicable, on any of the points in question, in the proposed negotiation, you will always recollect that the object is to secure to the U. States, by means thereof, a safe and honourable peace, and not to combine with any power, in any object of ambition, or in claiming other conditions more favourable than those proposed, which may tend to prolong the war.

William Hunter[2] to Bayard.

Washington, *January 29th, 1814.*

My dear Sir: I feel it something like a duty to write you. I voluntarily promised that I would and you were kind enough to say

[1] Dots and omission in manuscript.

[2] William Hunter, senator from Rhode Island 1811–1821, had been in the class of 1791 at Rhode Island College (Brown University), a classmate of Jonathan Russell, whom he describes below.

that the performance of my promise would be acceptable to you. You need not be reminded that the eyes of this Country are turned towards your Legation and pointedly toward yourself as the most prominent and interesting member of that Legation. We expect from you what all parties here will hail as the choicest of blessings—Peace. I hope you will be able to effect it, and that your efforts may be individually marked as mainly efficient in the attainment of this great object. Be assured that the Messenger who brought the overtures from England came as one from Heaven to a divided distracted distressed Administration. In this instance, as in a thousand before, this piece of good fortune came just in Time to conceal the Imbecility of these People and to prevent its direful and otherwise inevitable Consequences. Do not conceive from what I have said that your friends here wish *you* to be *unreservedly* and incautiously anxious for effecting Peace *at all events*. We think on the contrary that a regard to our best Interests and your own solid and well earned reputation ought to beget a caution and circumspection vigilant in the extreme. You are associated with men who must envy you—in whom you ought not to repose confidence untill after you have *proved them*. Their attempt will be in case of an unfortunate issue to throw on you a more than double load of censure and if events should prove prosperous to detract from your merit. You know all but Russell—and him I well know. His previous rank or service have certainly not entitled him to the high situation to which he is raised,[1] but he has considerable talents and so far as depends upon literary acquirements you will find him, *at last*, *after* a slow and *sullen* developement, to be well endowed. He has been a Lawyer, a Merchant, a Traveller, his vicissitudes of Fortune have been frequent and extreme, his *practical commercial knowledge* is undoubtedly *sound* and extensive. If he is not secretly instructed to obstruct the Negotiation he certainly may be eminently useful, but in his Sincerity and Honesty I have not an implicit Confidence. You will find him cold, reserved, *artful* tho inelegant in manners and unamiable in Temper. He knows how to conceal his resentments, he can even supplicate those he hates. But of him I will say no more.

You will of course understand that our Canadian Campaign in spite of some gleams of success has in its result been disastrous. We are further off our object than at first. Yet still we keep up a shew of Perseverance. The Administration have no system. They depend on *events*, and upon the whole I regard their prospect as

[1] Jonathan Russell (1771–1832) had come somewhat by accident into the diplomatic service of the United States by being left in charge of the American legation at Paris on Armstrong's departure in 1810. In July, 1811, he had been transferred to London as chargé d'affaires in the absence of a minister. His second nomination as minister to Sweden was ratified by the Senate Jan. 18. Adams, "History", V, 380, VI, 282, VII, 59, 371; "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 454.

favorable. Because the enlarged hopes of Great Britain must lead to enlarged exertions—she wants more than ever her resources concentrated towards the great object the Independence of Europe, now probably attainable. To be at Peace with us and to be restored to our old commercial connection would be an immense benefit to her at this Crisis. May she not be willing to be indulgent to us less from acquiescence in our demands than from Calculations of extraneous advantage? On the question of Impressment she will be stubborn. *We* do not expect her to yield, and after what *you* said on this Topic this Administration cant expect *you* to insist upon Concession. From some Conversation I had the other day with Madison he thinks our scheme of the total exclusion of british Seamen will be accepted as a substitute. I think *he* means Peace. If curiosity induces you to go to England after the close of a successful negociation I hope you will manage it so as to *remain there*, and let *Madison know you mean to be Minister* there. In this I own I am somewhat selfish because I must as soon as Peace takes place spend a few Weeks in England and nothing could be more delightful to me than to find you there in a situation so pleasant and dignified. I leave to our friend Horsey[1] to detail to you those occurrences which he knows may be interesting to you. I have hastily scribbled what I have, principally for the purpose of reassuring you that your friends, *political* and personal, still regard you with unabated esteem—but no one can feel these sentiment[s] more genuinely and sincerely than your friend and obedient Servant.

ADAMS TO ROMANZOFF.

February 2, 1814.

[See p. 271.]

ROMANZOFF TO ADAMS.

February 4, 1814.

[See p. 271.]

ADAMS TO MONROE.[2]

ST. PETERSBURG, *4 February 1814.*

SIR: On the 1st instant I received a note from the Chancellor Count Romanzoff requesting me to call upon him that evening, which I accordingly did. He put into my hands an original despatch

[1] Outerbridge Horsey (1777–1842), member of the Senate from Delaware, from January, 1810, to March, 1821. He had studied law with Bayard and had practised at Wilmington.

[2] See "Memoirs", II, 568–569; also Ford, "Writings of John Quincy Adams", V, 12–18.

from Count Lieven the Russian Ambassador in England addressed to him dated 26 November/8 December, 1813, and on which was marked that a duplicate had been sent to Count Nesselrode[1] who is with the Emperor at his head Quarters. This despatch itself had not been transmitted to the Chancellor directly by the way of Gottenburg but thro' the head Quarters, whence he told me he had received it the day before with a multitude of other packets, but without a line upon the subject either from the Emperor or from Count Nesselrode. The despatch stated that, the British Government having been informed of the definitive refusal of the American Ministers at St. Petersburg to negociate directly with them for peace on account of the limitation of their powers to a negociation under the Emperor's Mediation, Lord Castlereagh had communicated to him, Count Lieven, that in order to shorten the delays which would arise from waiting till the Envoys could write from St. Petersburg to their own Government for further instructions and powers, he himself had just written to you[2] proposing to you to send your instructions thro the medium of Sir John Warren and explaining the motives upon which G. Britain had declined treating with the U States under a mediation. That as this measure had been taken at a period so splendid for England it would prove to the Emperor of Russia that the British Government cordially entered into his views in the disposition to terminate a war which they considered as not advantageous to the interests of the British Nation. The Morning after this interview with the Chancellor I wrote him a note of which and of his answer I have the honor of enclosing copies. He informed me that he was in hourly expectation of receiving the Emperors acceptance of his resignation.

Beasley to Bayard.

London, *February 4th, 1814.*

Sir: It is particularly gratifying to me that the first communication I have the honor of making to you should relate to a subject so interesting to our Country.

I transmit copies of two letters from the Secretary of State which accompanied the Dispatch you will receive herewith addressed to Mr. Adams and yourself. I learnt some time ago from Mr. Adams that you and Mr. Gallatin would, on leaving St. Petersburg, pass through Riga, Konigsberg and Berlin. I have therefore directed Mr. Hall who acts as American vice Consul at Gothenburg to send the Dispatch to you wherever you may be—of this, Mr. Adams has

[1] Count Karl Robert Nesselrode (1780–1862), minister of foreign affairs with the emperor.

[2] Castlereagh's note to the Secretary of State was dated Nov. 4, 1813. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621.

been informed. This Dispatch came by the *Bramble* Flag of Truce. Mr. Strong who was to take his passage in the Cartel ship *Fair American* may be daily expected. I send you part of a newspaper containing Lord Castlereagh's letter to the Secretary of State, and his reply;[1] also an account of some Military affairs, which, I am sorry to add, are of an unpleasant nature. A law has passed laying an Embargo for twelve months, giving power to the President to revoke it, should a change of circumstances render it expedient.[2]

The *Congress* Frigate has returned safe from her cruise—the *President* is again at sea.[3] The Enemy have been enabled to prevent our Squadron at New London from getting out by means of information which they received from the shore; these treasonable practices have however been discovered.[4]

I have not had an opportunity of seeing Count Lieven since the arrival of the *Bramble*.

ADAMS TO GALLATIN AND BAYARD.

ST: PETERSBURG, *6 February 1814.*

GENTLEMEN: Mr. Harris will deliver to you with this letter a dispatch for the Secretary of State, left open for your perusal, reporting an interview which I had with Count Romanzoff on the 1st[5] inst: and accompanied with a Note, which I wrote him next Morning, and with his answer. You will see by my statement from memory of the contents of the dispatch from Count Lieven, that it alluded distinctly to the refusal of the Mediation by Great Britain; and that the Chancellor assured me he had received it by a Courier from Head-Quarters, the day before, but without one line upon the subject from the Emperor or from Count Nesselrode. I wished a Copy of Count Lieven's dispatch not only for the reason assigned in my Note to the Chancellor, but on account of its reference to the refusal. But being aware that for that very Reason, the Chancellor would decline giving the copy, I chose to ask for it in writing, which if it did not produce the Copy, I knew must produce written Evidence of the aversion here to communicate in form a fact which ought to have been made known to us, Months ago. The Chancellor you see, gives me neither the copy, nor the contents of the dispatch, and refers me to the Secretary of State for the Contents of Lord Castlereagh's dispatch to him; about which I had asked no questions.

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[1] The newspaper was the London Morning Chronicle, Feb. 4, 1814; the letters it contained are to be found in "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621–622.

[2] Approved Dec. 17, 1813; c. 1.

[3] The *Congress* and the *President* had left Boston together on April 30. The *Congress* returned to Boston Dec. 14, having captured during her cruise but four merchant vessels. The *President* had returned to Newport, Sept. 27, having taken thirteen prizes. Adams, "History", VII, 310–311.

[4] Ibid., 279–280.

[5] See pp. 267–268. Bayard and Gallatin had left St. Petersburg Jan. 25, on their journey to Amsterdam and London.

As the next Courier from Head-Quarters will in all probability bring *at least* the Emperor's acceptance of the Chancellor's Resignation, it now appears likely that we shall never be told by the Russian Government how their ally treated their offer of Mediation. It may perhaps be thought that an acknowledgment by Russia of the fact, would require of the Emperor's dignity some notice of it, which might tend to disturb the Harmony of his present Relations with England. This too may have been one of the motives of Lord Castlereagh's writing directly to the Secretary of State.

I also enclose to you a copy of a letter which I received on the 3d inst. from Mr. Beasley. It states that Count Lieven had told Mr. Dallas that Lord Castlereagh wrote to Mr. Monroe, in October. The time does not exactly agree with that assigned in Count Lieven's dispatch, for that is dated 26 November/8 December and says Lord Castlereagh had communicated to him " qu'il *venoit* d' ecrire à Monsieur Monroe." In conversing with the Chancellor upon the import of this expression, I found his inference from it was that Lord Castlereagh's letter to Mr. Monroe had been written about a week before Count Lieven's dispatch. The difference is material with regard to the time when you may expect to receive the Instructions from our Government; but it is highly probable you will have an opportunity of seeing Lord Castlereagh himself, in Holland.

You will recollect, that in our dispatch to the Secretary of State, of 3/15 October,[1] we suggested to him the propriety of his forwarding his Instructions for us, under cover to our Consul at Gothenburg, where we then supposed they might meet you, on your return. It is possible that in consequence of this, a set of dispatches may be received by the person acting as Consul at Gothenburg (Mr. Hall) and that he may be at a loss where to send them. I purpose writing to him, requesting that if he should receive such dispatches before the *Neptune's* departure from Gothenburg, he would deliver them to Captain Jones. If afterwards, to forward them, under cover to Messrs. W. and J. Willink at Amsterdam, by Mail, if the Mails between Sweden and Holland should be reestablished, or to London, under cover to Mr. Beasley, if he (Hall) should at the time of receiving the dispatches, be informed that you had arrived in England.

We have had here very moderate weather, ever since your departure; so that I hope you had little or nothing to suffer from the Cold. We heard from you at Jamburg; and learnt the difficulties you had encountered from the depth of the Snow. But as you are constantly drawing towards Regions of light and Sun, that inconvenience must have diminished as you proceeded, and I hope finally expedited your way, as much as it retarded you at first.

I beg to be remembered kindly to Mr. James Gallatin.

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[1] "Writings of Gallatin", I, 587–588.

ADAMS TO ROMANZOFF.

[*Enclosure.*]

21 Janvier/2 Février, 1814.

Le Soussigné Envoye Extraordenaire et Minister Plenepotentiare des Etats Unis d'Amerique sollicite de son Excellence Monsieur le Comte de Romanzoff Grand Chancelier de l'Empire une copie de la depeche de Monsieur le Comte de Lieven datée du 26 Novembre/8 Decembre dernier qu'il a bien voulu lui montrer hier au soir. Le devoir du Soussigné etant de rapporter a son gouvernment et a son collegue le contenu de cette depeche, il desirerait n'etre pas dans la necessité de se fier entierment a sa memoire pour le leur representer. Si son Excellence Monsieur le Grand Chancelier de l'Empire trouve qu'il y ait d l'inconvenient a lui donner cette copie le soussigne le prie de lui en communiquer la substance detaillé.

Il a l'honneur de renouveller a son Excellence Monsieur le Grand Chancelier de l'Empire l'assurance de sa plus haute consideration.

ROMANZOFF TO ADAMS.

[*Enclosure.*]

23 Janvier[1] *1814.*

Le Soussigne a l'honneur de repondre a la Note qu'il vient de recevoir de la part de Monsieur Adams Envoye extraordenaire et Ministre plenipotentiare des etats Unis d'Amerique que la lettre du Comte de Lieven qu il lui a montré est en date du 26 Novembre/8 Decembre et porte en substance que Mi Lord Castlereagh lui avait confie qu il venoit d'ecrire directement a Monsieur Monroe montrant le desire de voir applanir les difficultés qui s opposent a un rapproachment entre les deux Etats, disposition si conforme aux voeux de sa Majesté Imperiale et a l'interet de son Empire; mais le Sousigne n'a point connoissance de la teneur de la lettre citée et ne doute point que Monsieur Adams n'en obtienne communication complette de la part de Monsieur Monroe auquel elle est addressée.

Le Soussigne saisit cette occasion pour assurer de nou[v]eau Monsieur Adams Envoye Extraordinaire et Ministre Plenepotentiare des etats Unis d'Amerique de sa consideration très destinguée.

BEASLEY TO BAYARD.

LONDON, *February 8th, 1814.*

SIR: On the 4th Instant I had the honor to enclose a dispatch from the Secretary of State, addressed to Mr. Adams and yourself, relative

[1] Feb. 4, n. s.

to negotiations for peace. Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador at this Court, has not received a single line from Mr. Daschkoff on the subject.

The Count has twice taken occasion to speak to Ministers here on the subject—at first they said they did not know who were the Commissioners appointed by the American Government—at last, however, they named yourself and Mr. Adams. The Count enquired whether Commissioners would be immediately appointed to meet you, on which it was observed, that no appointment would be made until yours was officially notified.

The Count informed me, with no satisfaction, that the Letter of Lord Castlereagh to the Secretary of State was forwarded more than a fortnight before he knew any thing of it. He observed that the Ministers appeared very desirous to have peace with America; but assured him that the British Nation would not permit them to negotiate under the auspices of a third power. And he is of opinion that unless our Government has notified your appointment directly to them, which there is reason to believe has not been done, none will be made here until you notify it yourselves.

I have deemed it my duty to make this communication in order that no time may be lost in adopting such measures as may be suitable to the occasion.

P. S.—Some regret was expressed to the Count, that the place of negotiation should be so far off. It was observed that Gothenburg was at the time it was named the most convenient; they would now prefer the Hague, but will not insist on it.

Monroe to the Five Commissioners.[1]

Dept. of State, *Feby. 14th, 1814.*

Gentlemen: I received last night your letter of the 15th of October, and one from Mr. Beasley, of the 23d of Decr. in which he communicated an extract of two letters to Mr. Speyer,[2] one from Mr. Adams of Novr. 22nd and the other from Mr. Harris of the 23rd which Mr. Speyer had sent to Mr. Beasley.

It appears that you had no knowledge at the date even of the last letter, of the answer of the British Government, to the offer which had been made to it, a second time, of the Russian Mediation. Hence it is to be inferred that the proposition made to this Government by the *Bramble*, was made not only without your knowledge, but without the sanction, if not without the knowledge, of the Emperor. Intelligence from other sources strengthens this inference. If this view of the conduct of the British Government is well founded, the motive for it cannot be mistaken. It may fairly be presumed that it was to prevent a good understanding between the United States

[1] An extract from this is printed in the "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 703.
[2] John Speyer, consul at Stockholm.

and Russia and Sweden, on the subject of the neutral rights, in the hope that by drawing the negotiation to England and depriving you of an opportunity of free communication with those powers a Treaty less favorable to the United States might be obtained, which might afterwards be used with advantage, by Great Britain, in her negotiations with those powers. In accepting the overture to treat in Sweden, this attempt of the British Government has been defeated, as the opportunity is afforded, to communicate with the Russian and Swedish Governments, almost with equal advantage, as if we had treated at St. Petersburg under the Russian mediation. By accepting the British overture, to treat at Gottenburg and not at Sweden [London], as well as by the manner, the utmost respect is shewn to the Emperor; and likewise to the Government of Sweden. You will not fail, as already instructed, to explain all the circumstances of this transaction, and the motives that have governed the President in it.

By an article in the former instructions, you were authorised, in making a Treaty to prevent impressment from our Vessels, to stipulate, provided a certain specified term could not be agreed on, that it might continue in force for the present war in Europe only.[1]

At that time it seemed probable that the war might last many years. Recent appearances however indicate the contrary. Should peace be made in Europe, as the practical evil of which we complain, in regard to impressment, would cease, it is presumed that the British Government would have less objection to a stipulation to forbear that practice, for a specified term, than it would have, should the war continue. In concluding a peace with Great Britain, even in case of a previous general peace in Europe, it is important to the United States to obtain such a stipulation. To draw from the war, without it, would be to subject the United States to all the expense of blood and treasure, which has been and may be incurred and without obtaining the security for which we have contended and leaving us under the necessity of contending for it again at a like expense, whenever another war shall break out in Europe, which will probably not be distant, and may be very soon. In every view of the subject it must be as desirable to Great Britain to remove this ground of controversy, if she means to preserve peace, as it is essential to the rights and honour of the United States.

Alexander J. Dallas[2] to Bayard.

[Feb. 14, 1814.]

My dear Sir: My son George has represented to me, the obligations, which I owe you, for your kindness to him. I cannot allow this

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 700.
[2] Alexander J. Dallas (1759–1817) of Philadelphia.

opportunity to escape, without making my best acknowledgments; and assuring you, that I shall seize every occasion to reciprocate a friendship, which I know how to value.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Russel will give you all the public news. I can add, with pleasure, that Mrs. Bayard and your Family are well.

Do me the favor to write to George, and to continue, while you remain in Europe, to honor him with your advice and countenance.

Remember me cordially to Mr. Milligan, and all the other members of your mission.

Beasley to Bayard.

London, *February 15th, 1814.*

Sir: I had the honor of writing you on the 4th and 8th Instant. I have now to inform you of the arrival of the Cartel ship *Fair American* with accounts from New York to the 23rd Ultimo. Mr. H. Clay and Mr. Russell are appointed Commissioners to join yourself and Mr. Adams at Gothenburg. Mr. Russell has also received the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden.

The papers relative to the mediation, as also the correspondence of Mr. Crawford[1] with the French Government, were laid before Congress on the 18th January.[2] It was the wish of the Government that the Cartel should have brought these documents, but she sailed without them. Mr. Strong, the messenger charged with Dispatches for yourself and Mr. Adams, will leave this on Friday next for Holland and proceed to St. Petersburg via Berlin and Konigsberg. I will obtain from Count Lieven a Couriers Passport for him.

Beasley to Adams.

London, *February 18th, 1814.*

Sir: I had the honor of writing you the 8th Instant via Gothenburg. The present goes by Mr. Strong, who has dispatches and letters for yourself and Mr. Bayard. You will learn that Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell are appointed to join yourself and Mr. Bayard at Gothenburg.

The papers relative to the mediation, as also the correspondence of Mr. Crawford with the French Government, were laid before Congress on the 18th of January. It was the wish of the Government that the Cartel *Fair American* should have brought those documents, and that the former should have found their way in a correct form into the public prints of this Country; but she sailed without them.

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[1] William H. Crawford (1772–1834) had been appointed minister to France May 28, 1813, and had reached Europe July 11. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 346; Adams, "History", 304.

[2] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 623–627, 627–628.

I beg to repeat what I have already had the honor of stating to you, that I have reason to believe that no one will be appointed to meet you, until your appointment is officially made known here by yourselves. Our Government has not notified the appointments made, nor has Mr. Daschkoff mentioned it to Count Lieven; the latter circumstance is, however, not material, as this Government is not disposed to receive officially any communication, on the subject, through the medium of a third power.

I took occasion, a few days ago, to call at the Foreign Office as if to ask the news from France, when I told Mr. Hamilton,[1] under Secretary of State, that I would send him a file of our official paper, in which he would see the names of the American Commissioners. I asked him, at the same time, if he had any idea of the persons who would be appointed to meet them: he observed that he had not; that nothing would be done previous to the return of Lord Castlereagh, which would however not be long, as he was not one of the members of the Congress at Chatillons.[2] Lords Cathcart[3] and Aberdeen,[4] and Sir Charles Stewart[5] represent Great Britain in the Congress.

I send you a file of English newspapers, and shall continue to do so by every opportunity.

I do not believe there will be any immediate change in the Cabinet here, as has been reported for some days past.

English Couriers now pass from Calais to Dover. You will perceive Napoleon is not so low as was thought a few weeks ago.[6]

P. S.—You will please excuse my addressing you in another hand, mine was so badly written you would not have been able to read it.

I am not satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Strong, he might have left this last Tuesday; but has remained here on private business, and it is even uncertain whether he will leave town to night.

Bayard to Adams.

Amsterdam, *6 March 1814.*

Dear Sir: After a very tedious and fatiguing journey we arrived in this city in the evening of the 4 inst.

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[1] William Richard Hamilton (1777–1859), under-secretary for foreign affairs 1809–1822.

[2] The unsuccessful congress at Châtillon met Feb. 5.

[3] Sir William Schaw Cathcart, tenth Baron Cathcart (1755–1843), ambassador and military commissioner with the Russian army 1813–1814; ambassador at St. Petersburg 1814–1821.

[4] George Hamilton Gordon, fourth earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860), at this time ambassador extraordinary at Vienna.

[5] Sir Charles William Stewart (1778–1854), afterward third marquis of Londonderry, half-brother of Castlereagh, British minister to Russia in 1813, ambassador at Vienna in 1814.

[6] Napoleon had on Feb. 11, 12, and 13, defeated and driven back York, Sacken, and Blücher, compelling the retreat of the entire Silesian army.

The journey was performed without accident or any material occurrence. For my own part I find my health much improved since I left St. Petersburg.

I have been met here by Mr. Strong, a Messenger from the Department of State, who was the Bearer of a joint Despatch addressed to you and myself at St. Petersberg, and a copy of which I have the honor herewith to transmit to you. He was charged also with a separate despatch for yourself, which induces him to prosecute his journey to St. Petersberg. He will deliver to you the latest newspapers and communicate the most recent information received from the U States.

It appears that a direct negociation for peace to take place at Gottenberg has been agreed upon by our Govt. and that of G. B. and that we are appointed Commissioners to act on the occasion in conjunction with Messrs. Clay and Russel as Comrs. on the part of the U. S.

It is not known here that Commissioners have been as yet appointed upon the part of the British Govt.[1]

In compliance with the order contained in the despatch I shall take care to be in Gott. in due time. You will hardly have it in your power to reach that place before the 1 May.

It is a *conjecture* of Mr. Strong that the Comrs. from the U. S. will not sail before the 1st of April, but I am inclined to think from information thro' other channels that they will sail before that time.

Have the goodness to recollect to bring with you such of the Documents which we brought from America and left in your possession as you may suppose useful in relation to the subjects of negociation.

We expected to have found the *Neptune* in some port of Holland, upon our arrival here, but we have no tidings of her. It is supposed she is frozen up at Gottenberg. Mr. G. proposes taking the ship as soon as she arrives, and returning in her to the U. S. I think she ought to remain in Europe, till the arrival of the Comrs. from the U. S. and the opening of the conference at G. This in all probability would not cause an additional detention of more than 15 or 20 days. I beg to be presented to Mrs. A. and to Mr. and Mrs. S.[2]

Post S.—Mr. Bourne our Consul has this moment put into my hands a letter from Mr. Beasly dated London 1 March which states the arrival of a neutral vessel which left Boston the 20 of Jany. and brings information that Messrs. Clay and Russel were expected to embark at Boston for Gottenberg about the 20th of February.

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[1] Nor were they appointed until July 3.

[2] Mrs. Adams and, probably, Mr. and Mrs. William Steuben Smith, Smith being a nephew of Adams who was then in St. Petersburg—son of W. S. Smith.

I have thought it proper to forward to you the printed copy of the Presidents message of the 6 of Jany.[1] accompanied with the Letter etc. referred to in the despatch of which I retain no copy not having had time to make one.

Mem. *6 March 1814.*—Transmitted to Mr. Adams at St. Petersberg a copy of the despatch of the Secretary of State of the 8 of Jany. 1814, also the Printed copy of the Presidents Message of the 6th, accompanied with a copy of Letters of Lord Castlereagh of the 4th of November 1813 to the Secretary of State, of a note of Lord Cathcart to the Count de Nesselrode dated Toplitz 1 Sept. 1813, and the reply of the Secretary of State to Lord Castlereagh of the 5 of Jany. 1813.

Alexander Baring to Bayard.[2]

London, *15 March 1814.*

Dear Sir: I take the liberty of replying in my own name to the letter with which you honoured my House of the 7th inst. The third bills of the remittance you enclosed for £1135–8–4– Meyer and Bruxner[3] on Ths. Wilson at two months sight are sent out for acceptance and shall when due be carried to your credit. We have never received the firsts and seconds of those Bills which we presume must be in the mails frozen up at Gottenburg of which there are at present eighteen due. Your drafts on my House on the other hand for—

£ 50. from Riga
" 100. " Konigsburg } which appeared some time ago
" 60. " Berlin which appeared this morning

are all accepted on presentation and shall be charged to your account. My House will have great pleasure in making themselves useful and I beg you will command their services on all occasions. I need hardly request that you will please to draw upon them as you want money at short [notice] without any reference to the maturity of your remittances. Your letter having only reached me this morning I can not give you any further information on the subject of your inquiry than what occurs to me at the moment, but by the next mail I hope to be able to speak with more precision. I do not believe that our Government have yet made any appointment of Commissioners to meet you at Gothenburg. Lord Castlereagh who is at the head of the Foreign office is, as you know, in France, but expected very shortly to return.

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[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621.

[2] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. This letter was addressed to Bayard at Amsterdam.

[3] Meyer and Bruxner, St. Petersburg bankers. Portions of Bayard's accounts with them are among the Bayard Papers, but are not printed here.

It is supposed that he will certainly be here before the 21st inst. to which day Parliament is adjourned. As it was not expected that he would remain so long abroad, and as it appears that Your Commissioners from America will not for some time be in Europe I conclude that the question will remain dormant here until his return, but I have no doubt that an appointment will then be made without delay and that it will be made in time to meet Your Commissioners as soon as they can assemble. All this is of course mere conjecture. I wish I could believe in more eagerness on both sides for so salutary a work although I have little apprehension of the result when they are met. I am quite sure I can answer without further inquiry for the sincere disposition on the part of Government here to give every accomodation to you or any gentleman connected with this Mission that they can desire if you should prefer proceeding through this country to Gothenburg. For myself, I beg to repeat my request that you will dispose of me on all occasions and believe me Dear Sir.

Beasley to Adams.

London, *15th March 1814.*

Sir: All the Letters which I have written to you since the 24th December viâ Gothenburg were returned a few days ago, the Packets, on account of the Ice, not being able to approach that port. To add to this disappointment, Mr. Strong left on board the Packet in which he embarked for Holland, nearly the whole of the dispatches for yourself, as well as those put under his charge by Count Lieven from Mr Daschkoff.

I have been much vexed at this man's conduct from the first of my seeing him, as he appeared to be careless of every thing but his private business. As you may imagine, Count Lieven was much concerned at the delay which his negligence has occasioned. The Count has politely offered to send this Letter and your dispatches by a Courier whom he dispatches this night for St. Petersburg. There are several parcels; if he should not be able to take the whole, Mr. Dallas, who leaves this on Friday next to join Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard at Amsterdam, will take the remainder over.

The last accounts from the United States to the 30th January state that Messrs. Clay and Russell would sail from New York on the 20th February in the *John Adams* Frigate.

I am much pressed for time; you will please excuse the manner of this.

I send you some newspapers.

BAYARD TO MONROE.[1]

AMSTERDAM, *16 March 1814.*

SIR: I had the honor to receive on the 4th inst. your despatch of the 8th of January addressed to Mr. Adams and myself at St. Petersburg containing information of the arrangement of a negociation to be held at Gottenberg directly between the United States and Great Britain, of the intention of the President to include Mr. Adams and myself in the nomination to be made on the occasion to the Senate and expressing his wish that we should immediately repair to the appointed rendezvous.[2] A copy of your letter and the documents which accompanied it I forwarded to Mr. Adams on the 7 inst. by Mr. Strong the messenger, who was detained here several days in making preparations which he considered necessary for his journey. I do not think it likely that he will reach St. Petersburg before the 5 of April nor that Mr. Adams will arrive at Gottenburg before the 1st of May. Should the passage of the gulf of Bothnia at Abo be obstructed by floating ice at the time when Mr. Adams undertakes his journey (which as the winter in the north of Europe has been unusually rigorous is to be apprehended) the circuitous route which he will be obliged to take will retard his arrival at Gottenberg to a later period than the one mentioned.

On my own part I shall not fail in repairing to the place of rendezvous in due time. At present Gottenberg is not accessible on account of the ice. The last packets which sailed from England for that port were obliged to return without being able to land their mails (*there or in any other port of Sweden*).

Our advices from London are to the 8th inst.[3] at which time no commissioners had been appointed on the part of Great Britain to carry on the proposed negociation, and the letters and papers which have been received do not even offer a conjecture as to the probable time when such appointment will be made.[4]

Mr. Gallatin and myself left St. Petersburg on the 25 of January and arrived here on the 4 inst. The journey exceeded 1500 miles. The Despatches which Mr. Adams and myself had the honor to address to you from St. Petersburg will disclose the reasons which induced me to quit that Capital without waiting for the Special order of my Government on the subject.

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[1] The letter here printed is Bayard's copy, now among the papers of Mr. Richard H. Bayard. A copy of the same letter, dated March 17, in the State Department ("American Commissioners Ghent, etc., 1813–1816") differs in several respects.

[2] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 701.

[3] The letter in the State Department reads "to the 11th inst."

[4] The two paragraphs which follow have been deleted in the draft found in the Bayard Papers and with the exception of the first two sentences of the first paragraph do not appear in the letter in the State Department.

Thinking that it belonged to the Russian Governmt to decide whether the mediation of his Imperial Majesty was accepted or rejected on the part of G. Britain, we long waited to receive its declaration on the subject. But in the end being all of us convinced that no such declaration could be obtained and having abundand evidence to satisfy us that the mediation was refused I felt it my duty not to protract a public residence abroad from which no probability remained that any public benefit would result.

I avail myself of the occasion to transmit a copy of a note addressed to me by Mr. Harris 17 Jany. detailing conversations which he had with Count Romanzoff at my instance.[1] It discloses one of the causes of the embarrassment and delay which attended our communications with the Russian Govt. and the hopeless prospect of receiving from the Chancellor an official declaration of the rejection of the mediation.

Beasley to Bayard.

London, *March 18th, 1814.*

Sir: It was too late when I received Mr. Bourne's letter last tuesday announcing your arrival at Amsterdam to write to you by the Mail of that day.

I send this letter by Mr. Dallas who has offered his services to take to Holland the Dispatches for yourself and Mr. Adams which were left on board the Packet by Mr. Strong.

I have the honor to transmit copies of three letters which I wrote to you via Gothenburg; also of two addressed to Mr. Adams: that of the 18th Ultimo was returned to me with the Dispatches; both are now gone forward by Count Lieven's Courier.

These copies and the Newspapers which I send herewith, will put you in possession of all the information I have relative to our affairs and to passing events.

There have been many reports, within the last few days, among the rest, that this Government would require, previous to entering upon any negociation, the restoration to the ordinary state of Prisoners-of-War, all those British subjects held as hostages by our Government to answer for those Prisoners sent to this Country from Canada for trial; that we must renounce all trade beyond the Cape of Goodhope, and to the West Indies, as well as the privilege of Fishing on the banks of Newfoundland etc.

As I am on, some what, familiar terms with Mr. Hamilton, under Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, I asked him a few days ago his private opinion as to the persons who would probably be appointed to meet our Commissioners; adding that it would be

[1] See pp. 252–254.

agreeable to me to be able to say some thing on that subject by the *Fair American*. He assured me that nothing had occurred to enable him to meet my wishes in that respect. He informed me that Lord Castlereagh would return in the course of a few days.

The people generally in this Country are much opposed to making Peace with Napoleon.

I have nothing new from Mr. Crawford.

The *Fair American* will not sail before the 1st of next month, letters written on the receipt of this may probably be in time to go by her. I need not say that I shall be happy to take charge of any you may have, as well as to be useful to you in any other way.

The weather is still cold, the *Neptune* is not likely to reach Holland before the 15th April; it is probable much later.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Amsterdam, *19 March 1814.*

My dear Cousin: Here am I at Amsterdam, a city which I as little expected to visit as the moon when I left the United States. I took my departure from St. Petersberg the 25 of January and arrived in this place the 5th inst. The journey was a terrific one. I started at 10 oclock at night in a snow storm in the most rigorous season of the year. In the first 28 days, we had 22 days of hard snowing. I think there were but two days on the road that we had even a glimpse of the sun. Nothing could be more waste and dreary than the appearance of the Country. A boundless expanse of snow. Not a tree nor house nor object of any kind to arrest the eye. The population of the Country is contained in villages and these are widely separated. We generally travelled all night, and of course slept in our carriages.

The depth of the snow rendered the roads almost impassible. With 8 horses to draw me alone I was once 13 hours coming 14 miles. We passed thro Riga, Konigsberg, Frankfort on the Oder, Berlin, Hanover, Utrecht, and many other towns of less note, in the course of our route. We were four different times obliged to leave the post road on account of fortified towns still held by the French.

The last was Naarden, which is not more than 12 miles from Amsterdam, and which holds out with a garrison not exceeding 800 men, who frequently make incursions into the Country. The Dutch have few Soldiers and those miserably armed. Those whom I have seen here carry nothing but a pike.

It is something singular that on the continent you get no news but what comes from England. It was so at St. Petersberg, and at Berlin and it is so here. I can send you no intelligence as to Military

transactions, which you will not have received before my letter reaches you, as it will have to travel thro' England. Before we left St. Petersberg we sent orders to our ship at Gottenberg to join us in Holland and I fondly hoped that I should shortly see my native land.

The *Neptune* has not yet arrived and we are informed that she is frozen up at Gottenberg. In England there are 18 mails due from that place, and the last packets which sailed for the port were prevented by ice from approaching any part of the swedish coast, and returned without landing their mails.

Mr. Gallatin will return in the *Neptune*, but I am ordered to Gottenberg.

The disappointment in [not] returning home is great, but I derive some consolation from a consideration of the nature of the service which is to detain me.

I expect to leave this place for Harwich in a few days, and if there be nothing to prevent it I shall take a look at London, before I proceed to Sweden.

G. Britain has not yet appointed her commissioners. Ours from the U States have not yet arrived, nor could they land at present to the north except in some port of Norway, and Mr. Adams from St. Petersberg cannot reach Gottenberg before the month of May.

I should have been much better pleased if Amsterdam or the Hague had been fixed upon for the rendezvous instead of Gottenberg which is a vile place but I presume the revolution in Holland[1] was not known when it was selected.

I cannot flatter myself with the expectation of being at home before the approach of autumn. There is nothing pleasant in the prospect, but the possible good which may be done. A man is not fit to go abroad for a length of time who leaves a family at home. I have passed many sad and mournful momements since I left the U States. You meet with nothing in a strange land to fill that space in the heart which belongs to wife and children.

The only letters which I have received from home since I left you are one from you and one from my son Richard both dated in June.

I wrote many letters from St. Petersberg to my family and friends, of course several to you, but I am wholly ignorant of what has become of them.

I wrote to my wife a few days ago under cover to the Messrs. Barings, London. Be so good as to inform her of the fact.

Present me affectionately to Mrs. B and your children. And believe me sincerely yours.

[1] The risings against the French in November, and the establishment of the Prince of Orange as sovereign on Dec. 1, 1813.

Bayard to Beasley.

Amsterdam, *25 March 1814.*

Sir: I had the satisfaction to receive by Mr. Dallas your letter of the 18 inst. accompanied by Copies of your letters of the 4th, 8th, and 15th ulto. and files of English and American Newspapers, for which I return you many thanks. The packages it seems ought to have come over by Mr. Strong, whose conduct as a Messenger trusted with important public papers has been very singular and very reprehensible.

Upon my arrival here on the 4th he delivered to me a small packet addressed jointly to Mr. Adams and myself and shewed me another of the same size to the separate address of Mr. Adams, with which he told me he meant to proceed to St. Petersberg. He never intimited that he had left any papers behind him except some newspapers and he left us on the 8th without even communicating the information necessary to enable us to take steps to repair the fault he had committed.

The Despatch from the Secretary of State which is dated on the 8th of Jany. contains an official notification to Mr. A. and myself of the intention of the President to include us in the nomination designed to be made to the Senate in relation to the negociation agreed to be held at Gottenburgh, and expresses the wish of the President that we should immediately repair to the appointed rendezvous. It is not my intention to proceed immediately to Got. as their is no probabil[it]y of the Comrs. of either Govt. being there for some time.

I have it in view to pass over to England, where I shall be in the way of recg better and earlier information of any occurrences which ought to regulate my movements, and I of course entertain the hope of having the pleasure in a few days of seeing you in London.

Clay and Russell to Bayard and Gallatin.[1]

Gottenburg, *14 April 1814.*

Gentlemen: The President of the United States with the approbation of the Senate having appointed Mr. Adams, you and us jointly and severally to treat at this place with a Minister or Ministers appointed by Great Britain of the differences subsisting between the two Countries we sailed from New York on the 25th of February last in the United States corvette *John Adams* and reached here last night to proceed to the execution of the trust confided to us. No British Commissioners have arrived nor do we know of the appointment of any. We have communicated to Mr. Adams who is

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

also absent information of our arrival. It will give us much pleasure to be joined by you as early as your convenience may admit. We do not send by the Bearer Mr. Shaler any packets or letters with which we are charged for you lest he might be prevented from delivering of them by your having left Amsterdam before he reaches it.

We have the satisfaction however to inform you of the health of your respective Ladies and families when we sailed, shortly before which they were seen by one or both of us.

You will find by a copy of the enclosed note from the Secretary of State[1] that Mr. Shaler is attached to the Mission. We have sent by him despatches from the Government to Mr. Crawford and subject to your approbation we have assigned to him the execution of a confidential service which he will explain to you. Under the same restriction we have drawn on Messrs. Willinks and Van Staphorst at Amsterdam for one years compensation in his behalf. If you approve of it, you will subjoin your signatures to the draft.

Clay and Russell to Adams.[2]

Gottenburg, *14 April 1814.*

Sir: You will have learnt thro Mr. Strong of the accession of the President of the United States to a British overture to treat of peace between the two Countries at this place and of your appointment with Mr. Bayard and us to represent our Government. Subsequent to the departure of Mr. Strong from America, Mr. Gallatin was associated in the Commission. We sailed from New York on the 25th of February last in the United States corvette *John Adams* and reached here yesterday to be in readiness to proceed to the execution of our duty. We have communicated to Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin, supposed to be at Amsterdam, information of our arrival, and it will give us much pleasure to be joined by you and them as soon as your convenience may admit. We know nothing of the measures which the British Government may have adopted to give effect to the negociation.

We are charged with sundry packets and letters for you which we shall retain till you join us or direct what disposition we shall make of them. This letter is committed to the mail.

Clay and Russell to Adams.[2]

Gottenburg, *16 Apl. 1814.*

Sir: To multiply the chances of your obtaining information of our arrival and to insure a safe delivery of sundry despatches for the

[1] See p. 256.

[2] From Bayard's letter-book.

American Consul at St. Petersburg some what earlier and with more expedition than he otherwise would have done, we have engaged the Bearer hereof Mr. Lewis to proceed to St. Petersburg. We enclose herein a copy of a letter which we forwarded to you by the mail. We still retain your letters etc. because of the probability of your having left Russia before Mr. Lewis arrival[1] and the uncertainty of his meeting with you. We take pleasure in recommending this young Countryman of ours to your notice. He accompanied us on the voyage and interested us extremely by his amiable and ob'liging disposition.

Clay and Russell to Willink and Van Staphorst.[2]

Gottenburg, *16 April 1814.*

Gentlemen: According to the power vested in us by the President of the United States we have this day drawn on you at sight in favor of William Shaler Esq. for two thousand dollars which we desire you to pay and charge to the account of the United States as a contingent expence of this Mission for one years salary of the said Shaler.

Clay and Russell to Monroe.[2]

Gottenburg, *20 April, 1814.*

Sir: We reached this place on the 14th inst. The ice not admitting of the *John Adams* coming up the river she came to anchor in a harbour near to its mouth about 12 miles from Gottenburg where we were landed. We understand that our Colleagues Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin are in England. Of Mr. Adams movements we are unadvised. We have conveyed them intelligence of their appointments.

We commit this despatch to the chances of finding a conveyance to America thro England without knowing the direction it may take.

Bayard to Clay and Russell.[3]

London, *20th April 1814.*

Gentlemen: The mail of last evening brought the intelligence of your arrival at Gottenburg. I present you my congratulations upon your safe passage across the Atlantic. Mr. Gallatin and myself left St. Petersburg on the 25th of January and arrived at Amsterdam on the 4th of March. In that city we received the first advice of the

[1] Adams left St. Petersburg Apr. 28.

[2] From Bayard's letter-book.

[3] Library of Brown University, Russell Papers ("book with marble-paper sides"), 183–187; printed in "Private Correspondence of Henry Clay", 28–29.

direct negotiation proposed to be held between the United States and Great Britain at Gottenburg and of the intention of our government to send additional commissioners from America. Knowing that some time would elapse before your arrival in Europe and also before the appointment of commissioners on the part of this government we thought it likely that more good might result in spending the interval in this country rather than in Holland. We came over on the 9th inst. at a moment not very propitious to the objects we had in view. The Allies had taken possesion of Paris and the next day brought the news of Bonaparte's formal abdication of the thrones of France and Italy.[1] The intelligence completely turned the heads of all ranks who seem to have thought of nothing since but the means of manifesting their joy on the occasion. It is much to be apprehended that this great and unexpected event will have an unfavorable influence upon the state of affairs between the United States and Great Britain. There is reason to think that it has materially changed the views of the British ministry. In fact the sudden reduction of their naval and military establishments would create much embarrassment and the American war furnishes too good a pretext to avoid it, and the great augmen[ta]tion of their disposable force presents an additional temptation to prosecute the war. You must also know that the temper of the country is highly excited against us and decidedly expressed in favor of the continuance of hostilities. I do not however pretend to speak at present with any certainty of the intentions of the government for we have had no communication with any member of it. I think they have avoided any intercourse with us, but this may be attributed to the absence of Lord Castlereagh and the indisposition of the other ministers to interfere with the affairs of his department. We cannot learn that any step has yet been taken towards the selection of characters to be charged with the negotiation on the part of this government. It is stated and upon such authority as to deserve credit that no appointment will be made till the government is officially notified of the appointment of the American commissioners and of their arrival at the place of rendezvous. Mr. G and myself have thought it therefore of sufficient importance to dispatch a special messenger to apprize you of the fact and to enable you by his return without loss of time to make the official communication. If there be a discretion on the subject we would strongly recommend that some town in Holland should be substituted in lieu of Gottenburg as the seat of negotiation.[2] There can be no doubt that the

[1] The Allies had entered Paris Mar. 31; Napoleon's abdication was written Apr. 4.

[2] Gallatin also suggested this change to Clay in his letter of Apr. 22. "Writings of Gallatin", I, 606. Bayard and Gallatin wrote to Monroe, May 6, proposing the change, and on May 23 they notified him that Bathurst had suggested the substitution of Ghent (see p. 307) and that they had agreed and had notified Adams, Clay, and Russell. Bayard and Gallatin to Monroe, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 613, 618; Bayard and Gallatin to Adams, Clay, and Russell, May 17, ibid., 617.

change would facilitate and accelerate the result. You may rely on the friendly dispos[it]ions of the Prince of Orange of which we had distinguished proofs during a short residence at Amsterdam. One of the first acts of the government of the Prince was to nominate a minister to the United States.[1] I shall remain in London till I have the pleasure of hearing from you unless (which is not to be expected) in the mean time commissioners should be appointed on the part of this government. This letter will be delivered you by Colo. Milligan who accompanied me as private secretary to St. Petersburg. He is deserving of your confidence and I beg leave to recommend him to your attentions.

Clay and Russell to Bayard and Gallatin.[2]

Gottenburg, *20 April 1814.*

Gentlemen: We despatched a Messenger to Amsterdam by the way of Copenhagen on the 17th inst. to inform you of the appointment of each of you with Mr. Adams and us to conduct on the part of America the proposed negociation at this place with Great Britain. And of our arrival here in the Corvette *John Adams* on the 14 instant. We did not send the letters etc. which we brought for you. And we do not now because we thought the most certain if not the most speedy delivery of them would be ensured by their remaining here. We have the pleasure of informing you of the health of your families when we left America your Ladies having been seen by one or both of us just before we sailed.

Clay to Monroe.[2]

Gottenburg, *23 April 1814.*

Sir: I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by a Swedish vessel bound to Boston to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a despatch from Mr. Russell and myself. Since its date that Gentleman has proceeded to Stockholm where he will remain until he is notified of the necessity of his Attendance here. A letter from Mr. Gallatin to Capt. Jones of the *Neptune* which wintered here directs that vessel to proceed to Harwich in England where he and Mr. Bayard had arrived on the 8th inst. I presume that they are there or at London. Mr. G. heard of his appointment and I presume that I shall in a few days have the satisfaction of being joined by him and Mr. Bayard.

Of the wonderful events which have occurred in France you will have been informed by a channel less circuitous than this. The Cap-

[1] F. D. Changuion, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Netherlands, October, 1814–July, 1815.

[2] From Bayard's letter-book.

ture of Paris by the Allies on the 31 March appears to have been followed by a declaration on the part of the Senate headed by Talleyrand, that Bonaparte had forfeited the throne, and no doubt exists of the acquiescence of France in this declaration. His power may therefore be considered as at an end and Louis the 18th is I presume at this moment quietly seated upon the throne. Indeed it is rumoured here that Bonaparte has acceded to a proposition of the Allies to retire to the Island of Elba upon an establishment suited to his fallen condition. A new epoch has thus arisen the first effect of which will be an European peace. It will doubtless lead to totally new relations political as well as commercial. It remains for us to see if Great Britain will insist upon retaining or surrender her conquests, and admit other nations to a fair participation in the general commerce of the world. Whilst the sole principle which actuated the Allies was the reduction of french power there appears to have been a hearty concurrence and cooperation between them. We shall see if sentiments of moderation and harmony will continue to guide their Councils when delicate and difficult arrangements are to be made among themselves.

It will cost Sweden some trouble to possess herself of her new acquisition.[1] The people of Norway are said to be extremely averse to the annexation, and countenanced as Sweden suspects by Denmark are preparing to resist it. From the scanty resources of Norway I should suppose however that the resistance must be entirely ineffectual unless the aid now covertly given by Denmark if given at all should lead to a War between the two countries, and unless also that Great Britain in the new circumstances in which she may find herself sees it her interest to support the Norwegians.

I rely upon your goodness for excusing the liberty I take in enclosing the letters for my family to your care that they may be put into the Post office at Washington.

Bayard to Rodney.

London, *May 1, 1814.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 243–244; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 34–36.]

Clay to Russell.[2]

Gottenburg, *1 May 1814.*

My dear Sir: Mr. Milligan private Secretary of Mr. Bayard arrived here last evening from London in the packet charged with a

[1] Frederick VI had ceded Norway to Sweden by the treaty of Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814.
[2] From Bayard's letter-book; see "Writings of Gallatin", I, 606–608.

dispatch from Him to us and with a private from Mr. Gallatin to me of each of which I have the pleasure to enclose you a copy herein. You will perceive from the perusal of them that they have for their object mainly a change in the theatre of the proposed negociation with Great Britain. On this delicate question I have regretted extremely that I could not have the benefit of yours and Mr. Adams opinion and advice. The first enquiry is as to the power to take the step, and the nature of our instructions. Our Commissions oppose no obstacle to it, not being at all limited as to place. I recollect that before the Commissions were made out asking the President if they would restrict us to this place and his observing that they had been presented to him for his signature so prepared, but he had ordered them to be changed which was accordingly done to their present unrestricted form. Neither are we limited by the instructions to Gottenburg, but they certainly contemplate Sweden as the scene of negociation. The motives which led to this selection undoubtedly were the neutrality of the territory, the friendly dispositions of the crown Prince[1] towards us, and the facility of keeping up a correspondence which might be deemed expedient thro yourself and Mr. Adams with the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg. All these reasons would equally apply to Holland, unless the removal of the place of the negociation would create coolness on the part of the Swedish Government.

There are additional reasons indeed to recommend Holland. It would be a complement to the new Government manifesting our confidence in its friendship and merited by the step which it hastened to take immediately after its establishment of sending a Minister to America.

It would afford us more frequent opportunities direct and indirect of communicating with our Government and giving also much greater facility to the communications between the British Ministers and theirs would thereby accelerate the termination of the Mission. Still if the substitution of Holland cannot be made without dissatisfaction to the Swedish Government I think we ought not to take the step. Of this you are the best judge. I can hardly however suppose it possible that this effect would be produced if it were understood that the change was at the instance of England. I shall therefore say to Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard by Mr. Milligan who returns on Wednesday in the packet that they have my consent to go to Holland if the arrangement can be so made that the responsibility of desiring it, whatever it may be, shall be assumed by the British Ministry. Of course I shall not because I cannot commit either yourself or Mr. Adams on the occasion. I shall not consent to go to London.

[1] Bernadotte.

American papers have been received in England, Mr. Milligan informs me bringing information down to the 12 March from Boston and New York. He says that he understood from them that a flag was to sail on the 15 April with despatches for us. That Granger[1] was removed from the office of Postmaster General and Governor Meigs[2] of Ohio appointed and that it was rumoured that Wilkinson was arrested.[3] We took a trip on Monday last to Trolhatta[4] and altho the weather was bad felt ourselves abundantly compensated for the jaunt in a view of the canal. I got into my rooms last evening. Mr. Hughes will proceed to London with Mr. Milligan. I fear my detention here will be much longer than I expected.

Clay to Bayard and Gallatin.[5]

Gottenburg, *2 May 1814.*

Gentlemen: Colo. Milligan arrived here the evening before last, and delivered to me Mr. Bayard's letter of the 20th Ulto. to Mr. Russell and myself[6] and that of Mr. Gallatin of the 22d to me alone. I was much gratified in being relieved by them from the uncertainty in which I was placed as to your movements and prospects. On your part you will have been extricated prior to the receipt of this letter from a more perplexing embarrassment (particularly in respect of Mr. Gallatin) as to the new Commission by the despatch forwarded by Capt. Jones in the *Neptune.*

It would have been highly satisfactory to me to have been assisted by our colleagues Messrs. Adams and Russell in deliberating upon the contents of your letters. But the latter Gentleman left this place on the 21st of April for Stockholm, where I am informed by a letter this moment received from him he arrived on the 25th. The object of his visit was to present his credentials and to establish those relations with the Swedish Government which may be deemed expedient, intending to return to this place the moment he should learn by your arrival that his presence was necessary. Of Mr. Adams I have no information except what is contained in the following paragraph of Mr. Russell's letter "Mr. Speyer received this morning (26 April) a letter from Mr. Adams dated 11th of this month on which he says he proposes to leave St. Petersberg about the 20 of this month

[1] Gideon Granger (1767–1822), postmaster-general from 1801 till 1814, when he was removed by Madison after his defiant appointment of Michael Leib to the office of postmaster of Philadelphia. Adams, "History", VII, 399–401.

[2] Return Jonathan Meigs (1734–1823), governor of Ohio 1811–1814, was nominated by Madison Feb. 25 and confirmed by the Senate Mar. 17. Adams, "History", VII, 401.

[3] Wilkinson had been summoned to a court of inquiry, Mar. 24. Adams, "History", VIII, 26.

[4] Trolhättan, some 45 miles north, up the river Göta and the Göta canal, which in 1814 was nearly finished.

[5] From Bayard's letter-book; printed in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 608–611.

[6] See pp. 285–287.

and hopes to arrive somewhere in Sweden by the first of May probably at Stockholm. His route he says will depend on the thermometer of the next ten days". Mr. Russell adds that he shall endeavour to be ready to accompany Mr. Adams should he pass by Stockholm to Gottenburgh. Being thus without the benefit of consulting with Mr. Adams or Mr. Russell I have given to the subject of your letters the best consideration in my power. With regard to changing the place of negociation it appears to me to be a measure attended with some difficulty and requiring on our part great delicacy. Before Mr. Russell left this place we learnt that the British chargé d'affaires at Stockholm had presented on the 9th of April a note to the Swedish Government informing it of the contemplated negociation here and asking its sanction to the measure. It was an obvious duty on the part of the Representative of our Government to solicit also from Sweden the hospitalities requisite to our condition here and altho Mr. Russell had no particular instruction to that effect he intended with my advice to present a note on the occasion the moment he was accredited. This I have no doubt he has done. The Swedish Government, thus officially informed by both Parties of the intended negociation here, must see with surprize if no other emotion another place so quickly substituted for Gottenburgh. I need not inform you that our Government counts much on the friendship of the northern Powers particularly Russia and Sweden. And altho I have no doubt that the crown Prince has lost in the scale of European affairs much of his weight by the great events which he has himself contributed to produce[1] we ought not lightly to jeopardize his friendship. But it is highly probable that the President had he foreseen what has occurred since the date of our instructions would have deemed Holland equally eligible with this place, if not more so. And I am prepared in this instance and in all others to give our instructions a liberal interpretation with a view to the wonderful revolutions which have recently occured.

If therefore any place in Holland can be substituted for Gottenburg in such manner as that the change shall be understood to be at the instance of Great Britain, you have my consent to make it. Being thus brought about, such explanations may be made to Sweden as will not only retain to us her friendship but cast upon the other Party all the unfriendly consequences should there be any growing out of the measure.

I enclose herein an extract from a letter I forwarded this morning to Mr. Russell to put him in possession of the proposed change and my views of it.[2]

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[1] I. e., by the fall of Napoleon.

[2] See pp. 288–290.

With regard to going to London with great deference for the opinion of Mr. Gallatin I really cannot concur in that measure. If there be a doubt as to what our Government has done to restore peace it cannot be on the side of its having done too little. A Power of less pretensions than the United States might with equal propriety after the rejection of the Russian Mediation have demanded that its own seat of Government should be the theatre for discussing propositions of peace.

Having waived this and acceded to one of the alternatives offered by the other Party I do not think we ought to submit to further condescensions, especially when we have yet to see the example in British history of that haughty people having been conciliated by the condescension of their enemy. I am deeply sensible of the magnitude of the present crisis, which I have endeavoured to view in all its consequences immediate and remote, and the result of my reflections is that we shall best promote the objects of our mission and acquit ourselves of our duty by preserving a firm and undismayed countenance. We have the chances in our favor of the continental negociations which are now or will shortly be going on.[1] It is impossible that Europe, liberated as it is from the despotism of Bonaparte, should be indifferent to the enormous power and enormous pretensions of Great Britain on the Ocean. It will assuredly, I presume, impose some limits on her. If she is wise she will readily acquiesce in them. The sympathy which she derived from the world generally under the supposition that she was contending for her existence and struggling for their liberties has ceased. If intoxicated by her present prosperity she reject the Councils of moderation and prudence that which Bonaparte attempted by compulsion will be accomplished by the voluntary consent of Europe. But I forbear. Indeed I ought to apologize for touching at all on a subject on which you are so much more competent to judge.

From the letter of Mr. Bayard I remark that it is thought by you proper that we should make some official communication to the British Government of our arrival here. The embarrassment which even if Mr. Russel had been here a minority of the mission might have felt on this subject is greatly encreased by my standing alone. It seems to me in the first place that having been invited here by the British Government, that Government ought by the promptitude of its own measures to have rendered unnecessary such a notification on our part. Waiving however this point of Etiquette (and I certainly am not going during this negociation to give consequence to any affair of mere etiquette) what could I alone, one of the five

[1] At the Congress of Vienna.

who compose the Commission, say to accelerate the movements of the other Party? It has therefore appeared to me more adviseable to transmit to you, which I now do, copies of the new Commissions[1] and of the new instructions which our Government has issued and to submit to you the making of such communication as may be adapted to the occasion, and I authorize if you deem it at all necessary any use whatever of my name in relation to it.

The packages and letters which we brought for you from America are sent by Col. Milligan and Mr. Hughes the Secretary of the Mission who accompanies him.

I regret now very much that they were not sent by Capt. Jones, but they were kept for reasons contained in the letter which he bore for you.

The fine qualities of Mr. Hughes cannot fail to interest you as they have done me very highly.

Bayard and Gallatin to Monroe.

May 6, 1814.

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 611.]

George B. Milligan to Bayard.

Harwich, *10th May 1814.*

My dear Sir: I had only time to write you a few lines this morng. accounting for my detention here. I have to regret it was not in my power to proceed immediately to London with the dispatches from Gottenbourg. Mr. Hughes's passport allowing him that liberty; and knowing you were anxious for the receipt of letters I was charged with, led me to advise him to proceed without delay, that you might receive the earliest information. I have to regret more particularly my being absent from you, as I had the pleasure of bringing on letters from Wilmington, which must have afforded you late and interesting news of home, and probably given some account of my friends there, from whom I have but a short and single letter. I reached Gottenbourg one week precisely after my leaving London. Your recommendations to Mr. Clay procured the most friendly reception. I remained there three days, and sailed on my return, with the first packet. Mr. C. expressed great surprise at your having visited England, and was expecting you every day when I arrived in Gottenbourg. He even hesitated as to the propriety of my returning, being under the impression that the letters he and Mr. R. wrote you on their

[1] See pp. 254–257, 263–265.

arrival, and which you must have received after my leaving England, would hurry you on to join them. With respect to the change proposed,[1] he saw many difficulties, and I think consented reluctantly to your proposition. The fact is, his Excellency is very commodiously and handsomely established, and either dislikes the idea of moving, or thinks it will occasion delay in commencing the negotiation. He is far from believing we stand in as much need of peace, as I think, your much better judgment is impressed with; and should Mr. R. coincide with his opinions, joined to the known violent sentiments of Mr. A, I should fear but little good will be produced by an immediate meeting. He disregards the threats of New England, and thinks that no danger is to be apprehended from the[i]r violence. I sincerely hope so, but am afraid he is too sanguine in his calculations. The late papers I have seen from that part of the country, breath their usual intemperance. I write you now, that in case you should have determined to proceed to Gottenbourg, you may think of making some arrangements as to your accomodations. Mr. Hughes says that there is sufficient room in the appartments Mr. Clay has taken to accomodate you, and that that Gentleman is anxious you should share them with him. I mention this, least application may be made from another quarter. Hughes will satisfy you, if you mention the subject to him. I am in hopes I shall be able to join you soon after the receipt of this, as I take it for granted Mr. Beasly will forward me the proper permission. It is impossible for me, my dear Sir, to express to you the obligations I must always consider myself under to you, for the many kind attentions I have received, and I shall never be so happy as when I have it in my power to convince you how sensible I am of your friendship.

P. S.—I saw Capt. Jones on board of the *Neptune* this morng. The treatment he has recd. here, has not been the most flattering. I think the orders for weighing his anchor, will be received with joy. He desires to be most respectfully presented to you.

BAYARD AND GALLATIN TO CASTLEREAGH.

May 13, 1814.

[See p. 306.]

BATHURST TO BAYARD AND GALLATIN.

May 16, 1814.

[See pp. 306–307.]

[1] The change from Gottenburg to Ghent.

CLAY TO BAYARD AND GALLATIN.[1]

GOTTENBURG, *16th May 1814.*

GENT.: On the 12th Inst. the Cartel *Chauncey* arrived here from N. York, whence she sailed on the 10th Ulto. charged with despatches for the joint mission and for our foreign ministers. She was originally engaged by Government to guard against any casualty which might have attended the *John Adams*, but before her departure a messenger arriving with despatches from Mr. Crawford, she was detained to afford an opportunity of transmitting an answer to them, and any comments, which they might authorize, to us. She brings Washington dates to the 7th, N. York to the 9th Ulto. The date of the last Despatch to us is the 4th of April. I should transmit you Copies of the despatches, which she has brought, if it were not for the uncertainty of this Letter finding you in London. But they are not very material, making no essential change in our former instructions.

The intelligence which she brings is, however, highly important. It appears that the President had on the 31st March, recommended to Congress a repeal of the Embargo and Non Importation System,[2] that very shortly after the Committee of foreign affairs made a report to the H. of Representatives, in favor of it.[3] Mr. Munroe says it is highly probable that it will pass. A private letter addressed to me states its actual passage through that House by 115 to 37.[4] I transmit to you a Copy of the Presidents Message, and news papers containing the report of the Committee, and the Speech of their Chairman,[5] from which you will be able to collect the motives which dictated this interesting measure. I would have forwarded to you a complete file of the N. Intellr.[6] from about the period of the sailing of the *John Adams* to the 5th of April, with wh. I have been furnished, but for the reason assigned in relation to the dispatches, and that I hourly expect Mr. Adams, who counted upon reaching this place on the 10th instant.

A Bill has passed Congress to quiet the Yazoo claims upon the basis of the compromise formerly recommended.[7] A proposition to

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[1] A copy of this letter was enclosed in a letter of Hughes to Bayard dated "London, Blenheim St., May 24th", in which Hughes says: "I am instructed by Mr. Gallatin to forward to you the enclosed copy of a dispatch received from Mr. Clay, by this days mail: it bears date 'the 16th May, Gottenburg.' Mr. Gallatin has received no other communication from Mr. Clay, and, of course, we are ignorant if there be any private letters for any of us, brought by the *Chauncey*, from our friends."

[2] Richardson, "Messages", I, 542.

[3] 13 Cong., 2 sess., Doc. No. 95. "Report [by Calhoun] on the Message of the President recommending the Repeal of the Embargo."

[4] "House Journals", Apr. 7.

[5] Calhoun spoke on the repeal Apr. 4 and Apr. 6. "Annals", 13 Cong., 2 sess., pt. II., 1962–1965, 1976–1978.

[6] National Intelligencer.

[7] Act of Mar. 31, 1814.

establish a National Bank was pending before Congress, and appeared to have gathered much strength.[1] The elections in Massachusetts and N. Hampshire,[2] though they eventuated in favor of the Federalists, demonstrate that that party has lost ground in N. England.

The engagement of the Government with the owner of the *Chauncey* terminates here, unless we choose to take her again, which of course I shall not do. A vessel being ready to sail for Amsterdam the moment the wind will admit of her getting out, I shall send Mr. Carroll[3] to Paris with the despatches for Mr. Crawford. On this, as on other occasions, I should have been highly gratified to have had it in my power to confer with some of my colleagues. Denied that advantage, it appeared to me eligible to send a special messenger with these despatches.

When the *Chauncey* sailed from America information had been received there of the advance of the allies within 60 miles of Paris. Opposite views, the result probably of opposite wishes, appeared to be taken of their further progress. The expectation however seem'd general of a general peace by the fall or by the consent of Bonaparte.

Having been without any packet from Harwich for more than a fortnight, one arrived yesterday, which I hoped would bring something to throw a cheerful light around me. I was disappointed in not receiving a line from any body on any subject. A vague report, traceable to no authentic source, circulates that Ad. Gambier and somebody else are appointed to treat with us.[4]

Mr. Russell, in a letter from Stockholm dated the 8th inst. expresses his concurrence and writes "The apprehension of any serious evil from this quarter occasioned thereby, is I trust without foundation. I regret however that I had not known the opinions of Messrs. G. and B. in season to have shaped my communications here accordingly. Something like a retrograde movement will now be necessary, and it may require some address to *reconcile this government* to the new arrangement. I hope it may be in our power to *throw the responsibility on the British Government* etc. "I am placed rather in an awkward predicament by your communication, as the uncertainty in which it *leaves* our *ultimate location* disqualifies me from adapting my movements here to either alternative."

The last like the former instructions display great solicitude on the part of the President to hasten the result of our mission, be it what it may.

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[1] Bill reported by the committee of ways and means, but not passed.

[2] The Massachusetts vote for governor had been: Strong (Fed.), 45,374, Dexter (Dem.), 45,359. The New Hampshire vote: Gilman (Fed.), 19,842, Plumer (Dem.), 19,195. "Niles' Register", June 4, and July 9, 1814.

[3] Henry Carroll was Clay's secretary.

[4] James, first Baron Gambier (1756–1833), admiral. His appointment, and that of Goulburn and Adams (see p. 299) were gazetted July 3.

[*Enclosure.*]

In a letter, dated at N. York, 9th April, addressed to Messrs. Gallatin and Clay by Abraham Barker and Co. they say: "Jacob Barker, (who was at Washington City) requests us to say, Government have received a letter from Sir Geo. Prevost on 5th instant, dated in Canada, March 22nd proposing an armistice and offering to appoint a Commissioner to meet one they may appoint to negotiate the terms. The Goyernt. believing from the tenor of the letter that the proposition was made with an honest desire to effect the object proposed with a view to peace, determined yesterday 6th Inst. in a Cabinet Council to open a negotiation with Sir Geo. provided he was authorized to conclude an armistice *by sea*, as well as by land. They wrote on the 7th inst. enquiring on that point, and as Sir George proposed it without saying a word about Sea or land, it is to be presumed that he has full authority, in which case we shall have an armistice in a very short time."[1]

BAYARD AND GALLATIN TO ADAMS, CLAY, AND RUSSELL.

May 17, 1814.

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 617.]

BAYARD AND GALLATIN TO BATHURST.

May 17, 1814.

[See p. 307.]

R. BOND[2] TO MRS. BAYARD.[3]

LONDON, *May 22nd, 1814.*

MY DEAR MRS. BAYARD: It gave me great pleasure to see Mr. Bayard in England, the pleasure would have been increased if you had accompanied him. He asked me to call and look at some dresses he had bespoken for you, I find them very fashionable and made by a firstclass dressmaker. As I did not think either of them youthful enough for your daughter, I took the liberty to ask Mr. Bayard to let me order one of my own dressmaker such as I thought would suit her first coming out and I hope she will exhibit it at the first Ball she appears at as a *Young Lady*. I hope neither you or Miss Bayard

[1] Prevost had entered into negotiations for an armistice with General Winder, an American prisoner, who transmitted the proposal to Washington. In response to this overture the United States sent Col. Ninian Pinkney and Prevost sent Adj.-Gen. Baynes to a conference at Champlain May 1. The conference, however, came to nothing. Kingsford, "History of Canada", VIII, 529–531; "Report on Canadian Archives", 1896, "State Papers, Lower Canada", pp. 24–28.

[2] Probably the same family to which Milligan refers in his letter of Sept. 30, 1814, see p. 342.

[3] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

will object to my quaker taste. It was made on my niece Miss Travis I had it made long as I think she promised to be tall—for you must recollect that *very short petticoats* are worn particularly for dancing. When the dress is dirty if well done up it will last a long time.

I have asked Mr. Milligan a great deal about his Aunt and Sisters. Remember me most kindly to them. My Brother and niece join me in this request as also to yourself and family.

We have been much longer absent than we expected but I hope our friends will not forget us. I sincerely hope Peace will soon enable us to return. We have seen a great deal but have still a great deal more to see.

Bayard and Gallatin to Monroe.

May 23, 1814.

[See Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 618.]

Clay to Russell and Adams.[1]

Gottenburg, *31 May 1814.*

Gentlemen: I had the satisfaction to learn from Mr. Russell's letter of the 25 inst. received this morning that Mr. Adams reached Stockholm on the 24th.

A packet arriving this morning from England I have also had the pleasure to receive despatches from our Colleagues there which I have deemed of a nature sufficiently important to justify sending Mr. Connel as a special messenger with them to you. Besides the casualties incidental to a conveyance by the mail he will anticipate its arrival in Stockholm two or three days.

You will see from these despatches the negociation is transferred to Ghent. I have ordered Capt. Angus to be in readiness with the *John Adams* to transport you to such port as you may think proper to direct, the moment you may arrive here. The officers inform me that she could sail this evening if it were necessary so that if you choose to go in her you will probably be subjected to no detention here. I shall myself proceed by land—will set out tomorrow and expect to get to Ghent before you.

If you do not choose to employ on this service the Corvette, you will have the goodness to inform Capt. Angus accordingly and direct him to proceed to the port the most convenient to Ghent, which I presume will be Antwerp or Ostend. He may in that case require some documentary protection. Such packages and letters (and there are a number) brought from America for Mr. Adams as Mr. Connel

[1] From Bayard's letter-book; printed in "Writings of Gallatin", I, 617–618.

could not conveniently take Charge of I shall place with some of Mr. Russell's goods and Chattels under the care of our excellent acquaintance Mr. Hall[1] to whom if you do not come here you will give the needful directions. Most of my baggage I shall put on board the *John Adams*.

I have engaged with Mr. Connel that his expences to Stockholm and back again shall be borne by the Government. As they cannot now be ascertained if you will advance the amount it will be reimbursed upon our meeting at Ghent. We may expect from America at this place other despatches. A flag was it is alleged to sail in twenty days after the *Chauncey*. I have directed the Consul here in the event of one arriving to detain it until you get here. It will I presume be necessary for you to leave some general order with him for the future.

[P. S.]—I send you a second set of Commissions for the Joint Mission to guard against any accident which may attend me, which were brought by the *Chauncey*.

Admiral Gambier Mr. Golsby[2] and Mr. Adams[3] are the British Commissioners appointed to treat with us. Mr. Bayard left London on the 23 of May for Ghent via Paris. Mr. Gallatin remained there on the 24th.

Lafayette to Alexander I.

COPIE DE LA LETTRE DU G'AL LA FAYETTE, MISE SOUS LES YEUX DE L'EMPEREUR DE RUSSIE.[4]

Après la phrase d'introduction, il dit,

Voici une Note que j'ai demandée a Mr. Crawford digne Ministre des Etats Unis. il S'est adressé a Mr. le Cte. de Neselrode pour être presenté a l'Empereur, et n'a pas eu de réponse. j'ai voulu qu'il put au moins faire comme simple Citoyen, le peu qui dépend de nous.

Sa Note établit l'état de lat question jugée d'ailleurs par le refus qu'ont fait les Anglais de la Médiation de leur Auguste allié tandis que les Etats Unis s'etaient emprêssés de lui envoyer des Négociateurs choisis dans les deux partis Nationaux.

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[1] American consul at Gottenburg.

[2] Henry Goulburn (1784–1856), at this time under-secretary for war and the colonies.

[3] William Adams, LL. D. (1772–1851), an eminent admiralty lawyer, chosen because of his knowledge of maritime law.

[4] On the entrance of the Allies into Paris Gallatin had written to Crawford that the emperor Alexander might now be able to exert some influence on the British ministry which would forward the cause of peace. Crawford, having tried in vain to reach the emperor through Nesselrode, requested Lafayette's help in approaching Alexander. In May Lafayette asked Crawford for a statement of the causes of complaint and this statement the emperor received. In addition to this Lafayette, on May 25, had a long conversation with the emperor on the subject at the house of Madame de Staël. Adams, "Writings of Gallatin", I, 602–624, passim.

On y voit, 1. que les Américains sont restés en arriere de ce que Catherine Seconde et les autres puissances avaient cru nécessaires a l'indépendance de tous les Peuples.

2. Que le Sistême des Blocus imaginaire n'était pas Soutenable, et que les Anglais ont rapporté depuis la déclaration de guerre leurs vexatoires Ordres du Conseil.

3. Que la Prêsse des Matelots sur des Bâtiments Neutres au gré du premier officier Anglais, etait d'autant plus intolérable que tandis que tout Matelot Etranger se trouve naturalisé, malgré lui, en Angleterre par deux ans de Navigation, il faut pour être naturalisé en Amérique cinq années de résidence a terre. les Américains ont même offert de nouvelles précautions pour prévenir les Contraventions a cette Loi.

Mais ce qu'on y voit de plus important pour le moment actuel, c'est que la Paix Européenne met fin a l'exercice de ces deux prétentions Britanniques, les Blocus Extensifs, et la prêsse des Matelots en pleine Mer.

Les Américains ont pris plus de terrein qu'ils n'en ont perdu; ils rentreront volontiers dans les limites respectives. Il serait non seulement ridicule mais coupable de leur demander plus: car ce ne pourrait être qu'avec le projet d' entretenir l'humeur guerriere des Sauvages et de contrarier les mesures adoptées pour leur Civilisation.

Il parait que d'anciens Souvenirs d'une Lutte favorable a la Liberté du nouveau Monde des blessures d'amour propre dans les Combats Maritimes de la guerre présente, quelques interêts de Monopole ou de Captures qui ne sont pas les vrais interêts de l'Angleterre y ont fomenté une disposition contraire a cette Paix si facile, puisque toutes les causes de Litige se trouvent anéanties par le fait.

L'Empereur Alexandre peut et parconséquent doit completer en cette occasion Sa noble fonction de Pacificateur, celui qui, ramenant la gloire a sa vraie Source et la Puissance a Son Légitime usage, ne S'est placé a la Tête du genre humain que pour en rechercher les Droits et le bonheur, ne mettra pas hors de Sa bienfaisante influence, un Peuple le plus Libre et le plus heureux de la Terre, dont les interêts sont communs avec ceux de la Russie et dont le voeu unanime a été de S'abandonner a Sa Médiation.

Clay to Bayard and Gallatin.[1]

Gottenburg, *1 June 1814.*

Gentlemen: I had the satisfaction yesterday to receive your letter of the 17 ult. addressed to Mr. Adams, Mr. Russell and myself.

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

These Gentlemen being in Stockholm which place Mr. Adams reached on the 24 ult. I sent off last evening a special messenger with your communication to them who will anticipate the arrival of the mail at Stockholm several days. I have directed the Corvette *John Adams* to be in readiness (and she will be so accordingly) to take them to Antwerp or any other port convenient to Ghent, the moment they arrive here, if they choose to go by sea. I shall proceed to-morrow by the way of Copenhagen and Bremen to Ghent and I hope to get there in three weeks at farthest. I should imagine by the solicitude manifested by Mr. Russell to open the negociation with which the Joint Mission is charged he will lose no time in hastening to Ghent in company I presume with Mr. Adams.

Other Commissions having been sent out for the Mission by the *Chauncey* to guard against the loss of the *John Adams* I have placed them at the disposal of Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell to provide for any contingency happening to me.

The passport with which the *Chauncey* was furnished by the British Admiral off the American coast is limited in its terms to the outward voyage. It was an unintentional omission to which our attention is called by Mr. Monroe who requests us to obtain from the British Commissioners presumed to be here the requisite protection for her return. Not being able to make application to them and there being no commander off this station within my knowle[d]ge who would be likely to grant the proper document you will see the propriety of procuring it at London. Some of the Passengers in that vessel have endeavoured to make the impression here that she violated her flag during the voyage. And as it is more than probable that the imputation may reach the British Government, the agent of the owner has put into my hands to refute it the enclosed extract from the log book which discloses the whole transaction in which the violation is alleged to have occurred.[1]

Du Pont de Nemours to [Bayard?][2]

PRINCIPES SUR LA NÉGOCIATION ENTRÈ LES ETATS-UNIS ET L'ANGLETERRE.

La premiere question à faire aux Négociateurs Anglais et à leur Gouvernement est celle-ci.

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[1] The enclosure was not copied into the letter-book.

[2] This is endorsed, "Recd. June 8, 1814", at which time Bayard was in Paris. It is at least not improbable that the memorandum is the work of the well-known economist Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, who had returned to France from this country in 1802, and who was, in 1814, secretary of the provisional government in Paris. On Napoleon's return from Elba he returned to America where he died in Wilmington, Del., Aug. 6, 1817.

"Voulez vous rendre *nationale* en Amérique votre guerre avec les Etats-unis?

"Si vous le voulez, la manière est très simple; employez y une grande force, envoyez y vos troupes disciplinées en Espagne, remportez des victoires, emparez vous d'une partie du Pays.

"Alors vous transformerez la guerre actuelle, qui n'est encore que de point d'honneur et de parti, en une Guerre qui interessera tous les citoyens américains; car ils ne renonceront certainement pas à être une République indépendante et une Puissance respectable.

"Vous avez contribué en aidant les Espagnols et les Portugais à montrer au monde ce que c'est qu'*une guerre nationale.*

"Vous ne voulez pas, et vous ne pourriez pas, exterminer les Américans. Ils sera impossible de les soumettre par la force. Si vous envoyez contre eux soixante mille hommes tous les ans, vous leur ferez un mal horrible, qui envenimera leur animosité, et vous y perdrez tous les ans vos soixante mille hommes.

"Vous y perdrez de plus chaque année un commerce de *trente trois millions de livres sterling.*

"Cette guerre pourrait durer quatre ou cinq ans sans aucun succes définitif. Mais votre bon sens, et les lumières sur vos véritables interêts et votre véritable gloire, dont vous donnez actuellement de belles preuves à l'Europe, vous y feront beaucoup plutôt renoncer.

"C'est pour cela que vous nommez des Plénipotentiaires.

"La guerre a deux causes, l'une ostensible, l'autre plus secrette.

"Vous avez voulu presser les matelots américains sur leurs vaisseaux.

"Ils ont dit que cela êtait aussi contraire à leurs droits que si vous les pressiez à New-York ou à Philadelphie.

"Vous avez repliqué que les matelots anglais désertaient, et servaient ensuite sur les Navires des Etats-Unis.

"Ils ont offert de ne laisser monter àbord aucun matelot, ni marin, né Anglais, Ecossais ou Irlandais.—Le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis est très fidele aux engagemens qu'il a contractés.

"La querelle sur ce point est donc finie.

"Voici l'autre objet de la guerre.

"Vous avez poussé une chaine de Forts ou Fortins, depuis les Lacs jusqu'au Mississipi. Vous cernez ainsi les Etats-Unis à l'Ouest. Vous leur ôtez la naturelle extension de leur territoire, la principale ressource de leurs Finances.

"C'est ce que les Français avaient voulu faire contre vous quand les *Etats*, aujourd'hui *unis*, étaient une de vos colonies.

"Vous ne l'avez pas souffert, et celle a été la principale cause de la guerre de 1756.

"les Etats unis ne doivent donc pas le souffrir.

"Vous avez des Establissemens à la Côte Ouest de l'Amérique, et il n'est pas impossible que vous les étendiez par la suite jusq'aux *Rocky-Hills*.

"Prenez les *Rocky-Hills* pour frontieres de ce côté entre les Establissemens à faire pas les deux nations.

"Tirons une ligne du dernier point de frontiere convenue au haut des lacs, à la source de la riviere la plus au nord affluente au Mississipi.

"Les Etats Unis ne disputeront à l'Angleterre aucun des terreins au nord de cette ligne.

"ne leur disputez aucun de ceux qui seront au Sud.

"Ce sont de part et d'autre des déserts. Il faudra deux mille ans pour les mettre en valeur. Cela ne vaut pas la peine de tuer aucun des Hommes qui vivent ou vivront dans le dixneuvieme siecle.

Gallatin to Castlereagh.

June 9, 1814.

[See p. 308.]

William R. Hamilton to Irving.[1]

June 15, 1814.

[See p. 309.]

Milligan to Bayard.

Ghent, *Monday morng, 27* [*June*].

My dear Sir: I returned last evening from Lille[2] and was disappointed in not finding you here. Messrs. Adams and Russel reached this place on Friday last. They saw Mr. Clay at Amsterdam. He intended leaving there on Saturday—of course will be here to day. The garrison in this place are now under arms, in waiting for the Emperor of Russia who is to pass thro sometime during the morning on his way from Ostend to the Hague. Mr. Gallatin will probably be here in a day or two, as he must have heard of the arrival of the *John Adams* at Amsterdam on the 20th several [da]ys ago.

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[1] Possibly George W. Erving.

[2] Milligan had reached Ghent June 22, had engaged lodgings for Bayard, and had then gone to Lille. Adams, "Memoirs", II, 653.

N. Cornelissen[1] to Bayard.

Monsieur: M. De meulemeester[2] parait croire que V. E. amis; que MM. vos collègues de l'Ambassade, ne verraient pas sans intéret une institution commencée depuis peu d'années, et peutêtre jusqu'a ce jour, unique sur le Continent.

La flore d'amérique, surtout de cette partie de l'amérique qui est heureuse sous votre gouvernement, fournit le plus à la beauté du salon des fleurs; elle est la patrie des Kalmies, des magnoliers et de plusiers rosages; peutêtre réverrez vous avec plaisir des Arbres indigènes à vos climats, transclimatés parmi nous, et souvent honorés de nos prix annuels.

Si V. E. juge que cette institution mérite les encouragemens que lui donnent les premiers magistrats de la ville, et des étrangers, les uns illustres dans la science de la botanique, les autres par la haute considération dont ils jouïssent, vous ne refuserez pas à M. Demeulemeester la faveur de vous présenter comme membres honoraires d'une société qui doit la grande partie de ses richesses à l'amérique septentrionale.

Vos loisirs[3] en ce moment vous permeteront d'honorer l'exposition publique de votre présence.

Gand
30 juin 1814

Bayard to N. Cornelissen.

Sir: I am very sensible of the kindness of Mr. Meulemeester and of your civility in procuring for myself and colleagues an opportunity of visiting the agricultural and botanical Society of Ghent.

[1] N. Cornelissen, secretary of the Academy of Design at Ghent, was an interested member of the Société d'Agriculture et de Botanique. Among the Bayard Papers is a copy of a pamphlet of 1816 by him entitled "Bouquet offert aux Bienfaiteurs" of that society consisting of a report presented by him to its council and adopted by the society. Attached to it are: a letter to Mrs. Bayard, in which the writer speaks of Mr. Bayard in terms of great affection; a copy of the portrait of Bayard engraved by St. Mémin; and a small but well-executed pencil portrait of him by Van Huffel, president of the Academy of Design. (See the introduction to this collection.)

Adams in October, 1814, says that he, Gallatin, and Bayard had been made honorary members of the Society of Fine Arts and of Letters, while Clay, Russell, and Hughes, were members of the Society of Agriculture and Botany. The division caused considerable feeling among the commissioners and it is evident that all five of them were later admitted to the second society. The album or "Livre d'Or" of the society still bears the signatures of Adams, Bayard, Clay, and Gallatin on a page blazoned with the emblems of the United States and dated Jan. 2, 1815. The pamphlet mentioned in the preceding paragraph has much to say of their relations to the society. Gallatin sent them many American plants. At their next winter exhibition, the catalogue of which is among the Bayard Papers, they were represented by various American plants, while at that of February, 1816, a cypress was exhibited in memory of Bayard.

[2] Mr. De Meulemeester Van Aken, a banker and member of the society, was the owner of an important botanical collection at Maltebrugghe.

[3] Four of the American commissioners were in Ghent, Adams and Russell had arrived June 24, Bayard June 27, Clay June 28. Gallatin arrived on July 6. But the British commissioners did not join them till Aug. 6.

Institutions of this nature are of great value and impo[r]tance in every country and deserving of the support of all who interest themselves in establishments designed to improve the condition of human life.

My Colleagues and myself cannot fail to appreciate the honor done us by the proposal thro Mr. M to present us as honorary Members of the Society.

ADMIRAL COCKBURN TO MONROE.

July 8, 1814.

[See p. 343.]

MONROE TO CASTLEREAGH.

July 11, 1814.

[See p. 344.]

COMMISSIONERS TO MONROE.[1]

Number one.

GHENT, *11 July 1814.*

SIR: At the time of the arrival of Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell at Gottenburg Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin were in London. They had reason to believe that no appointment of Commissioners on the part of Great Britain for the negociation of peace with the United States would be made until that Government should receive an official communication of the appointment of the Ministers for that purpose on the part of the United States. They had also received indirect intimations that from the change of circumstances in Europe since the proposal on the part of Great Britain of Gottenburg as the seat of negociation some place where the British Commissioners would be nearer to their Government and might have speedier and more frequent communication with them would be more convenient and acceptable to them.[2]

The suggestion was of some place in Holland. Col. Milligan was therefore despatched by Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin to Gottenburg to apprize Mr. Clay and Mr. Russel of the necessity of making the official communication to the British Government and to ascertain whether a change of the place of negociation was within the powers of the mission and the opinions of Mr. Clay and Mr. Russel with regard to its expediency. On the return of Col. Milligan to London Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin were enabled to make the official communication to the British Government which they did by a note addressed to Lord Castlereagh a copy of which marked 1

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

[2] See p. 286, note 2.

is herewith enclosed.[1] They also ascertained that the removal of the seat of negociation was within the competency of the mission and were authorized to consent to such a removal should it be proposed on the part of the British Government. On the 16th of May they received from Lord Bathurst a note and on the 17th returned to it an answer of which the enclosed papers marked 2 and 3 are copies.

On the 9th of June Mr. Gallatin addressed to Lord Castlereagh a note of which a copy is enclosed marked 4 and on the 15th Mr. Irving received from the Under Secretary of State Mr. Hamilton a paper the enclosed copy of which is marked 5.

Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell arrived here on the 24th, Mr. Bayard on the 27, and Mr. Clay on the 28th June and Mr. Gallatin on the 6th instant. We are now waiting for the arrival of the British Commissioners of whose appointment or departure we have no other information than that contained in the enclosed papers.

Bayard and Gallatin to Castlereagh.[2]

[*Enclosure.*]

The undersigned two of the Ministers Plenepotentiary and Extraordinary of the United States of America appointed in conjunction with Mr. Adams Minister of the United States at the Court of St. Petersburg and with Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell lately arrived at Gottenburg from the United States have the honor to transmit to Lord Castlereagh copies of the Commissions whereby they are empowered to negociate and to conclude a treaty of peace, with such persons as may be appointed for the same purpose by the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

These appointments have [been] made in conformity with the overture made by his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs to the Secretary of State of the United States of the date of November the 4, 1813,[3] for a direct negociation for peace and acceded to by the Government of the United States.

The undersigned avail themselves of the occasion to offer to Lord Castlereagh the assurance of their highest consideration.

Albemarle St.

May 13, 1814.

Bathurst[4] to Bayard and Gallatin.[5]

[*Enclosure.*]

The undersigned one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note addressed

[1] The enclosures mentioned follow, pp. 306–309.
[2] From Bayard's letter-book.
[3] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621.
[4] Henry Bathurst (1762–1834), secretary for war and the colonies 1812–1827.
[5] From Bayard's letter-book.

to Viscount Castlereagh on the 13 inst. by Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin announcing their appointment in conjunction with Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, and Mr. Russell to negociate and conclude on the part of the Government of the United States a treaty of peace with such persons as may be appointed for the same purpose by his Majesty and enclosing also copies of the Commissions whereby these Gentlemen are thereto empowered.

The undersigned has not delayed to lay Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin's communication before the Prince Regent and is commanded to acquaint them that his Royal Highness will forthwith appoint Commissioners on the part of his Majesty to meet the American Commissioners at such place as may suit the convenience of both Parties and to enter upon the negociation of a treaty for the happy restoration of peace and friendship between the two Countries. The American Commissioners must be aware with the undersigned that it was proposed by this Government in November last and the proposal was accepted by the President of the United States that the Commissioners should meet at Gottenburg in Sweden.

The Situation of affairs in Europe which led to this proposal have since undergone many important changes and it appears to the undersigned that other places on the continent might be named which would offer as few objections as Gottenburg and may be more eligible in point of ready communication and accommodation.

The undersigned is therefore commanded to suggest to the American Commissioners that instead of repairing to Gottenburg the negociations should be held at Ghent in the low Countries—an arrangement which the undersigned hopes will be satisfactory to the American Government. If however the American Commissioners object to any alteration of the place of negociation the Commissioners of the Prince Regent will have directions to repair to Gottenburg.

The undersigned request Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin to accept the assurance of his high Consideration.

FOREIGN OFFICE,
May 16, 1814.

BAYARD AND GALLATIN TO BATHURST.[1]

[*Enclosure.*]

The undersigned Ministers Plenepotentiary and Extraordinary of the United States of America, had the honor to receive the note of Lord Bathurst one of his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretaries of State of the 16th in answer to thier note of the 13th inst. and they hasten to express the satisfaction they derive from his Lordships

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

communication that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent would forthwith appoint Commissioners on the part of his Majesty to meet the American Commissioners at such place as might suit the convenience of both Parties to enter upon the negociation of a treaty for the happy restoration of peace and friendship between the two Countries.

The undersigned are fully aware that the situation of affairs in Europe is essentially changed since the time when it was proposed by this Government and acceded to by the Government of the United States that the Commissioners of the two Countries should meet at Gottenburg in Sweden and they are entirely disposed to select any other neutral place for the seat of the negociation more eligible in point of communication and accommodation

The undersigned believing that they do not depart from the principle which influenced their Government in agreeing to Gottenburg have no hesitation in acceding to the proposal made by Lord Bathurst for the substitution of Ghen[t] in the Low Countries. They will accordingly lose no time in apprising their Colleagues at Gottenburg of this change and in requesting them to repair immediately to Ghent as the place of meeting of the Commissioners.[1]

The undersigned request Lord Bathurst to accept the assurance of their distinguished consideration.

Albemarle Street
17 May 1814.

Gallatin to Castlereagh.[2]

[*Enclosure.*]

The undersigned one of the Ministers of the United States to treat of peace with Great Britain has the honor to inform Lord Castlereagh that Mr. Clay left Gottenburg on the 2d day of this month on his way to Ghent, that Messrs. Adams and Russell were expected to follow immediately after and that Mr. Bayard and himself being ready at any moment to repair to the last mentioned place he wishes before his departure to be informed of the time when the British Commissioners may be expected there.

The undersigned requests Lord Castlereagh to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

June 9, 1814.
9 Orchard Street
Portman Square.

[1] This was done in a letter written the same day, May 17. "Writings of Gallatin", I, 617.

[2] From Bayard's letter-book.

WILLIAM R. HAMILTON TO MR. IRVING.[1]

[*Enclosure.*]

Mr. Hamilton presents his compliments to Mr. Irving and has the honor to inform him in reference to Mr. Gallatins note to Lord Castlereagh that the British Commissioners will leave London for Ghent on or about the first day of July where it is presumed they will find the American Commissioners assembled.

FOREIGN OFFICE.
June 15, 1814.

BAYARD TO CAPT. JONES.[2]

GHENT, *19 July 1814.*
HOTEL DES PAYS BAS.

DEAR SIR: We have great occasion here for my books on board the ship.

They are contained in a large pine chest bound round with cords. I had them in St. Petersberg and they were sent down to the ship shortly before she sailed from Cronstadt.

The chest is very heavy, but I have learnt upon enquiry that it can be forwarded by the Diligence. I will thank you to send it to me, taking what care you may deem necessary for its safety. Please to inform me by the Post, by what conveyance it is sent and how directed.

BEASLEY TO BAYARD.

LONDON, *July 20th, 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have to beg your pardon for having delayed so long to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 14th. Ultimo. Considering my situation I am sure you will be indulgent. I observe you have paid into the hands of my Bankers 81.19 too much, for which sum I subjoin a Dft. on them.[3] Here is a copy of your statement:

1/4 10 Post horses from Boulogne to Paris 28 1/4 Post	425. 15	=105. 19
1/2 Post horses frm. Calais to Boulogne	43. "	= 21. 10
1/4 Expenses on the road	202. 16	= 50. 14
Searching Baggage	30. "	= 7. 10
Passage Money	". "	= ". 19
1/2 Carriage Expenses		100. "
		286. 12
1/4 Contingencies	53. 12	13. 8
		f 300. "

[1] From Bayard's letter-book. Possibly George W. Erving.

[2] Hist. Soc. of Penn., Dreer Collection, American Statesmen, vol. I. This letter is directed to Antwerp care of "Mr. Ozly, Austrian Consul", and is endorsed as having been received and answered on the 20th.

[3] The order enclosed is to Messrs. Mallet Frères and Co., and requests them to pay J. A. Bayard or order 81 livres and 19 sous. The editor declines responsibility for the figuring of either correspondent.

The errors are: The 19 francs placed under the head of sous, and the 100 carriage Expenses with which you can have nothing to do, I must have paid them at any rate; your having accepted a seat in the carriage not having added in the least to the Expense. The account will therefore stand thus:

105. 19	
21. 10	
50. 14	f 218. 1
7. 10	
19 "	
13. 8	

I have paid into the hands of your Bankers Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co. £25 for which I became your debtor at Dover.

The Gentlemen appointed by this Govt. to meet you do not appear in a hurry to leave this Country. I am still of opinion that they will not be with you before the 1st of next Month. It is some times reported that they are not going at all, at others, that they are waiting until intelligence is received from the U. States. For my part I believe none of them, not but I think it would be very agreeable to them not to meet you before their Army has succeeded in striking a blow. So far the odds have been greatly against them. We have received to day accounts from Boston to the 22 Ultimo. There had been great rejoicings at the downfall of Napoleon. And every body seems to have been full of the idea of Peace: this I am fearful will do us no good; it may carry languor and indecision into all our measures while the Enemy is putting into activity all his means.

You will have heard that the loan 10,000,000 $ had been taken.[1] Com. Lewis[2] had an engagement near New London and killed a considerable number of men. Com. Burny[3] has had an engagement in the Chasapeake and succeeded in sinking a Schooner of 18 Guns and did otherwise much damage. Sir J. Yeo had returned to Kingston and Chauncey[4] had come out and appeared off that port. The *Independence*[5] 74 was launched at Charleston. *Congress* was laid up[6] [torn]. Crew sent to the Lakes. The *Guerriere*[7] was nearly rea[dy] for sea. The *Peacock*[8] was again at sea. Our

[1] Adams, " History ", VIII, 17–18.

[2] Commodore J. Lewis, with a force of ketches and gunboats, off New London, May 25, 1814, engaged H. B. H. frigate *Maidstone,* Capt. G. Burdett.

[3] On June 8–10 Commodore Joshua Barney engaged the *Loire* frigate and accompanying British barges and boats in St. Leonard's Creek, the Patuxent River, and Chesapeake Bay.

[4] Isaac Chauncey (1772–1840) had been since early spring in Sackett's Harbor.

[5] Three 74's had been under construction: the *Washington,* at Portsmouth navy-yard, the *Independence,* at Charleston, Mass., the *Franklin,* at Philadelphia.

[6] The *Congress,* 36, had not gone out on any cruise after its return to Boston Dec. 14, 1813, but had been taken to Portsmouth to refit.

[7] The *Guerriere,* 44, was under construction at Philadelphia.

[8] The *Peacock,* Captain Warrington, had captured the *Epervier* on Apr. 29, had sailed into anchorage at Savannah on May 4, and had left Savannah in June, on her second cruise.

Privateers had been very successful. I shall endeavor to send you some newspapers by Mr. Irving[1] who will leave this on Friday next for Ghent on his way to Paris.

LEVETT HARRIS TO BAYARD.

ST. PETERSBURG, *21 [July]/2 Aug. 1814.*

DEAR SIR: I wrote you immediately preceeding my departure from England[2] by Mr. Hughes and sent you by him the Pamphlet which, through inadvertance of my own and an error of my servant, was improperly kept in my possession after you left London.

As soon as His Imperial Majesty assured me that it was his intention to return direct to his Capital I hastened my departure and had the happiness to bring to this Imperial residence the first tidings of his near approach to St. Petersburg. I however preceeded him several days and before his arrival went through the forms of presentation and Ceremonious Visits which I well recollect you thought not the least irksome part of your public duties.

The preparations for the Reception of the Emperor here were very magnificent; but H. M. previous to his entry, which was intirely private, ordered the whole of these preparations laid aside. So that no outward Shew of triumph was exhibited on this important occasion. But this could not be supposed to interfere with the feeling of exultation strongly marked and Expressed in private circles and parties on the events which the greatness of Alexander has succeeded in giving birth to. Ever since my arrival not a Day has passed without a great dinner or a Ball Supper and illuminations and since two weeks, that I am here, I have not been in bed before 3 or 4 oClock in the morning. Of political news I refer you to some limited observations and remarks made since my Return to Mr. Adams and by this post to Mr. Gallatin—a recapitulation here will hence be superfluous. Tomorrow morg. I proceed to Peterhoff. The Corps Diplomatique are invited to dine with the Court, to sup and to attend a Bal masqué, which at this court is you know nothing more than to wear over your uniforme a Venetian or a Domino. There will be Splendid illuminations and fire works. This fête is given, you know, by the Emperor in honor of the Empress mother on her names day, and is generally and justly thought to be the Most Splendid fête in Europe; and on the present occasion there is reason to suppose it will be unusually so.

I much fear from the delay and difficulty which are apparent in the approach of the British Commissioners to the present Seat of

[1] Possibly George W. Erving.

[2] Harris had left St. Petersburg soon after the departure of Adams and Bayard, hoping to return to America.

negotiation that nothing favorable is to be augured as to the result of your arduous efforts. I am anxious that the thing be settled soon, for I look for the return of Mr. Adams when I shall pursue the favorite project with which I followed you last winter from hence and make a new trial to pay a Visit to my native Country.

Do me the favor to drop me a line and say whether you like *Ghent* equal to *St. Pg.*, *London*, *etc.* I have many things to say to you from persons here near whom you have secured the highest Opinions of respect. Believe me, Dear Sir, there are none who would tender the Assurance with more cordiality and who feels more truly that it is due to you than he who subscribes himself at the same time, [etc.].

Bayard to Rodney.

Ghent, *Aug. 5, 1814.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV., 244–247; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 36–42.]

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.[1]

Ghent, *6 August 1814.*

My dear Andrew: Since my arrival in this place which was on the 27th of June I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 22d of March. You rightly remark than when one is far removed from home, that nothing is more grateful than communications from our friends. During the Six months that I remained at St. Petersberg the only letters I received from the U States were one from you and one from my son Richard and they were written shortly after I had left the Country. In fact more than a year had elapsed before I received a line from my wife, tho I did not doubt what I have since found to be true that she had written to me frequently. I wrote to you from Amsterdam, since which time I have visited London and Paris.

I arrived in London for an American at a very inauspicious moment.[2] The allies were at Paris and they had just received the news of the abdication of Bonaparte.

The whole nation were delirious with joy which was not indulged without bitter invectives against their remaining enemies the Americans. The time of declaring the war had stung them more than the act itself. They considered it as an aid given to their great enemy at a moment when his power was most gigantic and most seriously threatened the subjugation of the continent as well as of themselves. They thirst for a great revenge and the nation will not be satisfied

[1] Printed in the American Historical Review, XX, 113–114 (1914).
[2] Bayard and Gallatin had reached London Apr. 9.

without it. They know little of our Parties. It was America that fell upon them at the crisis of their struggle and it is America now that is to be made to feel the weight of their undivided power. Such is the public voice but what the British Cabinet may think wise or prudent to be done, I can as yet collect only from distant and doubtful inferences.

Nothing favorable can be augured from the delay in sending their Commissioners to the rendezvous agreed to at their instance as the seat of the negociation. Our Commissioners have *all* been here more than a month and we have not yet heard that theirs are even preparing to quit London. We expect them daily, but so we have done for twenty days past, and so we shall do till they arrive, or till we learn that they do not mean to come at all.

I assure you between ourselves, my hopes of peace are very slender. The government of England affect to despise us, but they know that we are a growing and dangerous rival. If they could crush us at the present moment they would not fail to do it. And I am inclined to think that they will not make peace, till they have tried the effect of all their force against us. An united firm and courageous resistance upon our part alone in my opinion can furnish hopes of a safe and honorable peace to the United States.

I wish I could present you with different views but what does it avail to deceive ourselves? By shutting our eyes upon danger we may cease to see it, while in fact we are encreasing it. What I doubt is that if the olive branch be presented to us by one hand, a cup of humiliation and disgrace will be held out in the other and altho I should rejoice to carry the former to the U States, yet I shall never consent to be the Bearer of the latter.[1]

Farewell my dear Andrew. I wish you and your family all manner of prosperity and happiness and I beg you will all accept the assurance of my best and warmest friendship.

P. S.—*August 20.*[2]—The British Commissioners have been here since the 6th inst. and we have had several conferences.

At the last such terms were prescribed as put an end to all hopes of peace. Nothing has been said about Maritime rights nor in fact has any former point of dispute been brought into question.

The sovereignty of the lakes and large cessions of territory etc. are the price demanded for peace. If the terms proposed are not acceded to, the negociation is to end. The terms will certainly be rejected and the negociation will terminate in a few days.

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[1] With this gloomy view of the prospects of success before the commissioners compare Adams's expression in a letter of July 18, 1814. Am. Hist. Review, XV, 573–574.

[2] This postscript is found among the Bayard Papers detached from the letter to which it belongs, but is believed to belong to the letter of Aug. 6 to Andrew Bayard.

Crawford to Bayard.[1]

Paris, *7th August 1814.*

My dear Sir: On Friday last I sent to the joint commission one set of despatches from the Department of State, by the hands of Mr. Myers. Tomorrow the duplicates will be forwarded by Messrs. Moreton and Russel. These gentlemen will be able to give you more of the ephemeral news of this capital than I can.[2] The law for repressing the abuses of the liberty of the Press which has been sent to the Corps Legislative is now under discussion.[3] It excites a stronger sensation that I had anticipated. I presume however that the minister of the Interior[4] will succeed upon the question of registration. The law will certainly undergo some alterations but no alteration can secure anything like the liberty of the Press, which established the previous censure. The first essay of the Minister of Finance[5] has not been more happy than that of the minister of the Interior. Malice most generally defeats itself. The disposition to exaggerate the evils to which France has been subjected by the mistakes or intentional misconduct of the late government is so manifest that it is discoverable throughout the report of this Minister. The general exposé is subject to the same charge.

Great exertions are making here to induce this government to order the armed vessels of the United States with their prizes out of the ports of France within twenty four hours after they enter. I learned the fact very accidently and in a few days afterwards I presented a note explanatory of the conduct of the United States when neutral. I understand the British Minister has presented three Notes upon this subject and like myself remains unanswered. I neither desired, or expected an answer shortly. I am willing to wait the close of the Congress at Vienna or at least the occupancy of the restored colonies by French troops for an answer to my note. A member of the British Parliament by the name of Marryat[6] has been nearly a month in Paris aiding the British Minister in this knotty business. He is the agent of the insurance offices in London. The Admiralty has issued orders to detain all neutral vessels sailing from France having British merchandise on board, upon the presumption that it might be the proceeds of the American prizes brought into France. The same order has been issued in relation to the captured vessels.

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[1] Among the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

[2] The government of this date was of course that of Louis XVIII, in the interval, April, 1814, to March, 1815, between the first Restoration and the return of Napoleon from Elba.

[3] See p. 326.

[4] Abbé François-Xavier-Marc-Antoine Montesquiou.

[5] Baron Louis.

[6] Joseph Marryat.

The vessels and cargoes if retaken altho they have been condemned and sold are to be restored to the original owners. How much farther they mean to proceed is as yet unknown. The speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the Prince Regent is ominous of the result of your labor.[1] The establishment of their claims will be the *annihilation of our rights.*

I greatly fear that the reinforcements which have been sent over will find us unprepared to meet them with equal numbers,[2] even of raw troops. On the 6th of July there was no collection of troops in the neighborhood of New York and the forts not fully manned.

I understand the British Ministers are now preparing to set out from London. If they come in the spirit of the Speaker's speech, the negociation must necessarily be short. I am preparing my dispatches for the Government, as it is probable that the *John Adams* will sail shortly after their arrival.

Present my respects to your Colleagues and accept for yourself the assurance of my sincere regard.

THE COMMISSIONERS TO MONROE.

GHENT, *Aug. 12, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 705–707.]

BAYARD TO CRAWFORD.[3]

GHENT, *16 August 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure a few days since to receive your favor of the 7 Inst. The despatches you refer to as well as the duplicates have come safely to hand and arrived at a critical season. You will have heard before this letter reaches you that the British Commissioners are at Ghent. They have not excused nor in any manner explained the tardiness of their arrival at the appointed rendesvouz. In truth I doubt whether they were made acquainted with the causes of their detention.

These are secrets in the breast of their Master, which probably they are left to conjecture as well as ourselves. Upon my remarking to Dr. Adams in conversation that I had been a long time waiting at

[1] The Speaker had on July 22, 1813, said, "In our Contest with America, it must always be remembered, that We have not been the Aggressors. Slow to take up Arms against those who should have been naturally our Friends, by original ties of kindred, a common Language, and (as might have been hoped) by a joint zeal in the cause of National Liberty, We must nevertheless now put forth our whole Strength, and maintain, with our ancient Superiority upon the Ocean, those Maritime Rights which we have resolved never to surrender." This speech was printed following the proceedings of Nov. 8, 1813, and was read again Apr. 22, 1814.

[2] British reinforcements numbering 16,000 arrived in Canada during July and August.

[3] Library of Congress, Crawford volume (a volume of photostat copies of a collection of Crawford's papers in private possession). Bayard's draft is among the papers possessed by Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

Ghent wishing to make a personal acquaintance with him he answered, "Why it is some time since we have been riding at single anchor, ready to cut and make sail upon receiving orders."

Conferences between us have commenced and were opened on the part of the British Commissioners by the statement of four propositions which they presumed would be the subject of discussions and which might require arrangements to be made between the two Governments.[1]

1st. *Impressment.*

2d. *Indian pacification, and boundary line.*

3d. *Boundary line between the United States and Canada.*

4th. *Fisheries.*

The second only seems to me at present to offer serious difficulty to a pacification. The pretension however in my opinion is totally inadmissible and possibly has been selected as a designed insuperable obstacle to peace. When first disclosed it was declared to be sine qua non. One such pretension is as complete a barrier against peace as an hundred.

It may account for no other point being pressed and in fact an apparent indifference being manifested as to the other subjects.

The British Commissioners told us their instructions were peremptory, and unless we could say that our powers enabled us to enter at least into a provisional arrangement on the subject a discussion of any of the points would be fruitless. We were willing to enter into the discussion of all the points for the purpose of mutual information and understanding and in the hope that we might present views particularly on the subject of immediate difficulty which might induce their Government to withdraw the pretension as one which could admit of no modification and necessarily must lead to a rupture of the negociation. But they declined any discussion without an assurance that some arrangement might arise out of it upon the basis of their proposition. The conferences are in consequence suspended and they have written to their Government for further instructions. The state of things does not augur well. A sine qua non so early and in a manner so peremptory upon a point relatively to us of so great importance, and to them of so small, looks very much like an intended stumbling block placed in the threshhold of negociation.

The Commissioners themselves are extremely affable and courteous in their personal demeanour. On both sides we have been able to avoid as well in words as in manner everything of an inflammable nature.

The despatches you transmitted to us were of the highest importance and they have given us the ground, which you and I agreed at

[1] The italicized lines which follow are in cipher in the manuscript.

Paris was the proper one, on which a certain point ought to be left for the present. It is not safe to prophesy about events which are likely to unfold themselves before the prophecy is forgotten. I shall therefore prudently wait for the return of the British messenger, without undertaking to predict what is to happen.

Have the goodness to present my respects to Genl. La Fayette when you see him and say I did not call on him upon leaving Paris understanding he was out of Town.

Bayard to Harper.[1]

Ghent, *19 August, 1814.*

My dear Harper: I know you would wish me to answer the question "Are you likely to make peace or is the war to continue." Let me tell you, that this question is as doubtful at Ghent at present as it can be at Baltimore. It depended solely upon Us to make the war, but there is another Party to consult in making peace.

In forming your calculations on the subject, you will confine your considerations to the motives solely which Great Britain may be supposed to have to continue the war. Knowing the terms upon which we are authorized to make peace and are disposed to make it, you would say in one moment if these are not acceded to, "let the fate of battles decide the conditions to which we must submit."

If the war continues it is no longer the war of our administration. It will be in its character as well as in its operations a defensive war. The views of the British Cabinet are undoubtedly altered by the great changes which have taken place on this Continent. While the power of Bonaparte existed Great Britain had employment for all her resources on this side of the Atlantic.

The war with America was embarrassing and caused a serious diversion of her forces. She then wanted peace and would have made it upon terms not wholly satisfactory to Herself. At present there is no Power in this Hemisphere from which she has anything to dread. She has been vexed for many years by the disputes we have had with Her with respect to her maritime rights. She is jealous of the encreasing resources of our country, of the aptitude of our people for commerce and navigation and their prowess in naval enterprize.

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[1] Hist. Soc. of Pa., Dreer Collection, American Lawyers, vol. I. This letter is endorsed, "recd. Oct. 12th 1814". Printed in the American Historical Review, XX, 115–116 (1914). On the same day Bayard wrote to Archibald Lee (son of Thomas Sims Lee of Maryland), who quotes from the letter in one of his written Dec. 20, "He predicts a long war and assures me 'it will neither be the fault of the Administration nor the Commissioner's should the negotiation fail. . . . In Russia we had generally to wait two months for an answer to a note—here we were all here more than a month before the B. Commrs. made their appearance,' and this was nearly four months after Ghent was appointed or fixed, by the B. Govt. . . . Mr. Bayard closes his letter by observing that 'after being amused as long as their purposes may require, we shall be civilly dismissed'—no doubt this will be the issue." Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of McHenry", 612–613.

She sees at the present moment a state of things which may never occur again in which she is left without an apprehension of the interference of Any European Power to exert her whole strength against us. The effort will be made to crush Us altogether and if that be impracticable to inflict such wounds as will put a stop to our growth or at least retard it.

August 20th.—While writing to you yesterday I was interrupted by a message from the British Commissioners who desired to have an interview with Us.

Our conferences had been suspended for several days in consequence of their having requested time to send a Courier to London before they proceeded further. The Courier had returned in the morning, and brought the Ultimatum.[1]

At this meeting the veil with which they had attempted before to cover their designs was thrown aside. Their terms were those of a Conqueror to a conquered People. The former points of dispute have not been the Subjects of a moments consideration. Maritime pretensions have been thrown far in the back ground and concessions of the most ruinous and disgraceful description have been required.

I trust in God that when the character of the war is so totally changed and when we are not simply contending for the honor of the nation but driven to fight for its existence—the Federalists will prove themselves, what I have always believed them to be the true and faithful friends of their Country. As to the origin of the war we are all agreed. But when peace is refused upon just and moderate terms and the most extrava[ga]nt pretensions are advanced, what is left for Us but to fight manfully or submit to disgrace and ruin.

The negociation is not absolutely ended, but little more remains than the form of closing it.

I thought I owed to you this communication from the confidence which has always subsisted between Us on political subjects.

THE COMMISSIONERS TO MONROE.

GHENT, *Aug. 19, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 708–709.]

ERICK BOLLMAN[2] TO BAYARD.

FALMOUTH, *August 24, 1814.*[3]

SIR: I left Philadelphia on the 16th of July, and the Capes of the Deleware on the 22d, on Board of the Portugese Brig *Isabella*, Capt. Cordoza, bound for Dover, Calais, and Copenhagen. The Desire to

[1] See the note of the British commissioners, Aug. 19. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 710.
[2] See p. 172, note 1.
[3] Received by Bayard Aug. 31.

land some Passengers, going to Spain, induced the Captain to make this Port, and finally to come in. I avail myself of this Opportunity of forwarding to You the inclosed Letter from your Daughter, whom I left well at Mrs. Mortimer's. I had also the Pleasure of seeing Mrs. Bayard, at Wilmington, on the 16th of July. She was then in perfect Health. I think she mentioned that she had lately written to You by an Opportunity from New York.

Excuse me for expressing a wish that Yourself, and Your Colleagues, may soon [have] been able to effect a Pacification between the United States, and this Country, and to state a Fact, perhaps not known to Our Administration, or to which they may not attach a sufficient Importance. From the unwarrantable Incorporation of forty new Banks by the State of Pennsylvania alone, and from the steady, though imperceptible Drain of Specie, occasioned by the Situation of the Country, the metallic means of the Banks at Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York etc. have become so low, that they do not amount to One Fifth of what they were even 15 months ago. I know this Fact from the most unquestionable authorities, whom I could name. It is agreed that none of the Banks could sustain half an Hour's Run, and that any Occurrence, which should cause Alarm, would oblige all the Banks to suspend their Payments.[1] Indeed the Event had been nearly brought about, a few Days before my Departure, by the mere Report that 3000 British Troops had landed near the Head of Elk, which however proved false. The Banks at New Orleans have actually stopped Payment. In a Country like Louisiana, peopled by Gentlemen-Planters, Merchants, and Slaves, this Occurrence has not been productive of any immediate, disastrous Consequences; but you will readily imagine what must be the Result of it, with a Population such as that of the middle, and northern States, and with such a multiplicity of Banks, none of which has any Control, or ascendency, over the Rest. The Confidence in Bankpaper would inevitably be destroyed, Distress, and Confusion, would become general, and the financial Means of the Government, already very circumscribed, would be reduced to a State of absolute Inefficiency. Nothing but the Success of Your Negotiations can save us from this, and thousand other Calamities, to which it would lead.

I shall immediately proceed to Paris, and remain there for some Time, not intending to return to the United States till next Spring. If at Paris I can render You any Services, have the Goodness to command me freely. My address will be—to the Care of Messrs. Mallet Frêres and Co., Bankers, Paris.

[1] The panic caused by the capture of Washington on the day this letter was written caused the banks of Philadelphia and Baltimore to suspend specie payment. Those of New York took the same step Sept. 1. Adams, "History", VIII, 213–214.

The American to the British Commissioners.[1]

[*Aug. 24, 1814.*]

The undersigned Ministers Plenepotentiary and Extraordinary of the U. S. of America have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the Plenepotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty addressed to them on the 19th instant, which states the basis upon which alone G. B. sees any prospect of advantage in the continuance of the negociations at the present time.

This basis appears to the undersigned to comprehend—

1. Peace between the U. S. and the Indian allies of G. B. and the establishment of a permanent Boundary to the Indian territory.

2. A cession of the military sovereignty of the lakes to G. B. and an engagement of the U. S. not to maintain or construct fortifications upon or within a limited distance of the shores of the lakes or to construct any armed vessel upon the lakes or in the rivers which empty themselves into them.

These points being adjusted, it is stated that there will then remain for discussion the arrangement of the N. W. Boundary between lake Superior and the Mississippi, the free navigation of that river and such a variation of a line of frontier between the U. S. and the British Provinces as will secure a direct communication between Quebec and Halifax.

The Plenepotentiaries of his Brit. Majesty have expressed the surprise of their Govt. that they having reduced as far as possible the number of points to be discussed and having professed themselves willing to forego on some important topics any stipulation to the advantage of G. B. that the Plenepotentiaries of the U. S. should not have been furnished with instructions upon the points which his Brit. Majesty's Govt. have proposed as the basis of negociation.

The undersigned have not been able from the face of the note addressed to them to discover nor from the conferences which they have had the honor to hold with the Brit. Plens. to collect the ground upon which his Brit. Majesty's Govt. have thought themselves justified in the expression of surprize that the Plens. of the U. S. are not furnished with instructions upon points never heretofore in dispute between the two Govts. and brought into view for the first time since the opening of the present negociation.

(It is well known that the collisions between G. B. and the U. S. which unhappily generated the controversies which so long subsisted

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. This is evidently written as an answer to the note of the British commissioners of Aug. 19. The draft which was actually sent will be found in "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 711–713. For an account of the way in which this despatch received its final form see Adams, "Memoirs", III, 21–23, For the British note to Castlereagh following the receipt of this communication see Mass. Hist. Soc. "Proc.", 1914, 146–147.

between them and ultimately led to the present war, were wholly of a maritime nature. The British orders in Council in relation to blockades and the claim and practice of impressing mariners from on board Am. merchant ships were the chief grounds of contention and difference between the two Govts. The Govt. of the U. S. could as little have foreseen the novel pretensions now advanced, as the Brit. Secy. of State Lord Castlereagh at the time when he framed his note of the 4 Nov. 1813 addressed to the Am. Secy. of State inviting the present negociation. In that note his Lordship declares "In making this communication I can assure you that the British Govt. is willing to enter into discussion with the Govt. of America for the conciliatory adjustment *of the differences subsisting* between the two states with an earnest desire on their part to bring *them* to a favorable issue upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent *with the established maxims of public law* and with the *maritime rights* of the British empire."[1]

No difference between the two States had ever subsisted in relation to the Boundary of the Indian terry. and it was not easy to suppose that the established maxims of public law or the maritime rights of the British Empire required the permanently fixing such a Boundary.

In 1813 and at the time when the instructions of the undersigned were prepared the Govt. of the U. S. and the Brit. Secy. of State had evidently the same opinion as to the subjects of discussion designed to be brought into the negociation then proposed.

If before that time the Am. Govt. had seen the propriety of endeavouring in their instructions to their Minister to anticipate all possible points which the Brit. Govt. might propose as matters of negociation surely after the Brit. Secy. of State had officially indicated the subjects of negociation it was sufficient for the Am. Govt. to furnish instructions extensive enough to embrace all those subjects.)

Of such extent are the instructions of the American Ministers and they are now prepared to discuss and to adjust upon principles of perfect reciprocity in no ways inconsistent with the established maxims of public law or with the maritime rights of the British Empire the differences which have heretofore subsisted between the two States.

Altho the undersigned are not instructed on the unexpected propositions relating to Indian pacification and Boundary and can therefore enter into no arrangement on the subject of them yet they cannot abstain from some remarks on the nature of the novel pretensions so suddenly and unexpectedly brought forward and declared in the threshhold of the negociation to constitute a sine qua non.

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 621.

The proposition supposes that the Indians residing within the acknowledged limits of the U. S. are an independent and sovereign People and that the U. S. are to regard them as such in treating of them as the allies of G. B. In this light Indians inhabiting within the dominions of G. B. on the Am. continent are not viewed by the British Govt. nor have those within the dominions of any European Power ever been so regarded. The admission of the principle would confer upon the Indians the indubitable right of ceding the Country to a foreign power. Pacification with the Indians in itself presents no difficulty in the negociation. The U. S. and the Indians had long been at peace before the war broke out with G. B. and the end of all the policy of the U. S. has been to cultivate and preserve peace with them. The Indians are not at war with the U. S. on their own but on acct. of G. B. They have no cause of war agt. the U. S. nor the U. S. agt. them. Peace with G. B. terminates hostilities with the Indians.

The undersigned are not misled by the language or the form of the combined propositions of Indian pacification and Boundary. The principle of the pacification admits the sovereignty of the Indians, and the Boundary embodies their territory severing it from the dominion of the U. S. and establishing an independent Country. It may perhaps not be known to the Plens. of his Brit. Maj. that the Country thus proposed in effect to be ceded to the Indians contains a population consisting of a greater number of American citizens than of Indians. The Indians do not require the proposed boundary as a security for their persons or their lands. The United States derive no claim to their lands but thro their free consent nor have they ever had reason to complain of personal molestation within the limits of their possessions. The chief effect of the proposed Boundary would be to arrest the course of civilization and the extension of Christianity.[1]

The undersigned must be allowed to observe that the Indians are no Parties to the present negociation. They must remain at liberty to accept or reject any stipulation G. B. may make in their behalf.

G. B. is now requiring for them what it is not known that they ever asked for themselves. They have heretofore lived in safety and been satisfied under the protection of the U. States and it is therefore the more singular that G. B. should not only have insisted upon an independence in their behalf which they have not desired, but should make that independence a sine qua non to a peace with the U. S.

The British Govt. desiring that the U. S. and their Provinces should no longer be conterminous propose therefore establishing an Indian Country and thereby to separate by a barrier their re-

[1] This sentence is written on the margin of the manuscript.

spective frontiers. The design of this Barrier is to prevent collisions between the U. S. and the Provinces. The undersigned are not informed of any collisions which have arisen from the circumstance of the Am. and Brit. dominions being conterminous. The most friendly intercourse has prevailed between the Inhabitants on the Frontiers grounded on a common interest and cemented by the strong ties of family connexions. There were no causes of complaint between the Provinces and the States. They became exposed to the war in consequence of the war with G. B. The U States however might have no repugnance to the separation of frontiers proposed if the object were not to be accomplished entirely at their own expense. They are called upon to cede a Country more extensive than the Island of G. B. among other purposes to afford a barrier to the English Provinces, without any equivalent being offered. And this too in a negociation to which they have been invited with the assurance that it should be conducted on principles of perfect reciprocity.

Had G. B. proposed an equal sacrifice upon her part to constitute this Barrier the undersigned might have been persuaded of her conviction that the barrier was necessary to the peace of the two Countries which they are well assured the U. States would at any time make great sacrifices to secure.

The undersigned freely say and they feel themselves bound explicitly to declare to the Brit. Plens. that on the subject of dismembering the U. States, they have not only no instructions but that the Govt. of the U. States itself is not competent to give such instructions. That to take it upon themselves to stipulate a provisional arrangement to that effect would be to assent to an article which they know their Governmt. neither would nor could approve.

The undersigned will not conceal the impatience they felt when they heard it prescribed as a condition of peace that the U. States should surrender the sovereignty of the Lakes and leave the shores and their Northern frontier unarmed and defenceless, while G. B. fortifies her frontier and maintains a military force on the lakes. Is this perfect reciprocity? It is proposed to us to cede rights of the greatest importance without an equivalent, and which in fact no equivalent G. B. could offer would compensate.

The naked frontiers of the U. S. are to be exposed to any sudden irruption from the Provinces, whilst they are securely protected from any impression from the U. S.

Certainly the U. S. are more powerful than the Provinces alone but G. B. will hardly admit that they are more powerful than the Provinces aided by the British Empire.

The undersigned can have no hesitation in making it known to the Brit. Plens. that not only they can never agree to an article in a

treaty such as the one prescribed in relation to the lakes, but they deem it totally useless to refer such a proposition to their Govt.

The U. S. are anxious and the undersigned are prepared to make peace upon Pples. of reciprocity such as were held out to them when invited to this negociation.

They have no disposition to trench upon the established maxims of public law nor upon the Maritime rights of Great Britain.[1]

It is impossible for the undersigned to regard the proposition relative to the Indians in any other light than as intended virtually to extinguish the right of the U. S. as well to the sovereignty as to the domain in the territory comprehended within the Indian Boundary. It is asserted by the British Plenipotentiaries that the Indians residing on lands within limits acknowledged by G. Britain herself to be the Northern Boundaries of the U. States compose Independent nations, enjoying the rights of Sovereignty, and the U. States are supposed by the Treaty of Greenville to have admitted this independence and by the establishmt. of an Indian Boundary to have acknowledged the right of the Indians both to Sovereignty and soil within the Boundary. The undersigned must necessarily oppose any pretensions founded upon such inferences. They do not consider the Indian tribes inhabiting within the limits of the U. States as independent nations. They were not so considered by G. B. herself when the U. States existed as her Colonies. The English Govt. from the first settlement of N. America always obtained and exercised not only the right of sovereignty but of domain over the Country occupied by the Indians. In constituting governments and granting lands not the smallest respect was paid to Indian rights, and a celebrated writer on the law of nations has taken occasion to praise the moderation of the English Puritans who first settled in New England in having purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign.

Will G. Britain attempt at this time to set up Indian rights against the innumerable charters she granted during more than a century. This is a point on which it cannot be necessary for the undersigned to enlarge.

They would ask however what would be the meaning or where the consistency of revising and establishing the N. Western Boundary between the U. S. and the British Colonies a material proposition submitted by the British Plenepotentiaries in the course of the negociation if the Indian tribes are to be considered or constituted the sovereigns of the country.

[1] In the manuscript the sheet ends at this point and it is not possible to say with certainty that what follows is continuous text or indeed is part of the same document.

The undersigned have heretofore assured the British Plenepotentiaries that peace with the Indians would of course result from a peace with G. Britain. That peace will place the Indians in the same condition the British Government found them at the commencement of the war. (The undersigned do not consider the war as having abrogated the Treaty of Greenville.[1] Many of the tribes who are Parties to that treaty are not engaged in the war, and the treaty itself regarded either as to its objects or the persons with whom it is made is not of a nature to be dissolved by a mere state of hostility. But whether that Treaty be abrogated or still in force is a question exclusively between the United States and the Indians, the only parties to it and in which Great Britain has no right to interfere.

THE AMERICAN TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

GHENT, *Aug. 24, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 711–713.]

CRAWFORD TO BAYARD.

PARIS, *27th August 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your letters of the 16th and 22 inst have reached me in due time. Accept my thanks for the communications which they Contain. It is indeed fortunate that the extravagance of the enemy has removed all apprehension, that disunion among ourselves will Continue to exist in the further prosecution of the war. I confess that I did not expect this extravagance. It now appears that the ministry have been in advance of the ministerial prints in England. The paper which I sent you in my letter to Mr. Clay will shew you satisfactorily the sentiment which will be excited in the United States by these demands.

On Thursday last the corps diplomatic, with Lord Wellington[2] at their head, was presented to the King, and the other members of the Royal family. His Grace appeared to me the most important Personage in the Thuilleries, whilst I was present. He is a middle sized man, of fair complexion, and good form. His countenance and self confidence put me in mind of our friend Genl. Smith of Md. He does not appear distant, reserved, or haughty—is very familiar, so much so as to have the appearance of impudence, or impertinence. This however is scarcely possible, in a man who enjoys his reputation. From his countenance, and general appearance, I should pronounce

[1] Wayne's treaty of Aug. 3, 1795.
[2] The Duke of Wellington was at this time British ambassador at Paris.

him a man of respectable, but not of extraordinary talents. Upon the whole, I believe he will stand examination, and approximation, as well as many other great men. I suppose I shall see him again on Monday, as the Municipal authority of Paris have taken upon themselves to appoint a diplomatic audience, both for his majesty and for us. I have not however received the particular invitation which they say is to be addressed to the corps diplomatic for that purpose.

Public opinion has not changed much since you left Paris.[1] At Chalons sur Marne, on the 15th inst, the inhabitants celebrated the birth day of Napoleone. The Soldiery were ordered to suppressed it, but instead of suppression, they united in the Celebration, and changed the popular song of Vive Henry Quarte into Vive Napoleone.

The old and new Nobility continue opposed to each other, and mutually dissatisfied with the King, and still more with the other members of the family. The bill regulating the liberty of the press lingers in the house of Peers, where it is probable, that it will pass, by inserting a declaration, that the unsettled State of the nation, in passing from one govt. to another, is the cause of this momentary suspension. Without some declaration of this Kind, it is said the bill would be rejected, in that body. I doubt the fact very much. If they insert a declaration of this Kind, it may be of use in the year 1816 when this question will again be agitated.

The attempt to pass a law to define more precisely the cases in which ministers are responsible, and the mode in which they are to be prosecuted, will probably call forth all the talents of the Abbé Montesquiou, which are thought to be very great in art of managing men. His budget of ninety three millions does not set well upon the stomachs of many of the deputies, but like the liberty of the press it will no doubt be digested. If a minister of Finance in the U S. should unfortunately make such a speech and report as Baron Louis, he would never hear the last of it. After all, I believe things are settling down, and that the change will be beneficial to France. This opinion is perhaps not general. The declaration of the Count D'Artois[2] that it was necessary to give way to the momentary enjoyment of Concord, but that things would shortly resume their ancient order, has made a deep impression upon the friends of civil liberty in France. I am inclined to believe their Comparative number to be small. If it should be found to be great, the Bourbons and Bounaparte are the political Scylla and Charybdis between which they are placed, and will no doubt prevent any struggle to redress their wrongs. I am dear Sir with sincere regard your friend, etc.

[1] Bayard, leaving London May 23, had visited Paris May 28–June 15, on his way to Ghent. See diary, pp. 508–510.

[2] Later Charles X, during Louis XVIII's reign the leader of the reactionary party.

BAYARD TO HARRIS.[1]

GHENT, *28th August N. S. 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR: I had the pleasure a few days since to receive your favour of the 21/2 Aug. '14 which contained the first intelligence which had reached me of your arrival at St. Petersburg. Whatever you had written to Mr. A. he had kept to himself, and knowing his disposition I presume you hardly intended to make him the channel of communication to his colleagues.

The British Plenepotentiaries have given us some employment during the last three weeks. We have had several conferences and notes have passed between us. I do not know that I could with propriety or safety enter into any details nor would it be of much immediate importance to you to do so. But the result which is near at hand and about which there can be no doubt it may be material for you to know. No peace will be made, but on the contrary I believe a foundation will be laid of a protracted war. The terms now proposed and insisted on by G. B. must be withdrawn or the present generation will not see the end of the contest. One good effect will follow from this abortive negotiation. The people of America will become united in the defence of the rights which they are now called upon to surrender, and shew themselves a more formidable foe than England or Europe have hitherto supposed them capable of being. I do not wish you to make it known that the information I give you came from me. As a public agent I think you are entitled to it, and as a friend I wish you to possess it, but I know well what a certain person[2] would say if he knew that I had made the communication to you. I do not expect to remain in Ghent more than a few days longer. We have been talking of sending our ship to Cherbourg or Brest, and travelling through France to join her.

This will enable our friend from Kentucky to see Paris before his return to the United States.[3] I am going to charge you my dear Harris to repeat with the greatest emphasis to my friends at S. P. the strong sense I retain of the obligations I am under to them. To the Princess B[4] you cannot say too much. Her civility is entirely gratuitous considering how little with my broken French I could contribute to society. My friend Krehmer and his estimable wife I can never forget, assure them of my great esteem and warmest regards.

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[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

[2] Adams.

[3] Clay.

[4] On the margin of the manuscript "ellozelsky" is written, indicating Princess Belozelsky. Frequent references to the Princess Belozelsky and to Mr. Krehmer will be found in the diary which follows these letters.

I need not tell you what to say to other people. You know all my acquaintances, and when I tell you that I think and feel in relation to them exactly as I ought to do, no man will know better than yourself what precisely ought to be said to them. Let me not, however, forget Count R.[1] I am indebted to him for more than common civilities, and shall always acknowledge the claims which he has upon me. Tell him to have no fears about America united as she will be she is able to fight Britain single handed.

Andrew Bayard to Lewis and Hall.

Philada., *7th Septemr. 1814.*

Messrs. Lewis and Hall,
New York.

Gentlemen: Observing in the Commercial Advertizer of 29th Ulto a Note addressed to you as Editors, in which your Correspondent states that "he had seen Extracts from letters from Mr. Bayard dated 1st and 12th May"[2] the publication of which has excited much attention and knowing the importance attached to the sentiments and opinions of one in the high station which my absent Relative now occupies, I feel extremely anxious that any communication of such Sentiments to the Public as coming from him, shou'd be minutely correct. I have therefore to request the favor, that you would be pleased to ascertain from your Correspondent if he had seen the letters from which the Extracts alluded to were taken or if he knows to whom they were written or in whose possession they are at present, that I may be enabled to procure full information respecting them.

You will I trust be sensible that my enquiry is not dictated by any impertinent curiosity, but by the interest I take in the reputation and character of a highly valued friend and relation, whose absence prevents his own attention to such matters. Your early reply, will greatly oblige.

The American to the British Commissioners.

Ghent, *Sept. 9, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For Rel.", III, 715–717.]

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[1] On the margin of the manuscript "omanzoff" is written.

[2] The letter to which Andrew Bayard refers is this:

"*Messrs. Lewis and Hall.*—I have this morning seen extracts from letters from Mr. Bayard, dated 1st and 12th May. They are as follows—'The voice of the nation is bitter against us; they say we attacked them in the moment of the greatest despondency, and now in the day of victory they ought to inflict exemplary punishment. But the ministry is much more favorably inclined toward us, and I do not despair of Peace.'

"Again, on the 12th May, 'the prospect is less flattering than it has been. The name of a Republic is hateful to the sovereigns of Europe, and I fear the conduct of our rulers will draw their vengeance upon our heads.'"

No letters of these two dates occur among the Bayard Papers.

THE AMERICAN TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

GHENT, *Sept. 9, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 719–721.]

SASSENAY[1] TO [BAYARD?]

MONSIEUR: les formalités et les difficultés, que j'ai éprouvées pour faire faire l'attestation éxigée pour l'acte de vente de notre maison, sont telles que Si l'on ne se contente pas de ce que nous avons pu obtenir je crois qu'il faudra que j'en sois pour mes frais et pour tous les ennueys que cela m'a causé. je sais que la frigate dans laquelle vous aviez eu l'extrême bonté de me promettre de faire passer mon acte en amerique, est partie, mais j'ai oui dire qu'il y allait en avoir une autre, veuillez donc me le faire Savoir, et me mander en meme tems Si un ami de toute notre famille pourrait par votre protection obtenir un passage pour lui Seul, Sans domestique, et avec les Seuls effets nécessaires pour Seveti. Si cela etait possible vous nous rendriez un veritable Service et vous ajouteriez a notre reconnaissance pour tous les Soins obligeans que vous avez bien voulu prendre pour nous.

On nous parle ici de la rupture des conferances pour la paix. j'avoue que j'en Serais Sensiblement touché, et pour mes amis, dont cela troublera le repos, et pour l'amerique, que j'aime et à la quelle je m'interesse et par justice et par sentiment; employez donc votre éloquence à persuader les dominateurs des mers qu'ils devraient mettre en action la morale qu'ils ont prechée à Bounaparte et donner avec justice et équité la paix au monde. Recevez avec mes Souhaits pour votre bonheur et celui de votre pays, l'assurance des sentimens d'estime et de haute Consideration

De votre tres humble et très obeissant Serviteur

PARIS RUE ST. DOMINIQUE No. 64.

Le 10 Sept. 1814.

Ma femme desire etre rappellée a votre Souvenir.

BOLLMAN TO BAYARD.

PARIS, *Sept. 13th, 1814.*

SIR: I have duely received the Letter which You did me the Honor to address to me on the 5th Inst. I believe with You that there is no American, of whatever Party, who will not prefer War, however

[1] The Marquis de Sassenay, whose previous career had been decidedly picturesque. An émigré who had taken refuge for a time in the United States and had made two trips to South America, he had in 1804 secured amnesty from Napoleon and settled in France. Four years later he was suddenly sent to Argentina with despatches for De Liniers, the Spanish viceroy. Here he was imprisoned until the English government, induced by his wife's activities, succeeded in restoring him to his family.

calamitous, to Peace on humiliating Conditions, and I have not the least Doubt, whatever Success might attend the arms of Great Britain at first, that they would be worsted in the End, and driven out of America altogether, if the war should set in a fresh, and the Nation become united, and acquire a military character.

This, and similar Truths, I have lately endeavoured to enforce at London (to which City I took a Trip from Dover) in a Place where I thought it might be of some Service. Calling on several literary Characters, chiefly Dr. Wollaston,[1] and my being in London becoming thereby known to the Administration (some of the members of which were nominally acquainted with me, in Consequence of my Paper on the British Currency) I was requested in writing to come to the Treasury Chambers, to meet two of the Gentlemen in Office. The Interview took Place on the 1[s]t., and lasted two Hours. I shall give you a full account of what passed when I have the Pleasure of meeting You. The whole of my Conversation had a Tendency to convince them, if possible, that they would commit an enormous Fault by not making Peace, as I felt convinced that it could be made if they were not to insist on unreasonable Conditions.

From the general Impressions I received I did not quite despair that the suspended negotiations[2] might be resumed, and take a happier Turn. I regret that Your letter seems to destroy this Hope.

I shall stay here till towards the End of this month, and then proceed to Vienna, where I have some personal Concerns. I shall return from thence to this Place in five or six weeks. Any Letter directed to the Care of Messrs. Mallet Frères and Co. will always reach me. Should You despatch any Vessel to America, and You could let me know of the Opportunity, so as to enable me to write to my Daughters, I should consider it as a very great Favour. I am at a loss how to convey to them any Intelligence respecting myself.

Andrew Bayard to Lewis and Hall.

Philada., *Sep. 15. 1814.*

Mess. Lewis and Hall,

Gentn: I took the liberty of addressing a few lines to you on the 7th Inst to beg the favor of you to inform me if the extracts from letters from Mr. Bayard published in the Commercial Advertiser of 29 August were furnished by a person who had seen the letters from which they were taken or if he knew to whom they were addressed or in whose possession they were at present that I might be enabled to write to him respecting them. From my not having received any

[1] Dr. William Hyde Wollaston (1766–1828), at this time secretary of the Royal Society, and a voluminous writer on scientific subjects.

[2] Of the American and British commissioners.

reply to my letter I must presume it has miscarried and must renew my request that you would be good enough to favor me with the desired information as I feel anxious that the publication of any thing Coming from Mr. Bayard (my near Relative) should be minutely Correct. I trust there is no impropriety in making the request and shall feel myself obliged by as early a Compliance with it as your engagements will permit.

Z. Lewis to Andrew Bayard.

New York, *Sept. 22, 1814.*

Sir: Your letters of the 6th and 15th inst. were both duly received; and in consequence of extremely feeble health, and an overwhelming increase of labor occasioned by the times and the absence of my Partner, I have not been able to answer them until now. The Extracts, to which you allude, were transmitted to me, through the Post Office, in a letter signed A. Stevenson. The same letter enclosed to me also, as a Member of the Committee for receiving subscriptions, a sum of Money to aid in the defence of this city. Since I received your first letter I have made as diligent enquiry for Mr. Stevenson, as my other avocations and feeble health would permit; but have not been able to find him. Of course, I am unable to give you any satisfactory information on the subject.

Andrew Bayard to Z. Lewis.

Philad., *Septr. 26, 1814.*

Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of yr. favor of 22nd inst. in reply to mine of 6th and 15th and am sorry to learn that you have Not been able to find the person who furnished the extracts alluded to. It is a cruel Act in any one to publish from memory and in a mutilated state the Letters of Official characters, especially of such as are abroad and not capable of noticing them.

I have had an opportunity of reading the letters from Mr. Bayard under dates of 1st and 2d May from which the extracts were said to be taken and can assure you that they differ essentially both as to the sentiments and expression from those published in your paper, especially the latter in which there is not a word mentioned respecting the conduct of our Rulers or their having brought on our heads the vengeance of the Allied Powers, nor any Idea of the kind suggested. I can not conceive the motive of your Correspondent in thus perverting the meaning and expressions of Mr. Bayard, which if not intended to do him any Injury, was, to say the best of it, highly indiscreet and improper. In Justice to Mr. B., I should hope you would have no objection to insert in your paper (where the Extracts first appeared) that you have been assured that they were incorrectly

stated and differed materially from the originals—this I hold myself responsible to prove to you at any time, as the letters are in possession of a friend from whom I can readily procure them.

Memorandum of Conferences.[1]

In the evening of Saturday the 6th of August 1814 the British Commissioners namely James Lord Gambier, Henry Gouldbourne, Esqr. M. P. and under Secretary of State and William Adams Esqr. D. C. L. arrived at Ghent. On Sunday the 7 Anthony St. John Baker Esq.[2] their secretary called at the Hotel of the American Commissioners[3] and enquired for Mr. Bayard, by whom he was immediately received. After the common gratulations upon the meeting of former acquaintances Mr. Baker formally stated that he came by the direction of the Bh. Crs. to announce their arrival at Ghent and to propose that the A. C. should meet them at the Lion d'orr[4] where they lodged. The next day at 1 o clock Mr. B. proposed that his colleagues should be present, which the Secretary did not think necessary, but asked whether time and place proposed for the interviews was acceptable. M. B. replied that he could not answer without consulting his colleagues but that an answer should be sent in the course of the evening. A consultation took place on the part of the American Comrs. in which it was determined to accede to the time, but to propose some other place. The result in the evening was communicated by Mr. Hughes, the Secretary of the Am. Comn on the same evening. Mr. Baker returned with a message proposing the Hotel des Paysbas as the place of meeting. This was immediately acceded to. On Monday the 8th the A. C. repaired to the Hotel des pays bas, where they found the B. C. already assembled. Business commenced so soon as all were seated. Lord Gambier stated in very civil and courteous

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. In Bayard's letter-book is another copy of this narrative, in Bayard's hand, which differs from this slightly. The substance of the narrative is largely contained in the letters of the commissioners to Monroe of Aug. 12 and 19. "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 705–707, 708–709. Adams's parallel account is in most respects much fuller. Adams, "Memoirs", III, 3–42, and Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams", V, 75–81. For the British account of the first conference see Mass. Hist. Soc. "Proc.", December, 1914, pp. 141–144.

[2] Anthony St. John Baker, formerly an attaché of the British legation in Washington, and secretary to the British commissioners in Ghent.

[3] Hôtel of Baron de Lavendeghem. The American commissioners had moved from the Hôtel des Pays Bas a few days before this. There is a picture of the house in the Magazine of American History, XX, 377, and the accompanying article ("The Treaty of Ghent," by Thomas Wilson) relates that the landlord of the Hôtel des Pays Bas had hired and furnished the other house for the use of the commissioners. The meetings of the commissioners were held alternately at the residences of the American and the British commissioners. Adams speaks frequently of the domestic arrangements of the commissioners. See Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams", V, 69, 73.

[4] Hôtel du Lion d'Or. The British commissioners lodged here at first, afterward they resided in the house of the Carthusians, which had been occupied by Napoleon and his empress in 1807.

terms the sincere disposition of the Prince Regent and of his Majesty's Ministers to put an end to hostilities with the U. S. upon terms honorable to both parties, and that such also was the personal desire of the Comn. This sentiment was reciprocated on the part of the A. C. by Mr. Adams. Mr. Golbourne [said] that he was directed by his Colleagues to state the points of negociation which were embraced by their instructions and that he should then ask if the Am. C. were instructed upon the same points, and upon what others. He said the points upon which they were instructed were

1. The right to take forcibly natural born British subjects from on board American Merchant vessels and as incident thereto the point of perpetual allegiance of natural born subjects.

2. Pacification with the Indians and the demarcation of certain boundaries for the Indian possessions. This he stated as a sine qua non.

3. The settlement of a new line between the U. States and the British Colonies.

4. That in respect of the fisheries that he was to make known that G. B. would not continue to the U. S. the benefit of fishing in any of her waters or of drying or curing nets or fish on her coa[s]ts without an equivalent. These Mr. G. stated were all the points to which the British Comn. were instructed to attend in the adjustment of the articles of a treaty of peace. The Am. C. in order to know each others minds and to consider on the general subject, proposed that time should be allowed them till the next day to make an answer, which being agreed to an adjournment took place till 11 o clock next day to meet at the Hotel of the Am. C.

Tuesday the 9th at 11 O clock the Comn. on both sides met (except Mr. Russel who had left Town for Dunkirk on the 4th inst and had not yet returned) at the Hotel of the Am. Crs. Mr. A. on their part stated that as to the 1st point the Am. Comrs were instructed and so also as to the 3d but as to the 2d and 4th points they were not instructed. That there having never been any differences as to these points between the two Governments, none were anticipated and of course they were not the subject of instructions.

That our instructions required us to bring into consideration two additional [points] as proper to enter into the articles of a treaty of peace.

1. A correct definition of what constituted a blockade at sea.

2. A claim of indemnity for certain seizures and captures made under British authority before and since the war.

Upon the close of this statement Dr. Adams observed, that at the former meeting they had felt themselves bound in candour to state that the point as to Indian pacification and boundaries was a sine qua non, he would therefore enquire whether as things stood the

Am. Comrs. considered that it was within their powers or discretion to make any provisional arrangement on the subject. Mr. Gallatin answered that there would be no aversion upon the part of the Am. Crs. to enter into the discussion of the subject, that probably it was not viewed by both Parties at present in the same light. That it was possible that after mutual explanations some arrangement might be agreed upon, but that the question at present as to our powers and discretion could not be answered. Dr. Adams replied that discussion would be useless unless we considered that we had power to act on the subject and that he should hardly think himself warranted in writing to his Govt. that they were engaged in the discussion of a subject, which the Am. Cn. did not in any degree consider within their powers. Mr. Bayard remarked that he understood Mr. Gallatin as intending to say only that the proposition as it now stood being general and indefinite, its nature or extent might not be alike understood by both Parties. That if the subject were discussed, it was possible views might arise which would lead to an arrangemt which might be satisfactory to the British Government and which the Am. Com. might consider it within their discretion to make. Dr. Adams could not see the benefit of discussion without powers. Mr. Adams stated that Comn. had been appointed to treat of peace with the Indians by the Am. Govt. and possibly peace had been already made. Mr. Gallatin stated that it was altogether a novelty for a foreign nation to propose to treat with relation to Indians within the Boundaries of another nation. That the United States had their treaties with the Indians, who were under their protection. That boundaries were established, which were never varied but by treaty and then an equivalent given. Dr. Adams observed that it surely was not a new thing to make treaties with the Indians. They were considered as sovereign and might contract alliances.

Lord Gambier said he presumed for the present that we could proceed no farther that they must enform their government how the matter stood and they must receive new instructions or the negociation must end. That the British Governmt. considering the Indians as their allies in the war could not in honor abandon them, but must take care that their safety was provided for. That either party could give notice to meet when a meeting was deemed proper.

Mr. Bayard said before they separated, he could wish more distinctly to understand the nature and effect of the arrangement proposed to be made in behalf of the Indians. That if peace and safety were the only objects, he was perfectly certain they would result from the pacification between the principal Powers. That the Indian Country was at present separated from the lands of the U. States

by known lines of demarcation and it would be much to be deplored if a stipulation required as to the Indians should be an obstruction to peace when the object of that stipulation would be accomplished by a pacification between the principal powers. He remarked that what had fallen from Lord Gambier in relation to the Indians as allies of G. B. was just and honorable, but that the obligation would extend no farther than to place the Indians in the situation they were found when they joined G. B. in hostilities agt. the U. S.

That a peace between the U. S. and G. B. would certainly be followed by an Indian peace and the Indians would be restored to their situation before the war.

But what he wished to know particularly was the changes which were expected to result from the establishment of an Indian Boundary. Was the relation between the U. S. and the Indians to be varied, and more particularly were the U. S. to be precluded from purchasing lands by treaty from the Indians within the limits of their territory? Mr. Goulburn said it was to be considered that the U. S. were debarred from purchasing but the Indians not from selling. Dr. Adams said not exactly so—neither Government were to Purchase from the Indians, but the Indians might sell to all others. Mr. Clay remarked that last evening we had received instructions as late as the 27 June,[1] but the Governmt. were even then not apprized that any such point would arise as was now proposed as to Indian Boundary, and the instructions were therefore silent on the subject. Mr. Goulburn proposed that a Protocol should be drawn comprehending the substance of what had passed and be signed by the Comn. on both sides. This was agreed to and the Comn. separated.

Wednesday 10.—The Commissioners met at the Hotel of the American Ministers (Mr. Russel present). On each side a protocol had been prepared of the conferences which had taken place. Objections were made to that of the Am. M' as being argumentative, but the chief objection was to the Statement of the object of the fixing an Indian Boundary which went to restrict the purchasers of land from the Indians, but after much discussion and alterations made in both protocols they were finally agreed to and the Secretaries directed to copy them. The B. C. informed us that they had sent a special Courier to their Govt. the preceding evening whose return they expected in five or six days. In the meantime the conferences would be suspended but it would be understood, that either party might call the Comn. together when it was supposed there was an adequate occasion.

Friday 19.—This morning Mr. Baker called to inform us that the B. C. desired an interview with us at 3 oclock or in the evening if

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 703–705.

more convenient to us. It was agreed to meet them at 3, and accordingly at that hour we waited on them at their Hotel. They informed us that their messenger had returned that morning and desirous to occasion as little delay as possible they had immediately invited a meeting.

They stated that their Governmt. felt much surprize, in finding that we were without instructions as to the points of Indian pacification and boundary, as it could not have been expected that G. B. would abandon her allies who had aided her in the war to the resentment and mercy of their enemies. The least that would be required of us was a provisional article on the subject, without which the negociation could not proceed.

As we had objected that they had not been sufficiently explicit on the subject their Govt. had instructed them to give all necessary explanation.

The objects were to include the Indians in the peace and for their security to establish a boundary which should be permanent between them and the U. States. That neither the Govt. of G. B. nor of the U. S. should be at liberty within the boundary established to purchase lands of the Indians. That with respect to the extent of the Indian country, they would take the treaty of Grenville as the basis, which would be subject to such modification as it might be found proper to make. It was suggested on our part, that the Indian lands comprehended by the boundaries of the treaty of Grenville, were already settled by a great number of whites, perhaps not less than 100,000, and we enquired what were the views as to the population. It was answered, that these settlements might be considered in the modification of the line constituting the boundary, but as to that population which remained within the lines after they were established, they must shift for themselves. They avowed that a principal object in the erection of this Indian country was to form a barrier between the Brit. Provinces and the U. S. considering it important that they should not be conterminous.

It was proper they stated that they should also explain their views in respect to the settlement of the general line between the Provinces and the U. S. The object of G. B. was not aggrandesement, they wanted no increase of territory, but it was evident that a joint possession of the lakes by a naval force kept up on both sides, would cause to both parties much useless expense and would expose us constantly to collisions. It was necessary that these lakes should be subject to the Dominion of one party only and as G. B. in that quarter was the weaker party, as she could not be supposed to have views of conquest, whereas the U. S. had projected the conquest of Canada it would therefore be required that the U. S. should be

allowed to maintain no naval force on the lakes from Ontario to Lake Superior, both inclusive. That considering the weakness of Canada and its exposure to sudden irruptions it would be required that the United States should erect no fort or fortification of any kind on the frontier nor maintain any already erected. This was to be considered as moderate as G. B. might reasonably have demanded the cession especially of the shores of the lakes and lands immediately adjacent. The commercial navigation of the lakes would remain as heretofore. Upon being asked if G. B. was to be permitted to maintain a naval force on the lakes it was answered undoubtedly they were.

It had been remarked that it would be necessary to revise the line from Lake Superior to the river Mississippi, and Mr. Bayard enquired whether it was intended, that the line should be drawn from Lake Superior or from the lake of the Woods. It was answered from Lake Superior.[1]

It was stated that it was expected that the treaty right to the navigation of the Mississippi would be revived and continued.

It was a part also of their instructions to require that a communication between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Quebec should be secured and that for this purpose it would be required that the part of the territory of the U. S. intervening between the N. E. part of the Province of Maine should be ceded to G. B.

Upon the question of Mr. Gallatin what were the views as to Moose Island and other Islands in Pasamaquody Bay, which before the war were in possession of the U. S., but had lately been captured it was answered, they were considered as belonging to G. B. and could not be the subject of any discussion. We had no more claim to them than to Northamtonshire.

It was proper they said to apprize us that if we declined signing provisional articles at present, G. B. would not consider herself as bound by any terms offered at present but would feel herself at liberty to enlarge her demands accordingly as the events of the war might be favorable to her arms.

Mr. Bayard enquired whether it was to be considered that the character formerly given to the proposition relative to Indian pacification and boundary still attached to it of being a sine qua non. To which it was answered certainly. We then asked whether the same character attached to the propositions relative to the dominion of the lakes and their shores—to which it was answered—"We have given you one sine qua non already and we should suppose that one sine qua non at a time was enough—when you have disposed of the

[1] The copy in the letter-book states that the line was to be from the Lake of the Woods, which is doubtless a mistake.

one we have given you it will be time enough to answer questions as to another."

The British Comrs. stated that they believed they had now fully stated and explained the views of their Govt. and they should wait for our answers to their propositions. We suggested that as the points were of great importance, that in order to avoid misconstruction it would probably be better to reduce them to writing—which was agreed to and the B. C. promised to send them to us in the form of a note. The conference here ended and we withdrew.[1]

Saturday 20.—The note promised yesterday was sent in this morning.[2]

Thursday 25.—The answer of the American Plenepotentiaries was sent to the Note of the British Plenepotentiaries.[3]

Saturday 27.—We dined with the British Ministers. After dinner in a conversation with Mr. Golbourn the terms of the British note became the subject of some remarks. I told Mr. G. that not ten men in America could be found who would agree to them. He stated their only object to be security to Canada. That that country would always be in danger if the U. S. maintained a military force on the lakes and retained their settlements on the present line. I answered that the U. S. could not consent to secure Canada by exposing her whole frontier, and by a sacrifice of territory more considerable than the Provinces. He observed that our terms conceded nothing, and that we seemed to expect to retire from the war and return to the same state we were in before it commenced. This G. B. could not be expected to agree to, as she might then look forward to fresh hostilities with the U. S. as soon as she should be involved in any European war. I told him that it was sufficient mortification upon our part after having declared the war with the professed object to attain certain points to be compelled to retreat from it, without gaining one of those points. G. B. retaining the same ground she held before the war.

I enquired if we should shortly receive their reply which I presumed would terminate the negociation. He said that was likely to be the result, that as they had caused us some delay already they would certainly not unnecessarily encrease it.

Wednesday 31.—Mr. Baker the British Secretary called at our Hotel this morning (having previously called on Mr. Hughes who was out) to inform us that the British Plenepotentiaries, considering the importance of the final step which their present instructions obliged them to take in replying to our note, had referred the subject to their Government, and would wait their further orders. He said

[1] The copy in the letter-book ends here.
[2] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 710.
[3] Ibid, 711–713; for Adams's draft see Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams", V, 93–101.

he was directed to make the communication in order to account to us for the delay which would take place in making the reply. They now expected to hear from their Govt in three or four days.

Monday 5th. Sept.—The reply of the British Plenepotentiaries was received this day, dated the 4th.[1]

9. The answer of Am. Plen. sent to the note of the 5th of the Brit. Plen.[2]

Tuesday 20.—The note of the British Plenepotentiaries received of the 19.[3]

Monday 26.—Answer of the A. P. to the note of the 19th.[4]

Bollman to Bayard.

Paris, *Sept. 30th, 1814.*

Dear Sir: Your Letter of the 9th has been duely received. In Consequence of Your Permission I take the Liberty of inclosing two Letters, One for my Daughters, the other for Dr. Thornton.[5] You will confer a very great Favour on me by having the Goodness to see them forwarded with Your own.

With regard to what passed at the Treasury Chambers in London,[6] I can only state the principal Points I made in the Conversation. Your Imagination will readily suggest by what Arguments, and Details as to matter of Fact, I endeavoured to enforce them. They were these—The War had certainly been made by what was called the Democratic Party, who might be presumed to have been in some Degree swayed by french Politics. Even this Party, since the recent Changes in Europe, must be anxious for Peace. Nothing could be in the Way of Pacification (since the ostensible Cause of the Dispute—from the changed Complexion of the Times—had become an idle Question) unless indeed Great Britain were to insist on Conditions of Peace which the American Government could not honorably accept. That to do so would be, on the Part of Great Britain, an egregious Fault. It was quite erroneous to imagine that such Conduct would cause a Revolution in America, give the ascendency to the Federalists, and put the Democrats down. On the Contrary, these had always insisted that G. Britain could not forgive America her Independence, that she was actuated by Motives of Jealousy, that she wished to crush the rising Prosperity of the U. St., that her Ascendency in Europe therefore was to be dreaded. If

[1] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 713–715.
[2] Ibid., 715–717; for Adams's draft see Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams", V, 122–129.
[3] Ibid., 717–718.
[4] Ibid., 719–721.
[5] Dr. William Thornton (d. 1827), at this time superintendent of the patent office, formerly a resident of Philadelphia, architect of the Capitol at Washington.
[6] See p. 330.

therefore the measures she should now adopt, and the Tone she was to take in the pending negotiation, were of the Nature alluded to, She would confirm all that Party had predicted, put that Party in the Right, cause all Opposition to disappear, and excite against her a truly popular War—a second War of Independence. An opposite, a truly liberal Conduct on the Part of Great Britain, would on the Contrary put the War Party in the wrong, and cause Democracy, and Jacobinism in the U. St (if such had existed), since no longer countenanced in Europe, to die a natural Death, that is, the Democratic Party would either dwindle into a minority, or else be obliged to change Principles.

In Case of a continuance of the War under the Circumstances stated, it must not be imagined that much would be gained by taking the defenceless Towns along the Seacoast. Philada. or New York were not Paris. The nation was in the woods. The whole Country along the Atlantic might be overrun, and yet nothing would have been atchieved. Whatever Success might attend the British Arms for a Year or two, America could muster numerous Armies, would learn to fight on land with the same Success as on the Sea—the Contest could not, in all rational Prob[ab]ility, terminate in any Thing else than the total Expulsion of the British from the American Continent.

That it would be another mistake to rely much on the probable financial Disorders in America. France—notwithstanding two or three Bankruptcies during the Revolution—had not ceased to be formidable. That it was impossible to distress into Submission a Country possessing Food, Clothing, and Arms.

That the actual state of the Commerce with the Continent of Europe (the great Disappointment of the British Merchants) shewed how far—commercially—even a Peace was from restoring the preceding State of Things, if the War had continued any length of Time. People become poor, lost their habits of certain Consumptions etc. etc.; that the Sources of Prosperity which American Consumption offered to British Commerce and Industry, should not be neglected, particularly when contrasted in Case of continued war with the Prospect, with almost the Certainty, of ultimate Discomfiture and Disgrace, after having incurred immense Expenses, and shed much Blood.

That a nation of 8 millions of such People as these in the U. St., and in such a Country, could not possibly be swept from the Earth, but, in Spite of all Efforts must accomplish their Destiny, of becoming powerful and opulent. That the Counsels of Envy must therefore be considered as extremely near-sighted, and every way preposterous. That on the Contrary a truly enlightened Policy would

command carefully to avoid in the United States any habitually hostile Associations of Ideas, and hostile Prejudices with regard to Great Britain. The U. St. were far enough removed, and had local Interests, and Resources, sufficiently different from those of Great Britain, to be suffered, without uneasiness, to grow and to prosper. That the U. St. ought to be made a steady Friend. Time and Reason would work out their Errors; they were, and always would remain, a nation of the same kin, etc., etc.

This will be enough to tire You, and to give You an Idea of the Spirit of the whole Interview.

The Impressment of Seamen etc. came collaterally under Discussion.

The [whole?] of what I said was extremely well and attentively received, and terminated in something like the Assurance I should be convinced, if Peace were not to take Place, that it was not their Fault.

Mr. Arbuthnot[1] gave me (of his own accord) a private Letter for Lord Castlereagh, with whom he is particularly intimate, and which is to cause him to enter with me in to Conversation on the same Topic. I should have wished to deliver it here, but he had already left Paris. I shall see him in Vienna in about two Weeks. If You can conceive that I might be useful, and You will give me any Instructions how I can be *most* so, they shall be thankfully received, and carefully improved. I think Peace so desirable, in every Point of View, that no honorable means to bring it about should be left untried, and much, You know, in the Concerns of Nations, depends on the Ideas, and Impressions, of a few leading Individuals.

I believe I have already mentioned to You that the Interview in London came about accidentally, and was not sought by me. The Objects which brought me to Europe, and take me to Vienna, are quite of a private nature; as You will be convinced, if I should succeed in bringing my Ideas to bear. My present Intention is to leave this on the 8th of October, but I may be detained a Day or two longer. Please to direct to me as before. The Letter will be sent after me if I should have left this previously to its arrival.

Excuse the many Erasures in this letter. I am so much engaged that I have no Time to copy. .

Milligan to Bayard.

London, *Sepr. 30th, 1814.*

My dear Mr. Bayard: I have this moment received your kind and most friendly letter of the 24th. For two weeks past I have been in expectation of being ordered to Brest by every mail. Your

[1] Charles Arbuthnot (1767–1850), secretary to the Treasury.

information will enable me to see more of England than I had expected. I start this morng. for Brighton, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, etc. On my return here, in about ten days, if nothing decisive takes place I shall proceed to Ghent. Mr. and Mrs. Gore leave this for Ostend on their way to Paris on Monday next. They will pass through Ghent and Bruxelles. Mr. and Miss Bond[1] will accompany them. Count N Pahlen[2] is here from South America—he begs to be particularly remembered to you. He expects his brother in all October. Swerchkoff is likewise here—he left Washington in July last. I have heard through a Gentleman who left Philadela. late in August that our friends are all well at home. Parish, Charles Howe, and John Powell were to sail for England from N York early in Sepr. Powel's leaving America was in consequence of his match with Miss Caton[3] being entirely broken off. I have already settled it with the Taylor for the coats he sent you. I hope you will not hesitate to order any thing further you may wish. Nothing will afford me more pleasure than to execute your commissions.

[P. S.]—Details of the capture of Washington,[4] and the consternation of the country, multiply daily. I have seen a file of Am. papers to the 2nd of Sepr. The people from all parts of the country are loudly calling for a change of Administration, your name is always coupled with Mr. Kings,[5] and the idea at home is, that Mr. M. has called Congress together to resign his situation. The latest accounts they had from E. were, that you were all at Ghent except Mr. Gallatin.

The American to the British Commissioners.[6]

Sept. 30, 1814.

The undersigned have the honor to request the British Plenepotentiaries to obtain from their Government a passport for the return of the schooner *Transit* with a Bearer of dispatches to the United States. That vessel has lately arrived at Bourdeaux, having been chartered by the American Government for the purpose of transmitting dispatches to the undersigned.

The undersigned must observe that this vessel was compelled to depart from the U States without a passport. Admiral Cochran

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[1] See pp. 297–298.

[2] Count Nicholas de Pahlen. His brother Theodore had been the Russian minister to the United States from 1809 until 1811, when he was sent as minister to Brazil.

[3] Probably one of the four famous beauties, granddaughters of Charles Carroll, who lived near Baltimore. See Stirling, "A Transatlantic Invasion", Nineteenth Century, LXVI, 1058 (1909).

[4] Aug. 24. For an interesting account of the feelings of those living in Washington during the anxious days of the attack on the city, see Margaret Bayard Smith's "Forty Years of Washington Society", 98–119.

[5] Rufus King.

[6] From Bayard's letter-book.

having refused to grant any subsequent to the 14 of March, last as will appear by the letters herewith enclosed.[1]

The British Plenepotentiaries will perceive that the American Government would thereby have been effectually prevented from instructing the undersigned subsequent to the knowledge of the pacification of Europe had it not availed itself of the opportunity offered by a french corvette and resorted to the channel of the Secretary of State of his Britannic Majesty for the purpose of sending Duplicates.

The undersigned avail themselves of this occasion in corroboration of the statements which they have heretofore had the honor of repeatedly making to the British Plenepotentiaries relative to the probability of a pacification between the Indian tribes parties to the existing war and the United States to send for their perusal certain extracts from the national Intelligencer[2] together with the papers themselves from which they are taken.

Although the facts there asserted are not officially announced, yet the undersigned themselves believing them have felt it due to the importance assigned by the British Plenepotentiaries to the subject to afford to them the opportunity of placing on these extracts the value which belongs to them.

Admiral Cockburn[3] to Monroe.[4]

[*Enclosure.*]

His Britannic Majesty's Ship Albion,
In the Chesapeake, the 8th July 1814.

Sir: When I reported to his Majesty's commander in chief of his forces on this station[5] that I had transmitted you a second passport for Gottenburgh under date of the 14th of March last agreeably to your request of the 9th of March he intimated to me in reply that the passports I had then granted for this object should be deemed sufficient until the arrival of communications from the negotiators at Gottenburgh might render it necessary for the Government of the U States to send replies to them.

It is therefore Sir out of my power to have the honor of forwarding to you at this moment the additional passports you now request, but I will take the earliest opportunity of referring your present letter on this subject to the Commander in chief for his further consid-

[1] The letters referred to follow, pp. 343–344.

[2] The extracts are from the National Intelligencer, Aug. 6 and Aug. 9, reporting the conclusion of the Indian treaty at Greenville.

[3] Sir George Cockburn (1772–1853), commander on the American coast 1812–1815.

[4] From Bayard's letter-book.

[5] Sir Alexander Cochrane (1758–1832) had become commander-in-chief on the North American Station in the spring of 1814.

eration and I will not fail to make known to you as early as possible any further communication I may receive from him hereon.

Monroe to Castlereagh.[1]

[*Enclosure.*]

Mr. Monroe presents his compliments to Lord Castlereagh and having failed to obtain from the British Admiral in the Chesapeake the expected facilities for communicating with the American ministers charged with negociations of peace takes the liberty to put the enclosed despatches under an address to his Lordship, not doubting that he will in compliance with the spirit of his letter of the 4th of Novr. last cause them to be forwarded.

Mr. Monroe reluctantly adopts this course but he flatters himself his Lordship will consider it justified by the above explanation.

Washington, Department of State, *11 July 1814.*

The British to the American Commissioners.[1]

[*Oct., 1814.*]

The undersigned have had the honor to receive the note of the American Plenepotentiaries dated the 30 Ulto. together with its enclosures copies of which they have transmitted for the information of his Majesty's Government.

They will not fail to forward to the American Plenepotentiaries without delay the answer which may be received on the subject of the Passport for the schooner *Transit.*

They request the american Plenepotentiaries to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

Bollman to Bayard.

Paris, *Oct. 9th, 1814.*

Dear Sir: I apprehend You will think that I abuse Your Goodness by sending you the inclosed letters. My Place for Strasburg is taken for the 12th, and as I shall not probably hear of any Opportunities of writing to America at Vienna, I wished to avail myself Once more of Your obliging Offer. The other Letters are from Madame LePelletier,[2] formerly of Baltimore, whom I believe You personally know. She has a Sister still in America. I had the Pleasure of finding Madme. LePelletier here a few Days ago, in good Health, and good Spirits.

Perhaps it may not be quite uninteresting to You to hear what Impressions I have received during my stay in Paris, with regard to the State of Things here. It is far from being satisfactory. The

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

[2] On the margin of the first page of the manuscript is written: "Mr. G. Perigny, librarian at Baltimore, now at Martinique, is Mad. le pelletier's Brother."

Government more and more shews the Cloven foot—that is, the Disposition to get gradually rid of the Constitution, and of the Obligations contracted, and to bring the royal Authority back, fully, to what it was previously to the Revolution.

The Forms which the ministerial Party endeavours to introduce in the two legislative Chambers have a Tendency to impress the mind with an Ascendency of the regal authority; with a Character of Submission, and Subserviency, in the Deputies, and the Peers. The Kings Party claims for the King the sole Right to interpret, and construe the Laws. The King dates the 19th Year of his Reign, speaks of the Constitution as a Concession.

Troops are disbanded, numberless Officers are out of Employ, yet has a Negotiation being [been] on Foot to reestablish the Swiss Guard, and to introduce 12,000 Swiss Troops, to that Effect. Few, or none, of the officers of Bonaparte, or the ancient revolutionists are employed. The first Emigrants gradually creep into all Situations.

Ferrand[1] (the minister) in a Speech respecting the restoration to the Emigrants of the unsold national Domain, hinted that the proper moment for further Indemnification had not yet arrived. What he insinuated made all the Purchasers and Holders of sold confiscated Property formerly belonging to the Emigrants tremble. The King, it is said, highly disapproved of that Speech, but a few Days after its Delivery he created the minister a Count. The same Minister, formerly, in Germany, published several Pamphlets, breathing against the revolutionary men in France a Spirit of inveterate Hatred and Revenge.

Batteries are gradually set in Motion (the amnesty notwithstanding) against those who voted for the Death of Louis XVI. These are to usher in the Persecutions. Talleyrand is more feared, than liked, by the Court. They would get rid of him if they could.[2]

Inscriptions in the great Book[3] are made very roundly, and without any specific Sanction of the Chamber of the Deputies.

Six or Eight Booksellers are illegally arrested for having sold a Pamphlet of Mehée de La Touche[4] (which would have caused much Sensation were he not a worthless Character)—a reprinted Extract from a Moniteur of the Year 6—a Letter from Carnot etc.—all of which I presume You have seen. Carnot[5] was to be arrested, but a number of military Characters interfered, and the measure was relinquished.

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[1] Antoine-François-Claude Ferrand, director-general of posts. His proposals hardly went beyond those made by Napoleon in 1802, but were expressed in offensive forms.

[2] Talleyrand was minister of foreign affairs.

[3] The "Grand Livre de la Dette Publique", or list of the creditors of the state.

[4] Mehée de la Touche had appeared in London in 1803, probably as a secret agent of Fouché, but ostensibly to conspire against the First Consul.

[5] Lazare Carnot (1753–1823), the great "organizer of victory" of 1793–1797. His memoir to the king after the Restoration had attracted much attention.

In Short, Government commits every Day the most egregious Faults, and the Spirit of the Times, with due allowance for Difference of Circumstances, resembles much that which prevailed in the [*illegible*] Days of Charles II. The Government would go further were they not affraid of Napoleon, and his secret Friends. The number of Malcontents increase daily, and I consider Tranquility as far from being established on a Solid Basis. A War would be fatal to Government.

The Ideas and Impressions which Napoleon disseminated with regard to the English, still prevail. They were never more disliked in France than now. Two of the Sayings most current are, that the Duke of Wellington has his Headquarters here, and his Army in Flanders; that the Burbons, during 25 Years of revolutionary lesson, had found the Secret, de ne rien oublier, et de ne rien apprendre.

The particular Taxes, which to have illegally established was One of the principal Charges against Bonaparte, are notwithstanding, still levied. Every One seems only to think of himself. Constitution, liberty, Laws, Public Prosperity, etc. etc., are idle words. Every One tries to make his Purse while he can—tout est à vendre! Many, many of those who most detested Napoleon, almost begin to regret him. All Parties rise from their Ashes!

I need not tell You that I should feel much obliged to You for acknowledging the Receipt of this, and of my preceding Letter. My movements, in my private Concerns, will of Course be much influenced by the Continuance of War, or a Peace, between America and Great Britain. I still hope for the latter, and flatter myself that the late unfortunate Occurrences at Washington (if a misfortune may be called what rid the Nation of a Capital they never should have had) will rather have a Tendency to render the British Government more tractable than the Reverse.

My address at Vienna will be, to the Care of Messrs. Geymuller and Co., Bankers.

THE AMERICAN TO THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS.

GHENT, *Oct. 13, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 723–724.]

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP, INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS AND LETTERS.[1]

SOCIÉTÉ CONSACRÉE A GAND
AUX PROGRÈS DES ARTS ET DES LETTRES.

[SEAL.]

[Extrait du régistre aux délibérations de la Société du 12 Octobre 1814.]

Conformément au réglement; Sur la présentation faite par quatre membres qui sont Mr. Jean de Meulemeester, banquier, membre hono-

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard. See p. 304, note 1, and p. 350.

raire, Mr. Le Chauvin, Curé De bast, membre de l'institut de hollande, des Académie de Leÿden, de Zélande, etc. Mr. Pisson, Architecte; president de la Section d'Architecture, et Mr. Delbeecq, vice-président de la Société—La Société voulant de rattacher par un Souvenir affectueux le séjour prolongé des Ministres Américains en cette ville, et honorer dans leurs personnes, les preuves multipliées qu'ils ont données de leur amour pour les Arts, les lettres, et tout ce qui tend au perfectionnement de l'esprit humain; voulant particulierement honorer ce noble sentiment dans la personne de Son Exc. Mr. Bayard, un des ministres de Etats unis au Congrès de Gand; lui accorde le Diplôme de membre honoraire étranger.

Pour Extrait Conforme.

Le Secrétaire honoraire de l'Académie et de la Société des arts et des lettres.

N Cornelissen.

Visée a la mairie de Gand pour Mr. Le Maire, protecteur particulier de l'institution le 16 Octobre 1814. Jac. Meldert.

Bayard to Lord Gambier.[1]

Mr. Bayard presents his compliments to Lord Gambier and has the honor to return enclosed the papers of Mr. Penn which his Lordship placed in his hands.

It is necessary only for Mr. B. to state in relation of the object of Mr. Penn in transmitting the papers to his Lordship that he does not consider himself in any degree authorized at present by the State of Delaware to enter into any arrangement on the subject of Mr. Penn's claim.[2]

Ghent, *18 Octob. 1814.*

The American to the British Commissioners.

Ghent, *Oct. 24, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III, 725.]

The Commissioners to Monroe.[3]

Ghent, *Oct. 25, 1814.*

[See "Am. St. p., For. Rel.", III, 710–711.]

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[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

[2] This letter is accompanied by a statement of Penn's claim against Delaware, extracted from a letter of Thomas McKean to John Penn, Newcastle, Nov. 10, 1770, which Penn transmitted to Gambier for use with Bayard.

[3] On Oct. 27 the commissioners sent to Monroe a letter written to them by Crawford Oct. 14, 1814, in which he says, "Lord Wellington says, that the capture of Washington will not increase their demands: He states these demands to be extremely moderate. Nothing but the restoration of the Indian boundary, as it existed at the peace of 1783. I told Mr. G., from whom I received this information, that unless it did change them, there could be no peace." Archives of the State Department, volume lettered "American Commissioners, Ghent, etc., 1813–1816."

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.[1]

Ghent, *26 Octr. 1814.*

My dear Andrew: I had the pleasure to receive your letter by Mr. Bollman dated in July. That and one from Caroline are the only letters I have received since Feby. from home.

I expected when I wrote to you by the *John Adams* to have been at this time near the coast of America.

Not one of us then expected that the negotiation would have continued ten days, and at present not one of us can tell at what time or in what way it will end.

It has clearly been the policy of the British Government to avoid a rupture and to protract for that purpose the discussions. With the same views she created the delays which attended the opening the negotition.

She was influenced by two motives. 1st, To see the effect of the armaments she had sent to the U States; 2d, To ascertain the probable result of the proceedings at Vienna.

They certainly did expect that the force sent to America would in the course of the campaign strike a blow which would prostrate the nation at her feet. Whether in that event she would have been satisfied with dictating the terms of an ignominious peace I think very doubtful. It is more likely that she would have been encouraged to aim at complete subjugation. The Capture of Washington was a source of great triumph and exultation and inspired a belief that their troops could not be resisted. This error has been sadly corrected by the repulse in the attack upon Baltimore,[2] by the destruction of their fleet on lake Champlain, and by the retreat of Prevost from Plattsburg.[3]

No people are more easily elated or depressed by events than the English. We have nothing to hope for but from vigorous and successful measures, so far as the war depends upon ourselves alone. The British force in America must be overcome and repelled or the war must end in national disgrace.

Something however is to be expected from the proceedings of the Congress at Vienna.

The french Minister Prince Talleyrand (a new title)[4] has delivered in a strong note which contains a protest on the part of France against the aggrandizement of the other Powers of Europe, while France is confined to her limits of 1792.

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[1] Printed in the American Historical Review, XX, 122–123 (1914).

[2] Sept. 12; see Adams, "History", VIII, 168–172.

[3] For the events on Lake Champlain and at Plattsburg see Adams, "History", VIII, 103–114.

[4] Talleyrand had been Prince of Benevento since 1806, but Louis XVIII had lately made him Prince de Talleyrand.

It is stated also that it requires that all material questions regarding maritime rights, should be settled by the Congress as equally essential to the peace of Europe as the regulation of territorial pretensions. This note is said to have produced a strong sensation at Vienna and will not fail to excite a corresponding one at London.

If Great Britain thinks it likely that she will in any form be involved in a continental war, she will hasten to make peace with us.

Thus in a great measure does our destiny depend upon operations not under our controle, nor within our view.

There is no probability of an immediate rupture of the negotiations. However disposed the British Government may be to prosecute the war, They will not abandon the means of making peace, if the course of European affairs should render it expedient.

Knowing her policy our conduct has been regulated accordingly. But it is quite possible for her, with no intention finally to make peace, to protract the negotiation for months to come.

I have given up all hopes of returning to the United States this winter. Our ship, the *Neptune* is ordered to Brest as it was not safe to allow her to winter at Antwerp which is commanded by a British force.

I paid a visit a few days ago to Bergen op Zoom which is about 55 miles from this place.[1] It is strongly fortified but was weakly garrisoned when assaulted in March last by the British. The garrison consisted of 2300 young troops, and the town was entered by 2800 British soldiers, the greater part of whom were killed or made prisoners. Many marks of the battle remain upon the trees and houses.

It is quite possible that I may spend some weeks in Paris before the season arrives at which we should be willing to undertake our voyage home. Tho I assure you my taste is so bad that I would infinitely rather find myself in Wilmington than Paris.

I beg to be rememembered to all my Cousins who compose your family and also to my relatives in Arch Street to whom I wish all manner of prosperity and happiness.

P. S.—Do not commit me in any use of this letter.

Bayard to Richard Henry Bayard.[2]

Ghent, *27 Octr 1814.*

My dear Son: I have been much disappointed in not having the pleasure of being present at your Commencement at Princeton. It was an important epoch of your life which is never to return. You are not to consider your education as finished but simply as begun. Your studies have heretofore been wholly directed by others, hereafter they will greatly depend upon your own taste and selection.

[1] See p. 351, and diary, p. 515.

[2] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

However your time may be employed at present you will feel the effects of it as long as you live. If industrious in the pursuit of knowledge, you qualify yourself for public and private employment and may expect to be rewarded with the esteem of your fellow-citizens, with fame and honors. If it be spent in idleness and dissipation, you must inevitably fail to acquire the means of public or private usefulness of distinction or respectability.

I have left the choice of a profession to yourself. It is a subject on which the will or disposition as well as the capacity ought to be consulted.

If you select the law you may commence reading immediately. In my letter by the *John Adams* I gave you instructions which may serve til my return home.

I think we shall be detained in Ghent til the middle of the winter and you will not expect to see me until some time in the spring.

I have always been glad that I left you at home. Your company would have been a source of great comfort and solace to me during the separation from my family, but the most important period of your life would have been sacrificed. This has been compleatly the case with Mr. Gallatin's son who has not advanced one step in the acquisition of any useful knowledge.[1] I cannot impress too strongly upon you the importance of perfecting your knowledge of the French tongue. It is the current language of this continent. With it you can pass from one end of Europe to another with facility, without it you are cut off in a manner from all the world. I do not know what I should have done without the small stock of it which I possessed.

Yesterday we dined with the British Ministers with whom we are all of us upon very friendly terms. Lord Gambier is a wellbred, affable and amiable man. Mr. Goulburn is smooth polite and well informed and Dr. Adams has the reputation of possessing much dry wit is shrewd and cynical.

Our intercourse is not very frequent but always accompanied with mutual civility. The evening we spent at the sitting of the institute of "Fine Arts and Letters," who admitted Messrs. Adams, Gallatin and myself as honorary members.[2]

The people of Ghent are disposed to be civil and kind to us, but they are oppressed by such heavy taxes and contributions that their pecuniary means in few instances extend beyond the mere support of their families. Today we dine with Count Stienhuysen the Governor of the Department who has invited us for the second time since we have been here. But there is nothing my dear son in the society

[1] James; an idea of his life in Europe may be obtained from his recently published diary, "A Great Peacemaker."

[2] See p. 304, note 1, and Adams, "Memoirs", III, 58.

of Ghent which can compensate the loss of that of Wilmington. I find little in Europe to gratify me, while I have left everything which is dear to me in America.

Give my love to James, Edward, Henry and Mary[1]—to your mama and Caroline I have written. Farewell my dear son and may a kind Providence always watch over you.

Your affectionate father.

Bayard to Rodney.

Ghent, *Oct. 28, 1814.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 247; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 42–44.]

Bayard to Bollman.

Ghent, *29 October 1814.*

Dear Sir: I have been some days in possession of your favor of the 9th inst. dated at Paris; but in the meantime I took advantage of an interval of business to pay a visit to Bergen op Zoom.

This town celebrated in history has acquired a new interest by the sanguinary repulse of the British arms in the assault under Genl. G.[2] in Ma[r]ch last. The garrison consisted of 2300 Men. 2800 B. Sol. En[tered] the town by surprize. They were in possess[io]n of 11 out of 14 Bastions and of a great part of the rampart. They lost 2100 in killed, Prisoners, and the remnant escaped with difficulty out of the place. I do not know whether it was for this enterprize that G. was created a lord. But certainly with less exaggeration, than of some of their affairs in Am., they could have made of it a brilliant achievemt.

We move very slowly here in our negotiation. It is impossible to tell what is the real intentn. of the British Govt. on the question of Peace or War. They probably mean to be govd by events. Those events are the issue of the campaign in Am. and the result of the proceedings at Vienna. Of the former we have equal means of judging, of the latter your proximity to the seat of the negotiations gives you great advantages in forming an opinion.

As to the proceedings at V. there are two points upon which information wd. be very acceptable—

1. Whether an attempt will be made to settle [on] a genel. basis of maritime rights.

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[1] Bayard's younger children.

[2] Gen. Thomas Graham, later created Baron Lynedoch. The assault which Bayard describes had taken place Mar. 8. The French surrendered the place by the treaty of peace in May.

2. Whether France will insist upon the exten[s]ion of her Cy. and especially on the side of the Low Count[ries] if the other great Powers shd claim an enlargement of their territories.

It would be also desireable to know the impressions and views of the continental powers on the subject of the Brit war with Ama.

The opening of the congress is postponed it seems till the 1st of Novr. Pray let me know how long it is likely to continue. The letters for Am transmitted to my care have been forwarded by our messenger[1] who left this place on friday last for Ostend and who is expected to sail to day in the Schooner *Chauncey*.

BOLLMAN TO BAYARD.

VIENNE,[2] *Nov. 5th, 1814.*

DEAR SIR: I had the Pleasure of answering at Paris—I believe about the 12th Ultimo—Your letter to me of the 19th September, and of sending You some letters for America, partly from myself, and partly received from Madame Le Pelletier, whom I could not well refuse to take Charge of them. I feel somewhat anxious to know whether that letter has reached You, particularly as it contained some Remarks respecting the actual State of France; you will confer a particular Favour on me by informing me whether it has come to Hand.

I am exceedingly distressed on account of the Continuance of the War, which seems to become more and more serious. If Peace does not take Place soon, I fear it will be remote for many Years, and England will then unquestionably have to regret that the present Opportunity was neglected. It would be highly gratifying to me to learn from You that You still entertain some Hope of a favourable Issue of the Negotiations in which You are engaged.

What will result from the Labours of the Congress here, is still very doubtful. I fear not much. The national German Spirit has subsided with the common Danger that created it. They are again Prussians, austrians, etc., etc.

Prussia insists on incorporating Saxony, which is opposed by Austria, France, and it is said even by England, but this Opposition will be of no Avail.

One of the Objects which occupy me here, is the Introduction of Steamboats on the Danube, an Idea which the Government is much disposed to encourage.

Has the Patent office at Washington been destroyed together with the other public Buildings?[3]

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[1] Mr. Connell.

[2] Vienna.

[3] Blodgett's Hotel, at the corner of 8th and E streets, N. E., used by the government as the patent office and the post-office, was not destroyed, owing it is said to the intervention of Dr. William Thornton, who represented to the British officer directing the firing of the public buildings that it was full of private property, chiefly models of inventions.

I should like to inclose a letter for my Daughters, but fear to abuse Your Goodness.

MILLIGAN TO BAYARD.

LONDON, *10th. November 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR: I returned last evening to London after an absence of six weeks. Presuming upon delays which have already occur[r]ed, I extended my excursions to Ireland. The pleasure of my visit there was greatly promoted by the society of an old friend, Miss Hamilton of Philadelphia, who is married to a son of the Bishop of Meaths,[1] and settled in Dublin under the most pleasant circumstances. I saw but little of the interior of the country. The population appeared to me to be in a state of starving misery. I was informed they were satisfied with their condition, that nature and custom had reconciled them to their filthy modes of existence, and that they are losing every day that rebellious feeling, which led them to submit with so bad a grace, to the oppressions too lavishly heaped upon them, by the Mother Country. From my own observation I ceased to wonder, that such numbers of that people should be so constantly flocking to our happy country. There is nothing later from America than the presidents message.[2] It is a little surprising that this Government has not received, or if received, have not thought proper to publish an account of their late operations in Canada.[3] The public mind has been very much influenced by those disasters. The ministry it is beleived will not be disposed to terminate the contest before making an effort to retrieve their disgrace, but the people now begin to call as loudly for peace, as six weeks ago they did, for the continuance of hostilities. The *Fingal* has not yet arrived, which is a little extraordinary as she was to have left New York on the 25th. of Sepr. and is considered a remarkably fine sailing vessel. As her object however was connected with commercial pursuits various causes may have produced her delay. I am now told that every thing with respect to her passengers is yet conjectural, as letters to the 16th. of Sepr. are silent either as to Parish or Powel. They have serious fears here that Izards expedition will succeed in capturing Kingston or Drummonds army.[4] God grant their predictions may be verified. This country has been so long accustomed to success, that they are entirely unprepared for adversity, and it is

[1] Right Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, bishop of Meath 1798–1823.

[2] Madison's sixth annual message, sent to Congress Sept. 20, 1814. Richardson, "Messages", I, 547–551.

[3] Drummond had been defeated at Fort Erie in August; Prevost at Plattsburg in September.

[4] Maj.-Gen. George Izard (1777–1828) had been ordered west on Aug. 11; both Drummond's forces and those of Prevost retreated while his army was marching westward. Adams, "History", VIII, 114.

ten times more galling in being produced by us, where it was least expected. I have seen a Gentleman this morning who called, that you might be made acquainted that Mrs. Bayard and your family were all well about the middle of September. On his way to New York he saw Mr. A. Bayard in Philadela. who gave him the information and beg[g]ed him to take charge of letters for you which he intended writing to Delaware for. He was detained in N York but a few days and sailed before any letters came on. At the time of his departure Mr. King had not been called into the Government as rumoured here, but he states that the Country was compleatly roused to defend its self, and that the most perfect union prevailed among all societies and all parties. New England promises to retake the country east of the Penobscot the moment the frosts commence.[1] I shall leave this on Monday for Ghent, and hope before that time an arrival from America will enable me to bring you some further good news from home.

With feelings of the greatest gratitude and respect for all the kind and friendly attentions you have always shown me.

HARRIS TO BAYARD.

ST. PETERSBURG, *31 Oct /12 Nov. 1814.*[2]

MY DEAR SIR: I received in due course of mail your highly esteemed letter of the 28 August. From the tenor of it as well as from subsequent information communicated by Mr. Adams to his lady, I could not reasonably calculate on any further letter from hence reaching you at Ghent, and a delay consequently took place in my making you the due acknowledgment.

I cannot here give sufficient evidence of the extent of the obligation I feel under to you for the communication you made me, nor of the deep sense with which I feel penetrated of the friendship and confidence which dictated it. Such testimonies I fully appreciate—they, I need not assure you, have been conferred on gratitude; and the worth, which your indulgence has discovered in me, I trust will not cease to excite the motives which move you in my favor.

A letter received by the last post from the Ministers jointly, relating to the compensation to be made to their messenger from Gottenburg, leaves me a hope that this may reach you at Ghent, and altho. I have nothing very interesting to make known to you, I eagerly seize every Occasion that presents to bring myself to your kind remembrance.

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[1] The region from the Penobscot eastward had been conquered by the British early in September.

[2] Bayard on Nov. 13 left Ghent for a brief visit to Bruges, Ostend, and Dunkirk; see the diary, p. 516.

Your relations with the British Commissioners must have been disagreeable enough. The War till now has been prosecuted on our part in a manner to cause us severe heart burnings; but thank Heaven the news contained in the London news papers of the 18th. Ult., just come to hand, encourage a hope that the Campaign will close with less misfortune and ignominy than it opened. A disposition to prosecute the war with vigor is said to have been manifested by the Government, but to produce any salutary effect it must be better seconded than hitherto. There is nothing but unanimity can save us. The war ought not to be suffered to close before we have washed out the Shame of submitting to the attrocities at Washington etc. We otherwise, would lose all claim, in the eyes of Europe, to sovereignty, and prove ourselves even to our own feelings unworthy of Self Government.

In this view, I feel greif at the duration of your mission at Ghent, where, till now, I alike fear we have gained but little advantage. The Vienna congress, which doubtless engages some of your attention, will by the time this reaches you be near its termination. Various are the reports circulated here on the business it is engaged with, but as each state seems principally occupied with projects of self agrandizement I conclude that what is related of the proceedings of the French Plenipotentiaries at this memorable meeting must be true, and that if Poland, Saxony, Italy, etc. are to be disposed of at the will of the victors, France in her turn, who again displays a pretty bold front, may demand and recover Belgium, and extend her frontier once more to the Rhine. That such questions have been agitated at this congress we have been led here to believe, and I hope your sources of information have furnished you with pretty accurate knowledge of the fact. The British plenepotentiaries are thus likely to be outwitted, and if we can force their Government to adventure 20 or 30,000 additional troops in their war with us we have a prospect in less than two years of making a glorious close of it. What will be the situation of England in a short time, if she risk to lose the influence, which the late events have given her with her neighbors (and of this influence we alone can dispossess her), her *maritime rights* assailed by wholesome commercial regulations established by the nations of the continent; who will necessarily refuse admission into their ports to british industry and british navigation but on terms of fair reciprocity, which England cannot or will not grant; who in fine, will pass laws of exclusion to England, as did Napoleon in his Continental System, which is still the prevailing law of Russia, unless the same independence is acknowledged at sea as is now happily secured on land? The celebrated man at the head of

affairs in France[1] is known to be a partizan to such a policy and we are also told here that he has developped some such views at the Capital of Germany. God grant that the moment may prove propitious to them!

I have not failed to execute with fidelity the commission given me of presenting you agreeably to your wishes near the many distinguished and amiable persons whose society you cultivated here with so much pleasure. And I have received from each in return requests, not less distinguished by feelings of consideration and regard for you, to be remembered to Mr. Bayard. The Princess Béloselsky, with whom I dine once a week is always particular in her enquiries after you. This Lady is a great partizan of ours, and in the vile affair of Washington, she espoused our cause, at a great dinner last tuesday at her house, in a manner that caused me equal pride and pleasure. At a dinner lately given by Krehmer we drank your health. I forbear to add all that was said on this occasion as you cannot be ignorant of the sentiments you have inspired in this and in every circle you have been in at St. Petersburg.

Our great friend, that most enlightened Statesman, Count Romanzoff has retired to his Estates in the Ukraine—he is however expected here on the return of the Emperor. I saw him every day almost for the last four weeks of residence here and he always made particular inquiries after you.

How happy should I be to be able to return with you in the *Neptune*—pray let me know whether this is practicable. To avoid the Winter passage you will necessarily be in Europe till March. By that time I could be in France as I judge Mr. Adams will be back in Two months. Should any turn have been given to the negotiations promising a different result from that anticipated I count on your friendship in confiding it to me.

[*On margin.*]

P. S.—I have just learnt that the British Plenepotentiaries have refused to discuss any maritime questions at Vienna. The *Emperor has desired* the return of the Chancellor to St. Petersburg to meet his Majesty on his arrival from Germany.

Bayard to Harris.[2]

Ghent, *6th December 1814.*

My dear Harris: I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 31 Oct./12 Nov. last, which was delivered to me this morning and I lost no time in answering it as the intelligence I have to com-

[1] Talleyrand.

[2] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

municate may be of great consequence to you. When I wrote you in August not one of us had the remotest idea that a pacification would result from our negotiation and we had fixed the time when [we] would embark for America. The negotiation has been designedly spun out by the British Government in order to have the benefit of any favourable events which might occur before the closing of the year. But the time has arrived which has obliged them to decide upon a new campaign in America or to make peace. And they have chosen the latter. They have given up all the material pretensions with which they set out and some small points only remain to be arranged. I think a treaty will be signed in the course of next week, but hostilities do not cease until after the exchange of ratifications which is to take place at Washington. I shall write to you again when I am enabled to confirm or contradict the expectation I have expressed.

The disaster at Washington was a grievous stroke upon us here, but since that Epoch there has been a flood of good news. Nothing can be more brilliant than the victory of McDonough[1] on Lake Champlain nor anything more decisive in its effects.

The different affairs at Erie reflect great honor on their troops and their brave officers. Brown[2] has acquired imperishable fame. Our last authentic dates from the U. States are by the *Fingal* and to the 23 of October. Izard's Army had crossed the Niagara and joined Brown's—Drummond had retreated to Burlington heights and was pursued by a very superior force. A letter has been received in this place dated New York the 24th October one day after the sailing of the *Fingal*. This letter mentions that a courier had just arrived bringing intelligence that Drummond had been totally defeated and himself and whole army captured.[3] I think the fact may be believed and if it be true the campaign will have ended gloriously.

Our business being ended here I mean to go to Paris where I shall probably remain until the season will allow us to embark safely for America. Your letters, if you write to me will follow me to that place. I think we shall be able to find room for you in the *Neptune*, your pretensions to a birth are certainly as good as those of the secretary who returns with his family. We shall not probably sail before the equinox.

No man knows how to say civil things better than Mr. Harris and I therefore beg him in my behalf to say the most civil things

[1] Commander Thomas Macdonough (1783–1825); the battle was fought Sept. 11. Captain George Downie commanded the British forces.

[2] Maj.-Gen. Jacob Brown (1775–1828) had been uniformly successful throughout the summer of 1814, at Fort Erie, at Chippawa, and at Lundy's Lane.

[3] Probably a reference to the attack on Drummond of Sept. 17, after which he withdrew to Chippawa. The victory was far from being the decisive one indicated by this letter.

imaginable to the Princess B. particularly and to the other ladies of rank with whom I had the honour being acquainted at St. Petersburg and make the assurance of my sincere and lasting friendship to my friend Krehmer and to Madam and to their charming children and have the goodness to mention my remembrance and respect in the different families whose hospitality I enjoyed in Russia.

Very sincerely and faithfully your friend and obdt. servt.

The British to the American Commissioners.[1]

The American Secretary of State having asserted in a letter lately made public under the authority of the American Government and of which an extract is enclosed that a shameful traffic in slaves has been carried on by British subjects in the West Indies by the sale of negroes taken from the Southern States of North America by those who professed to be their deliverers, the Undersigned have been instructed by their Government to request from the Plenepotentiaries of the United States a communication of the proofs upon this subject which the Secretary of State as far back as January last stated it to be then his intention to forward to the Plenepotentiaries of the United States.

The Undersigned are further instructed to assure the American Plenepotentiaries that upon receiving the proofs in question the British Government will adopt every means in its power for bringing to Justice any British subjects who may be found chargeable with the offence imputed to them in the letter of the Secretary of State. The Undersigned renew to the American Plenepotentiaries the assurance of their high consideration.

Ghent, *Decr. 7, 1814.*

Bollman to Bayard.

Vienne, *Dec. 14, 1814.*[2]

Dear Sir: I feel much concerned to be deprived of a reply to the Letters which I had the Honor of addressing You—one from Paris and the other from this Place, as it makes me apprehend You were displeased on account of my having troubled You with so many Inclosures for America; but You know it is difficult to resist the requests of a fine Woman like Madam Le Pelletier.

I should not now trouble You, but in Compliance with the Wishes of his Excellency the Baron Humboldt,[3] one of the Representatives of the Prussian Government at the Congress (the first in Point of

[1] From Bayard's letter-book; see Adams, "Memoirs", III, 92–93, 129.

[2] Received by Bayard at Paris Jan. 13, 1815.

[3] Baron Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), who was sent as ambassador to London in 1816.

talent) and destined Envoy to France, with whom I have the Pleasure of being particularly acquainted. The Case is the following.

You know that the King of Prussia lost a Queen[1] to whom he was much more attached than Sovereigns usually are to their wives. He caused a monument to be made for her by a celebrated artist at Rome;[2] which was, on the 20th September last, at Leghorn, put on Board the British Brig *Alexander* Capt. *Crean*, destined for Hamburg, and addressed to Messrs. Tanner and Co. merchants there. On Board of the same Vessel were shipped a Bas relievo, by the sculptor *Thorwaltsen*, and a statue by *Canova* both addressed to the Banker *Dalmar* at Berlin. The Vessel was taken, on the 14th of November, by the American Privateer the *Lion*, which had sailed from *l'Orient* in France, 9 days before.[3]

His Prussian Majesty is extremely distressed on account of this Accident, and wishes that no means may be left untried in some way or other to recover these Articles; and to have them forwarded to the Place of their Destination.

I perfectly well know that an Object of this nature is foreign to Your Business, but it has been thought desirable You should be informed of it, as perhaps it may be in Your Power to be useful in the Affair, which I am sure, from Motives of Courtesy, You would be with Pleasure.

The Business of Congress has, as yet, made very little Progress. There have been endless Discussions on the Subject of Saxony, and Poland, but You may rely that nothing is definitively settled to this moment with regard to either. It remains ever perfectly doubtful whether any Settlement will take Place with regard to them at all, since the Sovereigns of Prussia and Russia seem to have made up their minds, and the others (Austria, England, France, Bavaria) are as little disposed to yield. Some believe therefore in another immediate War between these respective Parties. Others think that it will not break out till after some Time. Many flatter themselves still that Things will be amicably settled.

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[1] Frederick William III; Queen Louise died July 19, 1810.

[2] This was the celebrated recumbent statue now over Queen Louise's grave at Charlottenburg. The sculptor was Rauch, whom Queen Louise had surprised, when he was a royal lackey, modelling her features in wax, and had sent to the Academy of Art. In competition with Canova and Thorwaldsen, he had obtained the commission for this statue.

[3] In that classic of privateering, Captain George Coggeshall's "Voyages", 1851, p. 79 (p. 203 of the third ed., 1858), that writer, who had sailed out from L'Orient on Nov. 8, 1814, in command of the *Leo*, relates how on Nov. 13 he captured an English brig, unnamed, from Leghorn, bound up the Channel, and how on the 14th he had sent her with a prize crew to the United States. But he gives no sign of knowing that he had captured a famous work of art. By reference to Mrs. E. D. Cheney's "Life of Christian Daniel Rauch" (Boston, 1893), pp. 68, 69, it will be seen that the English privateer *Eliza* recaptured the prize brig, and that the monument was brought unharmed to Cherbourg, and arrived at Berlin in May, 1815. The commissioners on Dec. 25 send to Monroe a letter from Baron Brockhausen on this subject and state that Gallatin has seen a letter from Count Grote asking for the return of the statue.

The Concerns of the German Empire, as such, have scarcely as yet come under Consideration.

If the Congress does not break up suddenly and in ill Humour, in a few Days, the Sitting will be protracted for several months longer.

There is not much Cordiality between the Russians and the English at this Place. Some Individuals, much attached to Alexander, call the English the Tyrants of the Ocean, and communicate that Tone to the whole Representation. They are much alive to American Success, and are hardly able decently to repress their Satisfaction when accounts arrive favorable for America.

I have had an Interview with Lord Castlereigh but found him much more reserved than Arbuthnot. I am inclined to think (and it is the prevailing opinion here) that he is naturally dull, and heavy. From the Conversation of Sir Sidney Smith,[1] the occasional Expressions of Talleyrand and others, I am inclined to think that the British ministry has altered, or will alter its Tone with regard to America, and that we shall have Peace. This at least is the prevalent Impression at this moment in the Circles of the best informed and I most ardently wish that it may be the Case.

Should You have News from Your Family, and should Your amiable Daughter perhaps have mentioned my children You would confer on me a very great Favour indeed by letting me know it. I am absolutely without Intelligence from America since I left it, and not a little uneasy on that account.

My Concerns, which have acquired a considerable Importance, will retain me here four or five weeks longer. I intend to return to America in March, or April next. Your Answer, if You will have the Goodness to favour me with One, I request You to transmit under Cover to the *Baron de Reinhart*,[2] at the Hotel of foreign affairs, rue du Bac, at Paris. It will then be sent on to me with the Dispatches of Prince de Talleyrand, which is the only safe Conveyance, as they are much in the Habit of opening Letters at the Post office here. This is forwarded to You through the same Channel.

P. S.—It is thought that the Property of his Prussian Majesty could not be legally condemned, though found on Board of an Enemy's Vessel.

BOLLMAN TO BAYARD.

VIENNA, *Dec. 20th, 1814.*

DEAR SIR: Your Favor of the 29th October has not been received till yesterday afternoon. Where it can have been so long I cannot conceive. I am glad to perceive that Your Silence did not arise from

[1] Sir William Sidney Smith, whose chief activity at Vienna was to keep the condemnation of the slave-trade ever before the congress.

[2] Karl Friedrich Reinhard (1761–1837).

any Displeasure on account of my having troubled You with so many Letters for America. My Letters to You of the 5th of Nov. and 13 Inst. You will have received before this reaches You.

The Congress has been extremely slow in the Despatch of Business. The Affairs of Italy may be considered as settled, but all other Concerns are perhaps as far removed from a final Adjustment as they were before the Congress met. France has made great Efforts to prevail on Austria to disavow the King of Naples,[1] but without success. She will neither declare against him, nor allow any Troops to march against him through her Territories. Murat will therefore remain unmolested, unless he should be attacked by Sea, which is highly improbable.

The Discussions have been endless on the Subject of Saxony, and Poland. The King of Prussia will have Saxony, particularly if obliged to give up his Part of Poland, since he would otherwise find himself too weak. Besides, a Population of 10 millions has been assured to him in the preliminary Arrangements at Paris. On the other Hand, the Emperor of Russia has taken into his Head to reunite Poland, to make himself King of Poland, as Napoleon was King of Italy, and to render the Poles, he says, quite independent, when they are fit to have a Government of their own. His *Obstinacy* on this Point causes all the Difficulty. He begins altogether to labour under the Symptoms of a disordered ambition; is destitute of great Qualities, but exceedingly vain, artful, over polite, and desirous of doing every Thing himself, though he wants the Talents of a man of Business. The King of Prussia has more Simplicity of Character, more Dignity, more plain Honesty, and every Thing would go straight were it not for Alexander, who is the Cause of all Trouble.

So little Progress have the negotiations made respecting Poland and Saxony, that it is at this moment (my Intelligence goes to last Evening 8 o'clock) from the general State of the Passions Feelings etc. *more probable* that the Congress will break up without effecting the Object for which it was convened, than the contrary. But, even in this Case, new continental wars are not likely to break out, at least not *immediately*. The Sovereigns in the late wars have been obliged to rouse the Spirit of the People, and their Success has, in a great measure, arisen from this Cause. Public Opinion has therefore acquired more weight than usual in Germany, and the Princes feel the less disposed to rely on the People, in wars which would be undertaken from personal Motives, and Views of Aggrandisement, as their Treasuries are, generally, empty. If the Congress, therefore, should

[1] Murat himself put an end to Austria's difficulties in regard to her treaty with him by calling on Italy to take arms, whereupon Austria declared him to be at war with her. "Cambridge Modern History", IX, 648.

break up, in the manner mentioned, it may be supposed—*though it is by no means certain*—that new Negotiations in the usual Form would follow, till one or the other Party may be better prepared to strike a Blow.

Such being the general State of the Business, [such] matters as the Settlement of a general Basis of maritime Rights, or even the Organisation of the Germanic Body, a new Constitution of it, the regulation of the navigation on the large rivers, uniform Weights, uniform Measures, or any similar Points, which the Public had flattered themselves would come under Consideration, have as yet not even been mentioned, or thought of.

There has been no Question of any Extension of the Boundaries of France on the Side of the low Countries, or any where else.

The War between America and Great Britain is generally considered as a foolish One on both sides. I have much contributed to the spreading of the Opinion, that it must prove particularly unfortunate for Great Britain, if continued.

A Part in this War (even as far as their Feelings go) take *none* of the continental Powers, unless it is Russia. The Emperor of Russia takes many of his Impressions from Mr. *Laharpe*,[1] his former Governor (Tutor), a republican Swiss, whom I know, and occasionally visit. He calls the English the Tyrants of the Ocean, and has many similar Notions, which spread and take among the Russians here. They are, therefore, extremely alive to American Success, and with Difficulty repress the Symptoms of their Satisfaction, when news arrive favorable to America, even as much as Decency in their Situation absolutely requires. This is the more natural, as in the new Wars, which threaten, England, France, Bavaria, Hannover, and Austria, would be united against Prussia, Wirtenberg, and Russia.

A Treaty between Austria and Bavaria has just been concluded.[2]

All the Transactions of the Congress are carried on with extreme Secrecy, but You may rely on the Truth of what I have stated, since I am on Terms of Intimacy with a Man to whom nothing that passes is, or, from his Situation, *can be* foreign.[3]

It was my Intention all along to have given you Details of Things as they were passing, which Your Silence has prevented. I have mentioned to Day only what I presume will principally interest You.

Talleyrand, when speaking of America, always tells me that there will be, and ought to be, Peace.

With Lord *Castlereigh* I have had One full Conversation on American Affairs, *of his Seeking*, but during which he was remark-

[1] Frédéric César La Harpe (1754–1838) was representing Ticino and Vaud at the congress. "Cam. Mod. Hist.", IX, 587.

[2] Diligent search in all known collections of treaties fails to reveal any such treaty.

[3] Perhaps Reinhard.

ably dry. He passes here, in the diplomatic Circles, for a man rather deficient, and extremely dull, considering the Situation he holds. Those who surround him are worse. Lord Steward[1] has, on many Occasions, given great Offence. Sir Sidney Smith has given in a memorial to obtain a general Combination of the European Princes for the Destruction of the Barbary Powers (of which he has furnished me with a Copy) but this, like all similar Subjects, will remain untouched.

There will also be no Question respecting the Slave-Trade, on the Continuation of which Portugal in Particular would make a great Stand.

There is altogether no Tie, no binding Interest, between the negotiating Powers. They were cordially united to rid themselves of a common Enemy. The Danger over, every One again thinks only of himself.

Nothing would aid more the Deliberations of Congress than an account that Napoleon had united with Murat, and was threatening the Frontier with a formidable Army.

The State of Things here I flatter myself will have rather a favorable Effect on the negotiations in which You take an immediate Part. Great Britain must be rather desirous to be clear with America, when perceiving that she may be involved in new Troubles on the Continent. I hope therefore that You will be able to improve this Opportunity, that Your Labours are about to finish, and that they will terminate in effecting an honorable Peace.

You will readily believe that You would oblige me much—in Case You should forsee such an Issue of the Negotiations—by giving me early some Intimation of it. The Event must necessarily influence my own movements, and I am engaged in some Concerns here, which may have very beneficial Effects on American Commerce. But this Subject I must reserve for Conversation when I shall have the Pleasure of meeting You.

Please send Your letter to me under Cover to "Monsieur le Baron de Reinhard, Conseiller d'Etat, etc., etc.—à l' Hotel des Affaires étrangères, rue du Bac, fauxbourg St. Germain, à Paris." This Baron Reinhart holds the first Office, after Talleyrand, in the Department of foreign Affairs, and is my particular Friend. I shall then receive Your Letters safe, and expeditiously, as they will be forwarded with Talleyrand's Despatches.

If the Congress here do not break up in a Passion within Ten or Twelve Days, the Probability is that the Sittings will be protracted till Spring.

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[1] Sir Charles William Stewart, afterward marquis of Londonderry, who had been British ambassador at Vienna.

I say Sittings—do not however imagine that there is any Thing like a regular assembly, or any settled Form of transacting Business. The Representatives of the smaller Powers do not even know what passes. The chief Discussions have been hitherto between the Representatives of the late four Allies. They exchange many Notes, meet occasionally, and dispute rather than treat. Of Festivities there has been no End, which caused the "Prince de Ligne,"[1] who died a few Days ago, to say "le Congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas."

There is One marriage on the Tapis, which very probably will take Place—that is between the Crown Prince of Wirtenberg,[2] who is a man of some Character (at least in a military Point of View) and the Dutchess of Oldenburg, Alexander's Sister, who is a meddling Woman, of Talents.

Of the different Characters whom the Congress has brought together here, Talleyrand, Humboldt (the Brother of Alexander), Stein,—whose Head and Energy were the principal Cause of Napoleons overthrow[3]—and Metternich, are the first, and the only remarkable in Point of Talents. Metternich has much Conduct (Conduite) but too great Propensity to Intrigue, and underhand means.

Excuse my Scrawl. The Courier of Prince Talleyrand is on the Point of departing, and I was anxious to improve this opportunity of a safe, and rapid Conveyance, at least as far as Paris.

P. S.—I repeat that You may *rely* on all the communicated Intelligence in answer to your Questions!

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Ghent, *24 Decr. 1814.*

My dear Andrew: We have this day concluded and signed a treaty of peace with the British Plenepotentiaries.

Hostilities do not however cease till it be ratified by our Government.

The Government no doubt will ratify it, for it is certainly as favorable as could be expected under existing circumstances.

This communication must be considered as confidential, while the Government make any Secret upon the subject.

We mean to wait for the spring before we Commence our voyage to the U States. The intermediate time will be spent in Paris and London,[4] tho I would far rather spend it in Wilmington or Philada.

My love to all your family.

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[1] Charles Joseph, Prince de Ligne (1735–1814), who died Dec. 13, had after an adventurous career been given the rank of field marshal and an honorary command at the Austrian court, and here was occupied with literary work at the time of his death.

[2] William, who was soon to marry Alexander's sister Catharine.

[3] Since he, more than any one else, was doubtless responsible for the Prussian-Russian alliance against Napoleon.

[4] Bayard left Ghent Jan. 7. Adams, "Memoirs", III, 144.

BAYARD TO ANDREW BAYARD.

GHENT, *25 December 1814.*

MY DEAR COUSIN: I have the satisfaction to inform you that we yesterday concluded and signed a treaty of Peace and Amity with the British Plenepotentiaries.

It is only within a few weeks, that we have had any ground to expect this event. It depended upon the decision of the British Cabinet. And as soon as they decided in favor of peace, they offered terms to which we could accede without the sacrifice of national honor and which soon led to the pacification.

Mr. Baker the British Secretary of Legation set off last evening with the treaty for London. From the nature of the Powers granted to the British Plenepotentiaries the ratification by the British Govt. is a matter of course.

But hostilities do not cease till after the treaty is ratified by our Government.

Mr. Hughes our Secretary will leave us this evening and proceed to Bourdeaux from which place he embarks on board the *Transit* for the U. States.

He carries with him a copy of the treaty. Another copy will be sent by the *Herald* from Amsterdam.

The following periods of time are limited for the restitution of prizes counting from the *ratification* of the treaty by our Government. Made after—

12 days. Upon all parts of the coast of North America from the Lat. of 23 deg. North to 50 deg. North and as far Eastward in the Atlantic ocean as the 36th deg. of West Long. from the Meridian of Greenwich.

30 days. In all other parts of the Atlantic Ocean north of the Equinoctial line, for the British and Irish channels, for the Gulf of Mexico and all parts of the West Indies.

40 days. For the North Seas, the Baltic, and all parts of the Mediterranean.

60 days. For the Atlantic ocean south of the Equator as far as the Lat. of the Cape of Good Hope.

90 days. For every other part of the World south of the Equator and

120 days. For all other parts of the world.

The information I give *you* the public ought to receive from the Government, and I therefore do not wish that they should receive it from me. You know my aversion to seeing extracts published from my letters.

Some days will be required to wind up our affairs here when I design to proceed to Paris where I shall spend about a month.

I shall visit England again as we are not likely to embark for America before the month of April. There are none of us much disposed to a Winters voyage. I shall have the pleasure to see you I hope in May.

Remember me affectionately to all your family.

BAYARD TO RODNEY.

GHENT, *Dec. 25, 1814.*

[See "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 248; "Papers Del. Hist. Soc.", XXXI, 44.]

BAYARD TO RICHARD HENRY BAYARD.[1]

GHENT, *26 Decr., 1814.*

MY DEAR SON: You have left College and are now at home, and I presume have commenced with diligence the study of the law. I have left you to the choice of a profession and I believe your propensity was to the law. If you attain eminence in it, you follow an honorable and profitable profession. The lower walks of the profession are contemptible and odious. Great industry and perseverence seldom fail to make a good lawyer, and no talents without industry will produce the same effect.

You have nothing to discourage you, the road is open before you. You will even have better chances than most of your competitors to attain the goal of distinction. I expect to be at home in the spring, our business is nearly settled here. Peace is made and we remain only to close with regularity the Mission entrusted to us. I should be very well satisfied if you were with me at this moment, as I think you could spend three months to advantage in London and Paris. You would certainly spend them with more pleasure than I shall do as I find little on this side of the Atlantic which interests or amuses me.

The affairs of this continent are by [no] means settled. The congress at Vienna do not seem as yet to have agreed upon anything. And to this state of affairs perhaps in some degree we owe the peace which we have made.

The war has raised our reputation in Europe and it excites astonishment that we should have been able for one campaign to have fought Great Britain single handed. The peace we have made will add to the consideration in which we are held as it proves that Great Britain expected nothing from a continuance of the contest.

I think it will be a long time before we are disturbed again by any of the powers of Europe. If we can moderate our divisions at home we may be a happy people.

[1] From the papers of Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

The peace comes in good time to save you from the militia ranks. If the war had continued you would have been bound to perform your tour of duty the alarms and objections of Mama notwithstanding.

Mr. Carroll who goes off this eve and about whom I write will be the bearer of this letter.[1] Time does not allow me to write to James or to your grandfather,[2] but you will make my love to them as well as to your Grandmama.

Adieu my dear son and be assured of my tenderest affection.

The American to the British Commissioners.[3]

The undersigned have the honor to inform the Plenepotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty that for the purpose of confirming between the United States and his Majesty perfect harmony and a good correspondence and of removing all grounds of dissatisfaction the undersigned have been vested with full powers to treat and negotiate for and in the name of the United States with a Minister or Ministers of his Britannic Majesty furnished with the like powers concerning the general commerce between the United States and Great Britain and its dominions or dependencies and concerning all matters and subjects connected therewith which may be interesting to the two nations; and to conclude and sign a treaty or convention touching the same.

The undersigned had the honor to give an intimation to that effect in the conference held on the 9th of August with the Plenepotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty.

The negotiations for the restoration of peace between the two countries having now been brought to a happy conclusion, they renew the communication, and avail themselves of this opportunity to reiterate to the British Plenepotentiaries the assurance of their high consideration.

John Quincy Adams
J. A. Bayard
H. Clay
John. Russell
Albert Gallatin

Ghent
28 December, 1814

The American to the British Commissioners.[4]

The undersigned Ministers Plenepotentiary and Extraordinary from the United States of America have had the honor of receiving

[1] Mr. Carroll carried the second copy of the treaty with him.
[2] Richard Bassett.
[3] From Bayard's letter-book.
[4] From Bayard's letter-book; see Adams "Memoirs", III, 132.

the note of his Britannic Majesty's Plenepotentiaries of the 7th inst. requesting the communication of the proofs that a shameful traffic in slaves has been carried on by British subjects in the West Indies by the sale of negroes taken from the Southern States of North America by those who professed to be their Deliverers; and containing an assurance that upon receiving the proofs in question the British Government will adopt every means in its power of bringing to justice any British subjects who may be found chargeable with such offence.

This proof was furnished to the undersigned by their Government to enable them to demand compensation to the injured American citizens for their loss of property. Having failed in attaining that object and not being instructed to communicate it to the British Government for the purpose which it appears to have in contemplation, the undersigned will transmit the note of the Plenepotentiaries of His Britannic Majesty to the American Government which is alone competent to decide upon the propriety of its cooperation in the object which the British Government now has in view.

The undersigned renew to His Britannic Majesty's Plenepotentiaries assurances of their high consideration.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
J. A. BAYARD
H. CLAY
JOHN. RUSSELL
ALBERT GALLATIN

GHENT, *29 Decr. 1814.*

THE BRITISH TO THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS.[1]

The undersigned have had the honor to receive two notes from the Plenepotentiaries of the United States respectively bearing date on the 28th and 29th instant.

As the powers with which the undersigned were invested have expired, they are unable to return any answer to the notes above mentioned, but they will not fail to transmit them by the earliest opportunity for the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

The undersigned are authorized to assure the American Plenepotentiaries that His Majesty's Government will endeavour to facilitate the transmission of intelligence to the Government of the United States of the signature of the treaty of Peace and that Mr. Carroll should he arrive in time will be allowed to proceed to the United States in the same ship in which Mr. Baker will embark. Mr. Baker will be the Bearer of the instrument by which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent acting in the name and on behalf of his Majesty will ratify the treaty.

[1] From Bayard's letter-book.

It having been upon consideration held by his Majesty's Government that a Duplicate act of this Ratification may be prepared, the same will be forwarded to the United States by another opportunity without loss of time.

The undersigned avail themselves of this opportunity of renewing to the American Plenepotentiaries the assurances of their high consideration.

GAMBIER
HENRY GOULBURN
WILLIAM ADAMS.

GHENT,
Decr. 30, 1814.

ADAMS TO BAYARD, CLAY, AND RUSSELL.[2]

SIR: According to a resolution which was adopted by a majority of the Board of American Commissioners this day assembled at their Hotel we request you to have packed up all Books Maps and other Articles which have been purchased at the public expence for the use of the Mission; as also all the original notes papers and communications which have been received by the American Commissioners from the British Government, from the British Plenepotentiaries, and from other persons; and to cause the said books, maps, and other Articles and notes papers and communications to be transmitted to the *Neptune* at the public expence to be carried to America and deposited with the Department of State.

We are with much consideration, Yrs.

J. A. BAYARD
H. CLAY
JOHN. RUSSELL

His Excelly.
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
GHENT, *30 Decr. 1814.*

ADAMS TO BAYARD, CLAY, AND RUSSELL.[1]

GHENT, *2 January 1815.*

GENTLEMEN: I have received the Letter which you did me the honour to address to me on the 30th ulto. and beg leave to state to you, what I understood to have passed relative to the Books, maps, other Articles and papers belonging to the mission, at their meeting of that day.

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[1] From Bayard's letter-book; see Adams, "Memoirs", III, 129–144.
[2] Printed in Ford, "Writings of J. Q. Adams", V, 258–260.

I had expressed it as my opinion that *at the termination of the Mission*, the custody of these effects, particularly of the Papers, would devolve upon me, subject to the orders of our Government. The principle upon which this opinion is founded, is the usage in similar cases, supported by the precedent in the case of the prior joint mission. Under that precedent Mr. Gallatin now holds the whole original papers of communications from the Russian Government, and Mr. Bayard the Full Powers to that Mission to treat for Peace and Commerce with Great Britain, which he received from Mr. Gallatin. It is true that the *Principle* was then neither contested nor discussed.

Mr. Clay having on a preceding day and at the meeting of the 30th ulto. expressed an opinion that the papers of the present Mission ought to be transmitted to the Department of State, and a wish to have them with him for his personal convenience in the *Neptune*, the subject was discussed, a variety of opinions were given, but I did not understand that any vote was taken or any Resolution was adopted. I expressed my willingness to deliver all the papers in my possession, which should be *Specified* to me by a majority of the Mission, to any person *to be named by them* with authority to give me a receipt for them, and on receiving from him such receipt. I conceived this to be indispensable to my own justification for putting the papers permanently out of my hands. My motive for asking that the *papers* should be specified was that there appeared to me a manifest impropriety that some of them, particularly the full powers and Instructions received from the Department of State, should be sent back to that Department, and I had thought that upon the discussion of the 30th this had been generally admitted. My motive for asking that the person to whom I should deliver the Papers should be named was, that many of them being original papers of great importance I could not consistently with my sense of duty deliver them, but to a person perfectly confidential; and I could not take upon myself to decide whom the majority of the mission would consider as such.

I understood Mr. Clay to have said at the meeting of the 30th ulto. that he would draw up *such* a requisition to me; but I expected that the draft to be made by him would, like every other paper hitherto drawn up by any one member of the Mission, be submitted to the consideration of all the members, before it would be definitively settled, and that I should have an opportunity of stating my objections to the whole or to any part of it. Your Letter contains a request totally different from that which I had understood Mr. Clay to promise that he would draw up; inasmuch as that was to specify both the person to whom I should deliver the papers, and the papers to be delivered, and this specifies neither the one nor the other; but

under the vague and general terms of "other persons" leaves me doubtful whether it was your intention to include in your request all the papers, without exception; or to leave me to the exercise of my own discretion in making the exceptions.

You will perceive, Gentlemen, that I cannot consider the paper signed by you, and presented to me by Mr. Clay, as the act of a Majority of the Mission; since it was signed without consultation with the whole mission upon its contents; although all the members of the mission were here, and might have been consulted. I deem this circumstance so important in point of principle, that I have thought it my duty to answer your Letter in Writing. My objections to a compliance with your request itself, I propose to state at a meeting of the members of the mission remaining here. In the mean time, I pray you to be assured, that with a full sense of the deference due from me to your opinions, and with an earnest desire to comply, as far as the obligations of my duty will permit, with the wishes of all, and of every one of you, I am, very respectfully, etc.

Harris to Bayard.

St. Petersburg, *23d Dec/4 Jany 1815.*

My dear Sir: Your Esteemed favor of the 6 Dec. came to hand by the last Post. The tidings it communicates are indeed most happy. At length then we have a prospect of a close to this sad contest—thanks to your skill and persevering labors. You certainly have encountered very trying privations, but the result will I hope fully reward you. A result which will secure You unfading honors. Such, certainly, were ever destined to attend you, but the object now attained stamps your fame with a Celebrity that will live long after Your Country shall cease to enjoy your invaluable services.

The Mail of the preceeding day brought London news of the 9th Dec. And I saw a letter of that date from a Gentleman high in public life, which left little doubt with me of the successful termination of the conferences at Ghent. It is too true, and most happily so for us, that the British Ministry are at this moment placed in a most awkward position—the turn which Affairs have taken on the continent renders it pretty certain that its peace will not continue long. With this apprehension at least, England cannot disarm. A Coalition is said to have been prepared and will no doubt be cemented between three great Sovereigns for the purpose of preventing any other Nation meddling in the Affairs of Germany and the north. In this State of things Our Enemy may think herself fortunate to get rid of the American War.

I shall say nothing in relation to the contest as to the Advantage it has been or may hereafter prove to our Country. There is one thing

however that strikes me with conviction, that in case we meddle Again with the European powers there must be a radical change in our Government. I would deplore an early change in our political institutions, but it is most important to our national security and consequence that in time of War the Executive should have Strength.

I am happy indeed in the thoughts of being able to return with you in the *Neptune*, and I trust Mr. Adams will be here in Season to enable my reaching you at the intended port of your embarkation.

The Emperor is not yet returned and tis even thought that he will not be here before the beginning of next month. Great Armaments are still kept up and every thing assumes a Warlike aspect.

The predictions of a Great Statesman here, a mutual friend of ours, are likely to be verified and Europe will see more times of trial and dessolation.

I shall dine tomorrow with Our friend Krehmer, where you may be assured your place is in reserve for you and I shall not fail to renew your Compliments in every Quarter where they are due.

Receive I pray you with my felic[it]ations on the Occasion of the new year the renewed assurances of the great Consideration and personal attachment with which I am ever dear Sir, faithfully Yours.

Bollman to Bayard.

Vienna, *January 9th, 1815.*

Dear Sir: I had the Pleasure of addressing you on the 20th of December, which Letter I hope You have received.[1]

The News of the Peace reached this Place on the 1st of this month. I rejoice heartily at the Event. Should You be of Opinion that I have been, in any small Degree, useful in bringing it about, have the Goodness to say so, where it may be of Service.

The Intelligence came here extremely "à propòs." Napoleon observed some time ago to an English Gentleman, that his Government ought to have made Peace with America, immediately after the Treaty of Paris, "pour pouvoir prendre au Congrès à Vienne l' Assiette convenable"—and indeed the new Tone she (England) may now take will contribute much to make Russia and Prussia more tractable. There is a great Conference to Day; probably the affair of Saxony will be settled; and an arrangement may now be confidently expected, which will, at least *for the present*, prevent new Wars on the Continent.

Permit me now to say a few Words respecting my own Concerns. My Situation here has become particularly interesting. You know that there is no money actually in Circulation in the Austrian Mon-

[1] See pp. 360–364.

archy except Government Notes, of which there are from 4 to 500 Millions of Florins—and which loose in Exchange for hard money at the Rate of 270 for 100. The bad Effects of this—the unsettled State of all Prices, the Destruction of all Credit, all Faith in Business, all Security—it is necessary to have witnessed in Order to be able to conceive it. This induced me to write an Essay on the Subject, in which first the true Principles concerning Money-Matters are developed; then, the bad Consequences shewn of the actual State of Things, and finally the Steps are traced which it is necessary to take in Order to remedy the Evil. Of these the Formation of an independent national Bank, to be subscribed for, in Part, in the depreciated Government Paper—this Paper to be funded, and the Bank-Paper (exchangeable for Specie) gradually to take the Place of the actual Currency, was the One considered as the most efficient, and essential.[1]

The manuscript was intended to be printed (out of the Country) but a Friend, who had the Perusal of it, sent it to the minister of Finance. He, *Count Stadion*,[2] was immediately struck with the Idea, sent for me—in short, I have had frequent Interviews with him, have constantly since been engaged on the Subject, have had already Conferences at his request with all the principal Banking-houses, to secure their Cooperation, and the Execution of the Plan in *its fullest Extent will be attempted, if the Labours of the Congress terminate in the manner wished for.*

If the Plan is carried through, a totally new Era will begin in the financial Concerns, as well as in the Commerce, and the Industry of this rich Country, but whose prodigious Resources have been hitherto, from want of Knowledge, sadly neglected.

My former financial Essays also, written in the English Language,[3] though hardly attended to in the United States, have been read, and noticed here, and brought me in Contact with most of the Characters whom the Concerns of the Congress have assembled at this Place.

Under these Circumstances You will readily believe that there is a strong Disposition to retain me here. Indeed *Count Stadion* has told me that my Cooperation was indispensible in the Arrangements contemplated.

On the other Hand I wish not to give up my Allegiance to the United States, though a temporary residence here, with my Children, would be extremely agreeable and useful.

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[1] For a further discussion of this subject see Varnhagen von Ense, "Ausgewählte Schriften", XVII, 227–230.

[2] Johann Philipp Karl Joseph, Count von Stadion (1763–1824), who spent the last ten years of his life in reorganizing the finances of Austria.

[3] "Paragraphs on Banks", 2d ed., Philadelphia, 1811, is Bollman's best-known essay.

It is also to be observed that Venice, Fiume, Triest, are now Austrian Ports, and that the commercial Relations between the United States and Austria will unquestionably become important. Our Cotton Wool, several Dyeing Drugs, West-India—South America—East India Productions may be supplied from the United States. Hungaria Wines (of which the Consumption will become great with us when once they are known), linnen-Goods, Glassware—all Articles in Short that used to be imported from Hamburg and Amsterdam, can be to better advantage procured from Triest.

It was therefore natural to mention that if they (the Government) wished to have my Occasional Services here, it could be best accomplished by expressing a wish to that of the United States—with whom important commercial Relations were about to take Place—that they would appoint a Person of the requisite Qualifications near them, and to intimate that the Choice of myself would be particularly agreable—this would also, with regard to themselves, keep me in the desirable State of Independence. This Idea has been at Once approved of particularly by *Prince Metternich* and will be executed as soon as the Congress breaks up. I shall probably myself render the Papers.

In the meanwhile I have begun with the practical Part, as it were, of the Situation mentioned and looked for. The Independence of South America, even of Mexico, seem now certain. You know the prodigious Consumption of Quicksilver in these Countries, in the Business of Amalgamation. *Old* Spain used to supply it, but, not having enough herself, received from the Austrian Government 24,000 Quintals annually, at a stipulated Price. For the only Quicksilver-mines of any note in the Old World, besides those in Spain, are the mines of *Idria*, an Austrian Province, and they are solely worked for Government account.

I have, therefore, immediately availed myself of the favourable personal Relations I have established with the Ministers here, in Order to propose to them a *Contract* with me, for 3 or 4 Houses in Philada. and Baltimore (who themselves, or their Partners happen to be in Europe)—guaranteed by *Barings* in London—to supply, through their Agency, Spanish-America with the Quicksilver wanted, on certain Terms.

I KNOW that my Proposition will be agreed to, and I shall thus have *snatched* from the merchants of England, Holland, or Hamburg, and secured to *Ours*, a Business, which will amount to many Millions in the course of the year, and become still more of Consequence from the Circumstance that those, who bring the Quicksilver to the Consumers in America, will naturally have the principal Share of the Business of supplying their other wants, and transacting their Concerns with Europe.

I have also discovered that *Napoleon*, while in Possession of Venice, had caused 6 Ninety Gun Ships to be built there, by Engineers of the french marine, which were finished in a masterly manner; and fully equipped. After the Treaty of Paris they became Austrian Property, and the Government wished to *sell* them. I am now procuring an Inventory of them, a minute Description, Terms etc. I believe they could be had for about 400,000 $ each. That is for One *third* of what they would cost when built in the United States. *Stock* would pay for them, *Cotton* and other Produce, fetch back the Stock. This may deserve Reflexion, at least in the Case that the Formation of a Marine should hence forward become an Object with Our Government.

If all these should appear to You Matters of some Importance; and if You should conceive me entitled to some Credit for my Exertions, You will of course *act in the Sense to promote my Views, according to Your own best Judgment.*

I wish You would, for the present, keep the Contents of this Letter *entirely to Yourself*, unless indeed, You should think *expedient* to communicate them to Mr. Gallatin, which is left to Your Discretion.

Perhaps an Intimation on Your Part to Our Government, not to make any immediate Appointment of Consuls at Triest, Venice, etc., since they would shortly receive an important Communication from Vienna respecting the Probable commercial Relations with this Country would be useful.

I request You also to have the Goodness to inform me of Your intended movements, and of the probable Time of Your Departure for America. If it should take Place sooner than I can return myself, I wish exceedingly to have the Pleasure of seeing you and of conversing with You, previously to Your Departure. I should not mind coming to Paris for that sole Purpose, if early enough informed.

The inclosed Letters I take again the Liberty of recommending to Your Care.

Please send Your answer to "Madame la Baronne de Reinhard—à l' Hotel des affaires etrangères, rue du Bac, fauxbourg st. Germain." This Lady and myself are acquainted since 20 Years, and her Husband expedites all Messengers of the french Government to Talleyrand here.

If You write pr. Post it is indispensible to make the Direction in *french*, and to say, "Vienne, en *Autriche*." There is a Vienna in the South of France, to which Place One of Your Letters to me miscarried, and thence came here. If you make a Cover over your Letter, directed to Messrs. Geymüller and Co., Bankers, it is still more sure to arrive safe, and unopened.

January 10th.

[P. S.]–Nothing respecting Saxony has been decided yet, in the Conference of the Plenipotentiaries of yesterday. It is thought that they more and more approach, but nothing as yet has been settled. Even the Question respecting Poland is not yet ultimately decided.

A. J. Foster[1] to Bayard.

London, *Jany. 27, 1815.*

My dear Bayard: I did not know where my Letter might find you or I should have written to you immediately on the Conclusion of the Peace to congratulate you on that happy Event which I consider as concluded although it wants the Ratification of the President, for I think you will agree with me in the persuasion that he will not be displeased with the Result of your Labours. Baker gave me news of you and I was very glad to hear you were well and going to Paris where I conclude you now are. You may be more amused in that Capital than this because they understand the art of amusing better—and that it requires some time in this Country for a Man's Talents and good Qualities to be known. But as I hear you are coming here again I hope you will like us better on a second Visit than on your first, which for many reasons must have been unpleasant to you. I wish you may be named Minister here. I much fear there may be useless blood shed at Sea, as I hear the American frigates are out again. I think Peace gave general satisfaction here—for my part I think it equally honorable to both. I wish I could hope to see you at my House at Copenhagen where you should drink some of my American Madeira and a number of other good Juices—here I have nothing to offer. I remember always with great pleasure our little parties de Chasses and petits diners, but I think one good will have been attained by the War if your Govt. should find themselves obliged to quit Washington for ever. Pray remember me to Mr Clay.

Bayard to Richard H. Bayard.

Paris, *28 Feby. 1815.*

My Dear Son: I had the satisfaction some short time since to receive your letter of the 2d of December.

I am quite content with your determination to study the law. It was never my intention to controle your inclination in the choice of a profession. It is a terrible thing to be forced to travel a road all ones life time, which presents no objects, but those of aversion. All

[1]Augustus J. Foster (1780–1848), whose ministry in the United States had ended in 1812, and who was now British minister to Denmark.

I ask of you is that you will resolve to succeed in the profession you have chosen. An eminent Lawyer is among the most respectable men in the Community—a Pettifogger among the most contemptible.

The interruption of your studies caused by the War, was unavoidable. You could not expect or wish to be exempt from a portion of Military duty. Your country was in danger and it would have been against duty and honor to have endeavoured to avoid sharing in the perils and sufferings to which others exposed themselves in its defence. Your good mother acted very Judiciously in procuring for you the place in which you were to act. I am satisfied therefore in all respects with the course which has been followed in respect to you, and the war being now over (as I presume the treaty has been ratified[1] tho we have not heard of it) you will have nothing to do but to set down to the sober and patient pursuit of your studies. The law must be the principal, and it seems to me that the substantial part of the building must be erected before we can well judge how it ought to be ornamented. Upon the whole subject we will talk freely upon my return and you will always have the benefit of the best advice your father can give you.

I shall leave Paris in the course of two or three days for London where I shall probably remain till the period of our embarking for the United States.

I do not like Europe as well as America, but without coming abroad, I should not in the same manner have been sensible of my partiality for my own Country.

We expect to commence our voyage from England in the beginning of April, and count upon a passage of about forty days. And so with Gods blessing I hope once more to see and embrace my wife and children in little more than two years from the time I left them.

Adieu my son and be assured of the affection of your father.

Bayard to Andrew Bayard.

Paris, *28 Feby 1815.*

My dear Andrew: Our business being ended at Ghent and my colleagues not being disposed to return home in the winter, I determined to spend part of the time which would intervene before our embarkation in this city. I accordingly came to Paris about the 8th of Jany and have remained here since that time. The public objects of curiosity have chiefly engaged my attention and employed my time.

I have not sought to enter into society knowing I should not remain here long eno' to make friends or even acquaintances.

[1] The treaty was ratified Feb. 17.

I leave the place in the course of a day or two for London, where I shall remain till the time fixed for our sailing which is in the beginning of April. We had intended to embark at Brest, but Mr. Clay wishing to see England, and some political reasons concurring, we have ordered the ship to Plymouth.

The affairs of this continent are likely to be peaceably arranged by the Congress at Vienna.

Saxony cedes about 700,000 of her population to Prussia and retains her sovereignty. Austria and Prussia will be gratified with parts of Poland but Russia secures the bulk of the Kingdom.

Lord Castlereagh has left the Congress and is now in Paris on his way to England.

The best understanding subsists between this Court and that of St. James. The two Courts acted in concert in the Congress at Vienna.

We have not yet heard of the ratification of the treaty of peace by our Government. It is now daily and by great numbers anxiously expected.[1]

The British nation are not satisfied with the course of the negotiation nor with the manner in which the war ended, but their animosity against us has greatly subsided, and I believe hereafter they will prefer living in peace with us to a state of hostility.

I can repeat to you upon better authority than I made the suggestion in a former part of this letter that the affairs of the continent are settled by the congress at Vienna and that Europe has the prospect of enjoying a general and permanent peace. To this effect was the information of Lord Castlereagh in a conversation I had with him a few minutes ago. He is on his way to England and has stopt a day or two here to pay his respects to the King and royal family. We lodge in the same Hotel. Prospects were different when our peace was made, and fortunately enough perhaps for us.

I have found nothing abroad to wean me from the U States and my desire to return home encreases every day. With an affectionate rememberance to Mrs. B and your children.

CLAY TO BAYARD.

LONDON, *3d Apl. 1815.*

MY DR SIR: I am rejoiced to hear that you are much better and even able to ride out.[2] I hope this letter will find you completely

[1] On March 18 Adams speaks of seeing in a newspaper that the ratification of the treaty had been received. Adams, "Memoirs", III, 171.

[2] Adams writes on Mar. 7, "I called to see Mr. Bayard at the Hôtel de l'Empire, and found him very ill, with a severe cough and some fever; his throat is much ulcerated." On the 13th Bayard was not able to see him, on the 18th he was better, and on April 5 Adams writes, "I . . . called upon Mr. Bayard, whom I found much better than when I saw him last Saturday. He considers himself, and his physicians and surgeons now consider him, out of all danger, but he said he had had a very narrow escape with his life." Adams, "Memoirs", III, 165, 169, 171, 183.

re-established in your health. I left Paris with serious apprehensions for you.

I offer you my congratulations upon your appointment as Minister to St. Petersburg.[1] Mr. Gallatin being also appointed Minister to France, I am extremely anxious to know what effect these events will have upon the determinations of both of you to return home. My solicitude to get back is so great that if I do not hear of the *Neptune* coming to Plymouth in the course of ten days I believe I shall go to Liverpool and take a passage in the *Milo*, a fine vessel that sails for America in the course of ten days. I am tired, tired out with my absence.

I must request then that you will do me the favor to write me immediately and inform me what are your intentions on this subject, and those of Mr. G. also, if you can ascertain them.

I do not think that this Govt. has yet decided on War,[2] and the Ministry is said to be divided on it.

Clay to Bayard.

London, *15th April 1815.*

I was extremely glad, my dear Bayard, to learn from under your own hand, that you were much better, and in a state of convalescence. I pray to God that your recovery may be rapid and complete.

I have seen and conversed with Lord Castlereah twice, but I have not been able yet to learn what are the intentions of this Government in regard to the Commercial Treaty. It has indeed been so occupied with the weightier concerns of Europe, that I believe its attention has been not yet particularly turned to that subject.

We received the day before yesterday a file of the N[ational] Intelligencer up to the 20th Feb. and a parcel of documents sent by our Government, in a vessel lately arrived at Liverpool; but not one syllable of instruction.

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[1] This nomination, as well as that of Gallatin to France and Adams to England, was made Feb. 27. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1816, 623–624.

[2] With Napoleon, who had now returned from Elba. Southey in 1819 told George Ticknor "that in the spring of 1815 he was employed in writing an article for the *Quarterly Review* upon the life and achievements of Lord Wellington. He wrote in haste the remarkable paper which has since been published more than once, and the number of the *Review* containing it was urged through the press, so as to influence public opinion as much as possible, and to encourage the hearts of men throughout the country for the great contest. At the same time a number of the *Edinburgh* was due. Sir James Mackintosh had written an able and elaborate article, to show that the war ought to have been avoided, and that its consequences to England could only be unfortunate and inglorious. The number was actually printed, stitched, and ready for distribution; but it was thought better to wait a little for fear of accidents, and especially for the purpose of using it instantly after the first reverse should occur, and to give it the force of prophecy. The battle of Waterloo came like a thunder-clap. The article was suppressed, and one on 'Gall and his Craniology' was substituted for it. There it may still be found. I think Mr. Southey said he had seen the repudiated article." "Life of George Ticknor", I, 50.

It appears from some New York papers that a messenger with despatches for us sailed from that place on the 13th March for France; and I hope you may have received them 'ere this.

I have not yet been able to ascertain whether I can procure a passage from Liverpool for America. I expect a letter to day on that subject. My anxiety to return is extremely great, and I fear particularly a long passage if I should not be able to take advantage of the Easterly winds which are now beginning to prevail. But I am far, my dear friend, from wishing that my solicitude to return should at all influence your movements so as to endanger your health.

There is reason to fear that the British have succeeded in an attack on Mobile.

Be pleased to make my respects to Milligan and Todd and believe me.

Bayard to [Barnet?].

Mr. B. is extremely sensible of the honor done him by his fellow Citizens at Paris by their invitation communicated by Mess. B. and A.[1] to a dinner to be given at Grignans on Monday next.[2] Mr. B is compelled by the state of his health to decline accepting the invitation, which he does with encreased regret, understanding that the dinner is given in honor of our Minister at this Court[3] about to return to the U S. and whose talents and integrity in the opinion of Mr. B. merit all the attention and distinction his fellow citizens can pay him.

Paris, *23 Apl. 1815.*

Clay to Bayard.

London, *28th April 1815.*

My dear Bayard: I am still here as impatient as ever to be gone, and regretting that the fine Eastwardly winds which have been so long prevailing are not filling the sails of the vessel which may take me to America. I have been disappointed in getting a passage from Liverpool.

In the mean time we have had at his request an interview with Lord Castlereah, on the subjects of the firing upon the American prisoners at Dartmoor,[4] of the transportation of them home, and of the Com-

[1] Probably Isaac Cox Barnet, the consul at Paris, who presided, and Thomas Appleton, the consul at Leghorn.

[2] See Adams, "Memoirs", III, 185–186.

[3] Crawford.

[4] The Dartmoor prisoners, restless over their long detention, had on Apr. 6 refused to obey orders and were fired upon. Ingersoll, "History of the Second War between the United States of America and Great Britain", second series, I, 63–69; Lossing, "Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812", 946–947.

mercial Treaty. On the first, he expressed much regret at the event, and proposed that in order to investigate its causes thoroughly one of us together with one of the British Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ghent, should proceed to the spot and collect and report the real facts of the case, promising that if the British officers had acted improperly that they should be punished. We declined going, it being inconvenient to both Mr. G. and myself, and indeed not falling within our duties; but we advised Mr. Beasley to co-operate in the joint investigation proposed, and recommended him to appoint for that purpose C. King,[1] an intelligent young man, son of Rufus King, who happened to be here. Mr. King and a British agent are now engaged in the service.

With regard to the transportation of the prisoners to America it has been arranged, that it shall take place immediately at the joint expence of the two governments, reserving the question (for there is a difference of opinion on this subject) who ought to pay the whole expence for future adjustment.

As to the Commercial Treaty, Lord Castlereah said he wished, before he answered our note at Ghent communicating our power to negotiate on that topic, to ascertain by a conversation between us and the British Commissioners, together with the Vice President of the Board of Trade,[2] who would be associated with them, if it were likely that some general principles could be fixed upon to form the basis of such a Treaty. We informed him that we had no objection to such a conversation, provided that the same persons should be invested with powers to treat with us, in the event of the conversation being likely to lead to any practical result, which he said was certainly his intention. This we thought necessary to place the parties to the conversation upon a footing of equality. We have been now waiting some days for this interview, which is to take place when the other side is ready. I think we shall have it to-morrow or next day. I am very much disposed to think that nothing can be effected, judging from past experience.

The probability of renewed War in Europe places the subject of a Commercial treaty on more important ground; as in that event all the questions which have hitherto arisen between the two Countries may come up again.

The interview may have the effect of enabling us to ascertain the views and intentions of the British Govt. on those questions in the event of War, and in that way may not be without its use.

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[1] Charles King (1789–1867). Francis Seymour Larpent was appointed on the part of Great Britain.

[2] Frederic John Robinson, afterward Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon (1782–1859). He took the place of Lord Gambier in the negotiations for the commercial treaty.

War with France I have no doubt continues to be the intention of this Govt. if the union and co-operation between the Allies which have been hitherto manifested can be secured for the purpose.

We have nothing from America later than the 16th March.

Clay to Bayard.

London, *13th May 1815.*

My dear Bayard: I presume this letter will reach Plymouth about the same time that you do,[1] and I hope it will find your health re-established.

We expected, and indeed had determined, to leave this City on yesterday. But after waiting upwards of three weeks for the inofficial conversation, to which we had been invited by Lord Castlereah, and for which we understood they would be prepared in four or five days, we received on tuesday last a note requesting us to call at the office for Trade on the following thursday. Accordingly we attended and found Mr. Robinson, the Vice President of the Board of Trade, and Mess. Goulburn and Dr. Adams waiting to receive us. I will not detail the whole conversation, which would swell this letter to an unreasonable length; but we brought forward all the questions likely to disturb the harmony between the two Countries.

Nothing transpired on their part which authorizes an expectation that any thing can be done, except to abolish the discriminating duties on tonnage and importations, and that we should be let in to the India Trade as heretofore. The interview terminated by a promise on their part to report to the Ministers what had passed, and by a pledge that they would do all in their power to facilitate an early answer, which we urged upon them on account of our situation, your's, and our expectation of the Ship being at Plymouth in a few days. Mr. Goulburn promised to write us a note stating when we might expect an answer, which however we have not yet received.

This interview, you will have learnt from my former letter, was requested by Lord Castlereah to ascertain, before he answered our note from Ghent, if it were likely that we could come to some agreement as to the general bases on which a treaty of Commerce could be formed. What course this Governmt. may now take can only be matter of conjecture. Considering the very few points on which it seems probable we could meet, I should doubt if they do not decline any Commercial treaty, and content themselves with some general assurance of a determ[in]ation on their part to favor our commerce by liberal regulations.

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[1] Bayard left Paris May 6.

We chiefly pressed and that with all the force we could the necessity of arranging the subject of Impressment; but I have not the most distant expectation that any thing can be effected.

We are determined not to wait longer than a few days. Indeed I hope that Mr. Adams' arrival, which has not yet taken place, but which I should suppose can not be much longer delayed, will liberate us, by shewing that the subject which has detained us is turned over to him. It is most strange that our Government has transmitted to us no instruction whatever.

I trust that the few days which it is likely we may be instrumental in detaining you at Plymouth, will subject you to no inconvenience; and that they may be beneficially employed in recovering from the fatigues of crossing the Channel, and preparing for the new voyage.

If it should turn out, contrary to my expectation, that we can do any thing here I hope that your strength will admit of your coming and giving us the benefit of your assistance. If any thing occurs to render it probable that we shall be able to do any thing I will apprize you.

My respects to Milligan and Todd.

Clay to Bayard.

London, *17th May 1815.*

My dear Bayard: I am greatly distressed to learn from Col. Milligan that your indisposition continues, and that you have suffered much from the voyage. We had expected to have been with you before now, but have thought it advisable to remain a little longer, in consequence of what has passed between us and this Government.

We had yesterday an interview with Mess. Robinson, Goulburn and Adams, and find this Govt. disposed to enter into a treaty placing our Trade with their European dominions upon the footing of the most favored Nation, and abolishing all discriminating duties; allowing us to trade with their India possessions, without the restriction imposed upon the outward voyage by the unratified treaty of 1806;[1] and regulating the trade with Canada, without the intercourse with our Indians. They profess themselves ready also to discuss the subjects of Impressment, Blockades, and Carrying Trade, on which however they do not flatter us with much prospect of coming to an arrangement. We have thought it advisable to proceed, under these circumstances, in the negotiation, reserving however to ourselves the right to leave it to Mr. Adams to finish it, if it is likely to be protracted. The above gentlemen are immediately to be commis-

[1] The treaty negotiated by Monroe and Pinkney.

sioned, and assure us of the most prompt attention to the subject. So that I think we shall be able to accomplish the business in about ten days. That time, if your strength will not admit of your joining us, you will probably find necessary to recruit yourself.

Mr. Adams has not arrived, but is expected on tomorrow. Mr. Crawford is here.

Wishing you a speedy and entire recovery of your health I am most sincerely.[1]

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[1] Bayard, with Crawford, sailed for home June 18, on the *Neptune*, leaving Gallatin, Adams, and Clay to complete the treaty of commerce, which was signed July 2. We have no account of the voyage as Bayard was doubtless too ill to do any writing whatever. He died one week after the arrival of the *Neptune* in the Delaware. In the Federal Republican of Georgetown, D. C., issue of Aug. 7, 1815, appears the following: "Wilmington, D., Aug. 1, Arrived in the Delaware off this place last evening the United States ship *Neptune* forty-three days from Plymouth, having on board Messrs. Bayard and Crawford. The news of this arrival produced the most affecting spectacle. The last accounts from Europe respecting the health of Mr. Bayard had caused great anxiety more especially in the minds of those who were acquainted with him as a private citizen. At the same moment were seen rushing to the wharves the inhabitants of the borough and members from the vicinity who had previously noticed the *Neptune* ascending the Delaware. The boat that had gone to the *Neptune* now arrived at the wharf. An awful silence ensued. As soon as it was known that Mr. Bayard was on board the *Neptune*, though very ill, the assemblage burst into loud huzzas in consequence of the return of that distinguished statesman and esteemed fellow citizen. In the evening he was brought from the *Neptune* to his house having been confined to his bed seventy days. Messrs. Clay and Gallatin are in London forming a commercial treaty."

In the same paper, issue of Friday, Aug. 11, 1815, appears the following: "From the Federal Gazette [date not given]. Obituary (communicated). "Illustrious Bayard, a victim of love of country, is no more among men. The following is from a private letter from a lady in Wilmington.—Eighth month 7, 1815, Bayard is gone! Last evening about 8 o'clock he was released from suffering 'such' he said 'as no mortal could imagine' and which I feel a hope has not been in vain (a religious reflection which the writer knew would best be understood by those to whom the deceased was familiarly known). The *Neptune* cast anchor in our river last second day. The town was immediately all bustle. The arrival of President Madison would have caused no such agitation; democratic as we are there is no man in this place so popular as James A. Bayard. He was not landed until after dark; was then carried by twelve sailors. He was surrounded by friends and townsmen who wished to carry him; but the sailors claimed it as their privilege; and the kind hearted creatures would not quit the house until they had offered together a prayer for Bayard. From his first arrival he said that he could not recover; was thankful for the privilege of reaching his family and appeared resigned. The gathering in his breast broke yesterday and he had not strength to cast up the load of matter. Our physicians are unanimous in the opinion that the death of this great man is owing immediately to the ignorance or mismanagement of his case in Europe. The bell now rings for the town council who are assembling amidst the universal gloom to offer some poor honor to the memory of our deceased fellow citizen."

European Diary.

1813.[1]

Sunday, May 9.—Took leave of my family, proceeded to New Castle with Mr. G.[2] and embarked on board the *Neptune* Capt. Lloyd Jones for St. Petersburg, accompanied by Mr. Rodney and Mr. McLane the Collector who parted with us at 8 in the evening, went on board the revenue Cutter, and returned to Wilmington. About this time the ship came to an anchor off Liston's high woods,[3] the Capt. not considering it prudent knowing the enemy to be in the bay to hazzard the falling in with them in the night.

Monday 10.—Was called up this morning about 4 oclock by the Capt. who announced the return of the Cutter and of the Collector, with letters. The letters were supposed to be of a public nature, but they were private from my family. We expected to learn the details of the capture of York[4] in upper Canady but were disappointed in not receiving any news additional to the reports which had reached Wilmn. the day before our departure. Got under way at 5 oclock and stood down the bay with a light breeze from N. West. The wind being light and in the afternoon heading us, after the ebb tide was spent, in the evening we came to anchor off the Brandywine shoal.

Tuesday 11 May.—The ship got under way this morning with a moderate breeze from the West, about half past five. Both capes of the Delaware in view and a British ship of war at anchor between them. The wind being light made little way. At nine there was no wind and we drifted with the ebb tide, till we came abreast of the British ship of war.

At ten oclock a boat was sent aboard of us with a Lieutenant and from him we learnt that the ship was his Britannic Majesty's ship the *Spartan* of 38 guns, Capt. Brinton.[5] The Capt. sent an invitation to Mr. G. and myself to come on board his ship, which was declined, and upon the return of the boat Capt. Jones went on board the frigate with his commission and other ships papers.

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[1] Brief accounts of the voyage will be found in Adams, "Life of Gallatin", and in "A Great Peace Maker: the Dairy of James Gallatin", 1–4.

[2] In addition to Bayard and Gallatin, the party consisted of George M. Dallas, George B. Milligan, John Payne Todd, and James Gallatin, the secretaries. Adams, "Life of Gallatin", 493.

[3] Gallatin says that they anchored for the night near Bombay Hook. Ibid., 493.

[4] Toronto. See p. 227, note 1.

[5] The *Spartan* had been commanded by Captain, afterward Vice Admiral, Sir Jahleel Brenton, and now was commanded by his younger brother Captain Edward Pelham Brenton. Both were Americans (Rhode Islanders) by origin.

He was accompanied by the two Secretaries Mr. Dallas and Mr. Milligan. They were at first received coldly by Capt. Brinton who suppos[in]g our ship to be a private Merchant ship stated that it would be necessary to examine the ship to ascertain if any merchandize was aboard. But on Capt. Jones producing a public commission and satisfying him that the ship belonged to the U. States, his manners were changed and he behaved with marked civility. Our Capt. and the Secretaries returned in the frigates boat about noon and Capt. Brinton politely offered to put our pilot a shore at Lewes Town. About one oclock the pilot was taken off and having no wind the ship was allowed to drift to sea with the tide. About three oclock the flood tide commencing and it continuing calm, the ship was brought to anchor on the edge of the shoal called the overfalls. While at anchor we were passed by a ship which excited much interest. She was supposed to be the American ship *Penrose* with a cargo of great value from Canton, and apprehending that she had not heard of the war, we supposed of course, that she was insensible of her danger as she was then steering for the Delaware and in an hour or two would be within the power of the British frigate. Imagining that the American colours which were flying at our masthead might deceive her, the Capt. ordered them to be struck and immediately sent off his boat to enquire what ship it was, and to apprize her of the war. The boat went along side of the strange sail and brought intelligence that it was the *Fair Trader*, a licenced vessel from Lisbon. That she had been captured and had a prize master on board. The *Fair Trader* stood up the bay and was shortly after brought too by the *Spartan* and we observed her to anchor under the stern of the frigate. In the evening upon the ebb tide making our anchor was hoisted and a breeze springing up we put out to sea. Before bedtime the wind encreased to a gale and we were obliged to take in most of our sails. Tho the ship had much motion and this was the first voyage of most of us yet it was remarkable that none of us were seasick. The evening was passed pleasantly and we retired about 11 o'clock.

Wednesday 12th.—This morning I rose about half past 4 and for the first time saw the sun rise upon the ocean. Some clouds obscured his splendour and the scene had not that magnificent appearance which I had frequently heard described. The sea was rough, but the wind not high and the rolling of the ship became very unpleasant. We were now about 50 miles from land and I congratulated myself in still being exempt from seasickness which I had expected to experience as soon as I felt the rocking of the ocean. The wind was unfavorable and the day passed without any material occurrence. A sail was seen at a great distance which did not approach us.

Thursday 13.—Rose at 5 oclock. Found a fresh breeze at E. S. E. which caused the ship to pitch much but still felt no sickness. No material occurrence.

Friday 14.—Rose at 6 oclock. The sky clear and a fresh breeze. Wind at E. N. E. Long. 71. The wind encreased during the day to gale and created a very rough sea. Most of the Passengers were extremely sick. The Doctor,[1] Mr. Todd, and myself only escaped. The novelty of the situation, the narrow birth, and the different motions of the ship, denied me sleep for the night, and I waited for the coming day with extreme impatience.

Saturday 15.—The gale raged with great fury this morning. The sky was dark, the waves ran mountain high, the wind roared thro the ropes of the ship and the scene to one not accustomed to the sight was awful and sublime. We were now in the gulf stream and the wind heading the current created a high short and irregular wave. We expected the wind to abate as the sun declined; on the contrary it continued to rise and before midnight blew a storm. The Capt. had prudently in the course of the day taken in all sail not necessary to keep the ship under steerage way, and every sail allowed to stand was close reefed. The top gallant yards were all sent down on deck. This was an unpleasant night for a Landsman, but my confidence in the Capt. and the ship, put me much at my ease. I went to bed without the expectation of sleeping and rose without being disappointed.

Sunday 16.—Upon rising I found the wind considerably abated, but the horison overcast, dark and threatening. The wind had hauled to the North, which enabled us to lay our course, which was about East. The sea presented us with the picture of the mountain wave. At one moment the head of the ship was rising to the skies, and again plunging towards the bottom of the ocean. When the dread of first impressions was removed the scene was grand and interesting. I passed the day chiefly on deck, but most of my fellow Passengers were sick in their births. The wind became light before night, but the ship was much agitated from the high swell of the sea. This night found myself a little accustomed to my birth and enjoyed some hours of refreshing sleep.

Monday 17.—The wind in the morning was at N. W. and scarcely blew with sufficient strength to keep the sails full and to enable the helmsman to steer the ship. The motion of the vessel was extremely disagreeable from her rolling with the swell of the sea. Our company this morning are chiefly on deck and appeared in a great degree recovered from their sickness. Since we have been out we have seen but two sails and those at a great distance, neither attempted to approach us. At 12 oclock our Long was 64. 26. Lat. 37. 5. In

[1] In a memorandum in one of Bayard's small note books he names the passengers on board the *Neptune,* including a Dr. E. Lawton; Gallatin refers to this man as Dr. Layton.

the afternoon the wind came round to S. W. and blew a fresh breeze and passed us thro the water at the rate of 6 and 7 notts an hour. In the evening we discovered a brig close on the wind in chase of us. Her apparent distance was about 8 miles. We kept our course and going free before the wind and night shortly after setting in we lost sight of the chase and did not see her again. We had a fair and fine breeze during the night at S. W. but the ship rolled so excessively, that few of us got any sleep.

Tuesday. 18.—The wind continues at S. W. occasionally dying entirely away and then blowing in Squalls. The weather mild and the day fine, Long. 61. 46. Lat. 37. 31. The morning spent in reading on deck. A quick and pleasant breeze in the afternoon.

Wednesday 19.—The weather mild and fine and the wind light and our rate thro the water not more than 2 1/2 notts an hour. Long 59. 12. Lat. 37. 45. Our company all on deck and amusing themselves with their books. A very light southerly wind prevailed during the afternoon and we made but little way thro the water. Engaged during the day in reading Dr. Clarks travels in Russia[1] etc. The writer is evidently a man of talents, observation and Science, but deficient in candour in his remarks upon the Russian habits, manners and character. This may proceed from design or prejudice.

Thursday 20.—The wind continued light during the last night. but a breeze sprang up from S. E about 7 oclock in the morning. All sails were set, but the wind encreasing the royals were taken in and the yards sent down on deck. At 11 oclock it blew a gale. The top gallant sails were taken down and the top sails close reefed. The Sky was overcast with clouds and no observation at 12 could be taken. Rained a considerable time and drove us below. The rolling and pitching of the ship renders it almost impracticable to write. The Captain considers the weather uncommonly boisterous for the season of the year. We had been promised a very smooth passage but thus far in general have experienced a very rough one. Long 57. 20. Lat. by reckg. 38. 15. The gale continued during the day and towards evening encreased in violence. We are still in the gulf stream.

Friday 21.—The wind blew with great violence during the night and the rolling of the ship drove all sleep from the pillows of most of us. Rose at 7 and went on deck and found it difficult to keep my feet, while holding on to the ropes. At this moment a heavy sea broke over the quarter deck. Seeing it coming I made my escape into the cabbin, but it completely inundated the 1st officer and helmsman. At 9 the wind shifted to S. W. and blew a strong gale.

[1] Edward Daniel Clarke's "Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa", pt. I. (Cambridge, 1810).

The rate of the ship was 8 and 9 notts an hour at 12. Long. 53. 53. Lat. 40. 20. The Thermometer indicated our approach to the grand banks. The mercury fell 9 deg. in the course of the morning, from 69 to 60. The Capt. states the temperature on the banks to be 45. This is to be understood upon immersion into the water. During the afternoon we had a fine breeze and high sea.

Saturday 22.—Upon rising this morning found misty, dark and rainy weather. Such weather generally prevails upon the Bank. No observation could be taken, but the Capt. stated our Long. to be 50. 30. Lat. 40. 28. By his reckoning he supposed we were upon the S. E. edge of the Bank. The lead was thrown last night, but no bottom found at 100 fathoms. It was again thrown this morning and no bottom at 105 fathoms. The Capt. does not now suppose that we shall pass the Bank in soundings, but shall go to the S. E. of it.

The Thermometer in the water is at 46, which is considered as full proof of our being near the Banks. Time is exactly divided and well regulated on board the ship. The crew is divided into two watches. A watch is four hours. At the commencement of each watch the ships bell rings and the men turn out with the officer of the watch. The helmsman holds the helm two hours. At the end of each hour the bell is sounded and the log thrown. The end of each half hour is marked by a slight stroke of the bell. Breakfast is on table for the Passengers of the cabin at 8 oclock, dinner at 3 and supper at 8. The table is extremely well supplied, but during a great part of our time it has been difficult from the motion of the ship to preserve a seat at it or anything upon it. There is little to complain of, but the confinement and that is very irksome. At the same time there is little resource in the characters of my companions. The society however may improve. Several have as yet been constantly sick in a greater or less degree, and coming together as strangers, we have scarcely yet had time to become acquainted with each other. During the day the weather has not permitted us to be a moment on deck and I was shut up in my stateroom, depending on Dr. Clark for my amusement. We move very slowly thro the water and I am heartily tired of being in the vicinity of the banks where the Capt. tells us good weather is seldom seen.

Sunday 23.—In the morning a light breeze. The weather hazy. About 8 oclock a vessel was discovered to leeward steering the same course with ourselves. She was observable occasionally till two oclock, when we lost sight of her. At first the Capt. supposed her to be a vessel of war, but she made no apparent attempt to approach us. Our rule is upon discrying a vessel to hoist our White flag, in order to give notice of our character, of a cartel, and not to lead them in chase out of their course. The Thermometer in the water

46, in the air 54. The weather remained foggy and dark during the day and the wind being light, we made dull progress. Long. 49. 27. Lat. 41. 40.

Monday 24.—Was awakened this morning by the Capt. who informed me that he had been brought to by a vessel of war which was to windward and bearing down upon us. Rose immediately and upon going upon deck found the ship lying to and a sail approaching us rapidly. We discovered her to be an armed Brig and supposed her to be British tho American colours were flying. The Chase came close under our Stern and after hailing, sent her boat with an officer on board. She proved to be the American Letter of Marque Brig *Ida*, from Bourdeaux bound to Boston. The Officer after examining the Commission of the Capt. remained long enough to enable us to write a few lines to our several friends and families. And to me it was a delicious consolation never needed nor felt before now, on the wide ocean and separated for the first time by 1300 miles from my wife and children, to have the means of addressing a line to them to assure them of my safety and to indulge the effusion of the sentiments of affection which the thoughts of them excited in my bosom.

The officer of the *Ida* civilly took charge of our letters and returned on board the Brig and the two vessels immediately made sail in contrary directions and soon lost sight of each other. The winds light during the day and the sea smooth. The sky however clouded and the weather cold. Long. 48. 14. Lat. 41. 50.

Tuesday 25.—We have had during the last 24 hours little or no wind. The vessel not making more than a mile an hour. The sea smooth and the weather fine. Long 48. Lat. 42.

Wednesday 26.—The morning opened with a fresh breeze at N. N. W. which gradually hauled round to the N. The temperature of the water rose to 60, but the air remained cold and damp. Long 45. 54. Lat. 43. 4.

Thursday 27.—The wind has continued from the N. and at times blown heavily. In the last 24 hours we have made 160 miles. The sky is overcast with thick clouds, and the weather too cold to allow us to be on deck. The Cabbin is without fire and chilly and comfortless. Each day presents the same occurrences, and the life of a Passenger at sea is sufficiently monotanous to afflict those with ennui least naturally disposed to it. Long 43. 21. Lat. 44. 24. Our Capt. I have seen enough to understand his character. I may amuse myself hereafter in speaking of the characters of the Passengers altho much is evidently not furnished for the pencil. In the first place the Capt. appears to be a good seaman, entirely acquainted with his business. Attentive to his duties and cautious upon any appearance

of danger. He is civil and accommodating, and seems to take pleasure in the satisfaction he gives. He puts us all at our liberty and ease and renders us as comfortable as impatient Landsmen can well be at sea. I have thus much to say in favor of our Capt. without having anything to say against him.

In the afternoon we saw a sail to the windward apparently bearing down upon us. When within about 10 miles she stood the same course with us. She appeared to be a brig but whether of war, we could not tell. In the night she disappeared and we saw no more of her.

Friday 28.—The wind has been favorable to day but very heavy and we have been scudding before it under very little sail and yet making 9 and 10 notts an hour. The weather during the morning cold and cloudy, and extremely uncomfortable on deck. Spent the morning in my state room reading Carr's "Northern Summer."[1] Long. 40. 6. Lat. 45. 23.

Saturday 29.—During the last night it blew a gale and created a mountainous sea. The Capt. was obliged to turn out about 2 oclock in the morning and to order the little sail which was set and double reefed, to be close reefed. During the early part of the morning it hailed several times violently. Later in the day the wind abated, but blew in squalls and as cold as the early winds in March. As often as we have a gale of wind we are sure not to see C. and H.[2] during its continuance. C. has scarcely ever recovered his spirits and gaiety after one gale, before he was deprived of them by another. This is the more unfortunate as he stands in need of the whole stock with which nature has supplied to render him tolerable company. The reckoning gave us for Long. to day 36. 8. and our observation for Lat. 46. 45. Since the second day after we left the capes of Delaware we have not had a day on which one could remain comfortably on deck without a surtout and very few with one.

Sunday 30.—The wind abated considerably last evening and I had a comfortable nights rest after having passed the two preceding nights without an hours sleep. To day we have had a clear sky, the first time since we left the grand banks, a moderate breeze, but from the N. and very cold. Passed the morning on deck reading, but half congealed with the chilling wind. Long. 32. 51. Lat. 47. 47.

Monday 31.—The day opened with a fine morning. The wind light and the air more temperate than we had experienced since we left the Banks. The wind encreased towards noon to a fine sailing breeze of

[1] Sir John Carr's "A Northern Summer or Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Prussia and Part of Germany in the year 1804" (London and Hartford, 1805).

[2] In Bayard's memorandum he assigns to each passenger a letter, probably the letter designating the cabin of each. From this it appears that C. refers to Gallatin and H. to Dallas.

6 notts an hour, and the air became colder. We have found the month of May on the ocean to correspond with that of March on land, and this notwithstanding the sun rises about 20 minutes after 4 and sets 40 after 7. Long. 31. 30. Lat. 48. 13.

June, Tuesday 1.—A strong breeze prevailed thro the night and the sea not being high we made great way thro the water. The wind still continues and gives us 8 and 9 notts the hour. Long. 28. Lat. 50. 29.

Wednesday 2.—Light wind and smooth sea. Sky clear. Atmosphere temperate, but colder than agreeable. For many days past each succeeding day has exhibitted the same scene, with the preceeding one, excepting changes in wind and weather. Long. 25. 59. Lat. 52. 18.

Thursday 3.—A light breeze in the morning and at noon a perfect calm. By the Capts. calculation we are 500 miles from the coast of Ireland. Long. 24. 59. Lat. 53. 16.

Friday 4.—Yesterday we were without wind, but in the night a breeze sprung up, which however was ahead and altho we have progressed to the N. we have receded from the E. The wind has been unfavorable all day, and we have reduced the length of our journal [journey] very little. Engaged during the day in reading Porters travels in Russia and Sweden in 1805, 6, 7, 8.[1] Long. 25. 2. Lat. 53. 46.

Saturday 5.—A dismal day. The wind ahead and raining. Most of our company abed and sleeping a few reading. Nothing can exceed the monotony of our lives. The changes of weather are not sufficient to amuse and those are the only changes we witness. Long. 24. 32. Lat. 54. 22.

Sunday 6.—The wind shifted last night and enabled us to lay our course. The breeze fresh in the morning. The weather cloudy and cold. Our rate thro the water has been from 7 to 5½ notts the hour. Long. 22. Lat. 56. 30.

Monday 7.—The weather cold, cloudy and drizzling. The wind fair but light. The wind shifted at 12 so as to put us a point out of our course, and blew with violence. Long. 20. 46. Lat. 57.

Tuesday 8.—The wind fair and a good breeze. The weather cold and cloudy. The horison dark and lowering. By the Capts. computation we are now 490 miles from Fair Island situate midway between the Shetland and Orkney Islands. Long. 17. 27. Lat. 57. 21.

Wednesday 9.—To day we have enjoyed the luxury of sunshine. The sky broken by light clouds. The wind favorable but not much of it. Thermometer at 54. Passed in the Lat. of Rockhall Island,

[1] Sir Robert Ker Porter's "Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden during the years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808" (Philadelphia and London, 1809).

but could see nothing of it from the mast head. Long. 14. Lat. 58. 12.

Thursday 10.—Cloudy cold weather. The wind ahead and blowing a gale. The sea very rough and occasionally breaking over the ship. The Passengers generally in their births. which commonly happens in blowing weather. Long. 12. 8. Lat. 59. 30.

Friday 11.—The wind unfavorable, and a heavy sea. Obliged to beat to make headway, and saving ourselves on one tack and making little upon the other. Long. 11. 30. Lat. 59. 56.

Saturday 12.—A cold rainy stormy day. The wind ahead and driving us out of our course. It began to blow last night at one oclock and soon encreased to a violent gale. The Capt. was called up by the officer of the watch and ordered all sails in, but such as were necessary for steerage. These were close reefed. The wind continues to blow with violence and no prospect of change. We have the mortification to know that we are buffeting the waves to no purpose as in fact we are receding from the point of destination. Long. 10. 58. Lat. 59. 48.

Sunday 13.—About one this morning the Capt. was called up in consequence of the state of the weather. It was blowing a heavy gale and wind encreasing. All sails were ordered to be handed except close reefed main fore top sail and ship put before the wind. The gale raged with great fury during the night, and created a plunging sea. At 8 oclock wind began to moderate and at noon we had a perfect calm which continued during the day. Long. 59. 30. Lat. 10. 18.

Monday 14.—The weather drizzling dark and cold. The wind nearly ahead. Went to bed last night with some fever, but rose better in the morning, but not well. I have generally taken as much exercise in walking as the deck will admit of but it does not supply that to which I have been accustomed and of which I feel the want. Confinement is imprisonment, and one may feel the truth of the remark in a ship and I should presume in a palace. Long. 9. 7. Lat. 59. 25.

Tuesday 15.—The Capt's. reckoning for land was out last evening at 8 oclock, and he determined to be in the watch during the night in expectation of seeing it. At about 2 oclock in the morning it was discovered from masthead and soon after seen from the deck. At 4 I went on deck and had a sight of it. The Capt. supposed we had in view the Butt of the Lewis Islands and two small Islands called Bara and Rona. We kept our course till 9 oclock and then discovered that the apparent different Islands, were all connected land and elavations of Lewis Island.

The fact being sufficiently ascertained we found ourselves about 30 miles S. of our supposed Lat. (No observation could be got yesterday) and the ship was put about, and stood off from the land and

about 12 oclock, the wind becoming favorable we were enabled to lay our course for Fair Island. The Pentland firth lay before us, but the Capt. not being acquainted with the passage, which is esteemed difficult and dangerous, he preferred passing round the Orkneys, a safer tho more circuitous navigation. We are now in the seas in which part of the famous Armada perished and thro' which the wreck of it escaped. Long. 6. 33. Lat. 58. 43. In the afternoon we saw Rona Island, distant about 20 miles N. and towards evening the coast of Scotland rose to our view. The first appearance was that of a dark cloud, but we could soon distinguish the undulations of the land. Our anxiety was as the night approached to avoid the current setting thro' the Pentland firth.

Wednesday 16.—Early in the morning the Orkney Islands rose in sight. At 10 oclock we were off the Island called Mainland. The Capt. supposed it to be N. Ronaldsha[1] till he ascertained his Lat. at 12 oclock. The wind was not favorable and we were obliged to tack three times in order to weather the Islands. The eye from the novelty of the sight dwelt with pleasure upon the high and barren hills which seem to rear their heads to the clouds. Our distance from the rocks did not exceed sometimes three or four miles. At the distance of 20 miles the hills have a lofty appearance. We have now in view the Island of Westra,[2] and going close by the wind in order to weather it. We have had during the morning a heavy squally wind and very high sea. The weather cold as the coldest day in March.

Thursday 17.—We doubled Ronaldsha last night about 10 oclock, and came in sight of Fair Island, which we passed with a fair wind and lost sight of it ½ past one. Ronaldsha is the most northern of the Orkney Islands, and a light house may be distinguished on it at a great distance. We are now navigating the stormy North Sea which well deserves its tempestuous character. Squalls, rain and sunshine succeed each other several times in the compass of an hour. The wind always high and the sea very rough and turbulent. The weather cold and uncomfortable. About 2 oclock we supposed ourselves in the middle of the German Ocean and expect tomorrow to see the coast of Norway. Long. 1. 25. E. Lat. 58. 18.

Friday 18.—The first clear day we have had for several weeks, but the weather still cold, the Thermo[me]ter being at 55. Passed the high lands of Jedder on the coast of Norway, standing over for the coast of Jutland. Our soundings on the Jutland reef 45 fathoms. The wind moderate from E. N. E. Saw a sail at one oclock from masthead, standing from us. Soundings at 3 o'clock 40 fathoms. Looking out for the point called Bovenbergen on the coast of Jutland. Long. 6. 35. E. Lat. 57. 28.

[1] Ronaldsay. [2] Westray.

Saturday 19.—Fine clear day. Wind at N. W. Crossed the German Ocean and entering the Skager Rack. At 11 oclock was brought too by a British ship of war. Lt. came on board and behaved very civilly. Told us his ship was the sloop of War *Erebus*, on a cruise. Stated that there had been hard fighting on the continent and that the Russians had retreated. *Erebus* commanded by Capt. Lyford. At one oclock were brought too a second time by a frigate. Lt. came on board and examined our papers and behaved with politeness. The frigate called *Hamadryad*, commanded by Capt. Chetham, confirmed the accts. of the fighting and retreat of the Russians. The battles very sanguinary. Kutusoff[1] had died. And the Emp. Alexander at the head of his army. We were suffered to proceed after few minutes detention. Long. E. 7. 27. Lat. 57. 19.

Sunday 20.—Rose early in the morning and found pilot on board and land in view. Our design was to stop at Gottenburg for information. The pilot informed us, that he could carry us only to the Quarantine anchorage. We were accordingly conducted to a small bason surrounded with rocks, where we came to an anchor. A boat came from the shore and gave us a black flag to hoist. We were now informed that we had to perform Quar[an]tine. We sent our papers to the town, and a note stating our character of a public ship, and upon return of the officer we were allowed to lower our black flag and to go on shore, where we rambled among the rocks till evening. This was a very pleasant excursion to persons who had been on board ship for 42 days.

Monday 21.—It was determined to proceed to Gottenburg this morning in order to obtain information as to events of the War. We accordingly hired a boat to convey us to the Town which was distant from our place of anchorage about 10 miles. A stranger could never find his way thro the labrinth of rocks. Our boat sailed remarkably well, approaching within a yard or two of the rocks, and instantly obeying helm in going about. A part of our company had started in a boat two hours before we left the ship, but having got embayed in a place called by their conductor the Devils hole we came up and passed them at the end of an hour. We were landed about 6 miles from the Town where we were provided with horses and carriages to take us up. The horses were small but spirited and vigorous. The carriages no better than the most indifferent Amn. market carts. We had 4 carriages 4 horses and 4 Drivers for 8 persons. The Capt. and J. G[2] were seated in the first Mr. G. and myself in the second, and two Secretaries, G. M.[3] and G. D.,[4]

[1] Michael Ilarionovitch Kutúsov, commander-in-chief of the Russian army, had died at Bunzlau in March.
[2] James Gallatin.
[3] George Milligan.
[4] George Dallas.

in a third and two black servants in a 4th, and in this style we drove into Gotg. The road winds round many hills, the surface of which presented little else to the eye than barren rocks. In bottoms between the rocks there were some signs of cultivation and appearance of verdure. The view of the country was novel and picturesque. We reached Gotg. about 4 oclock in the afternoon and drove to the house of a Mr. Dickson who we were informed acted as Am. Consul, in order to enquire for a public House. We did not alight, but Mr. D. shewed us to the only decent Tavern as we were told to be found in the Town. As our intention was to leave the place the ensuing morning, we made the best use of our time in exploring the different parts of the Town.

The Town is considered as containing a population of 30,000 persons, the suburbs being included. The houses were formerly chiefly framed, but a great part of the city having been consumed by fire a few years ago, the buildings are now generally constructed of brick and plaistered over with White Mortar. The streets are narrow and no foot pavements. Canals are found in several of them supplied from the waters of the river Gotha, upon which the Town stands. We saw many women occupied in washing on the canals, upon rafts. In clea[n]sing their linen they employed no soap but it was beaten on the raft with a wooden instrument made for the purpose. The principal street exhibits a handsome row of lofty buildings, but with an unpleas[an]t sameness of appearance. Many families occupy one house and reside in the upper stories, the lower being used for stores. I was struck with the sight of soldiers in most parts of the Town and yet was told that the greater part commonly stationed in place were at present under the crown Prince[1] in Pomerania. There remained about 1000 men.

We were not a little embarrassed to learn in the short time we had to carry the value of their money and rate of exchange. They have the rix and banco dollars in Paper. These always preserve the same relative value, but vary in the exchange with other money. The rix dollar is at this time about 30 cents Am. money, the banco 45. But there is no certain rate in the purchase of Sp. dollars or english guineas.

In passing thro the Country we [did] not observe a single tree; but within the limits of the Town we saw numbers. They were all I believe the Linden and the produce of cultivation.

The streets presented many beggars, some deformed and evidently objects of charity. The market is held in an open square, like that of Dover, Del. but not being there on market day we could not judge how it was supplied.

[1] Bernadotte, afterward Charles XIV John.

There are numerous bridges over the canals, some of which are handsome and ornamented with statues. After wandering thro the Town we returned about 6 oclock to dinner and found a very sorry one provided. It consisted of a tough beef stake, and some spinage to which a lobster was added. We renewed our walk in the evening thro the Town accompanied by Mr. Dickson and a Mr. Fostick who in fact we found to be acting as Amn Counsel under the appointmt of the Ameri[ca]ns residing in the place. We had some difficulty in procuring lodgings for the whole company and those we got were very indifferent.

Tuesday 22.—The company were served with separate breakfasts in their chambers, excepting Mr. G. and myself who breakfasted together.

This morning we wrote letters to the U. S. A joint letter to the Secy. of State announcing our arrival at Got.[1] and separate letters to our families and friends, which were given in charge to the Counsel to be forwarded. Having received all the information attainable, which however was very loose and inauthentic, we prepared to return to our ship. A newspaper of any kind was not to be obtained. Our Capt. had some difficulty in settling his Bill. He had directed all expences to be furnished in one Bill. One Bill was delivered, then a second and then a third. It was explained that parts of the company had been accommodated in three different stories of the House, and each story was occupied by a distinct family. For the dinner, lodgings and breakfast of 10 persons we had 126 banco dollars to pay. At 2 oclock we embarked in a boat on the Gotha which was prepared for us by the Consul, and proceeded to our ship accompanied by the Consul and several Amn. Gentlemen who dined with us while the ship was getting under way. We began to move once more on board the *Neptune* about 6 o'clock and passed out to sea by a channel different from the one by which we entered.

The passage between the rocks was in some places not more than 60 yards, but the water was bold. Before we got to sea we had to take in a second pilot, the pilots being limited to Districts and no one going out of his own. We were clear of all rocks and upon the open ocean, long before dark.

These pilots and the people who came alongside with fish, were sure to ask for snaps, in english a dram, and were seldom satisfied with a single one. In Gottg. they have a pilotage office and the pilotage, belongs to the governmt. the pilot being allowed a certain proportion.

The Duke of Brunswick[2] had left Gottg a few days before our arrival, having been at the head Quarters of the Prussian army in

[1] Gottenburg.

[2] Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick—"Brunswick's fated chieftain", killed at Quatre Bras.

expectation of receiving a command. But he could obtain nothing equal as he thought to his rank and he returned to England. He has the reputation of courage, but of no other quality of an officer of superior command.

Wednesday 23.—This day has been spent in navigating the Cattigat, with light variable winds often ahead. We shall be obliged to stop at Elsineur to pay the sound duties. The distance from Gottg is 96 miles. Yesterday and to day I have been quite unwell. I felt no indisposition before I went on shore, and was astonished to find my head and feet apparently more affected by the motion of the ship on the land than in the vessel, even in a gale of wind.

Thursday 24.—By my request tho not well I was called up by the Capt. upon entering the sound. It was about 4 oclock. The sun had been up some time, but it was uncomfortably cold, tho I was dressed in the winter clothing of the U. S. Vegetation however was far advanced and the foliage of the trees and the verdure of the fields were extremely refreshing to eye of persons who had been long at sea. We soon came in sight of Elsineur distant from the Cattegat about [1] miles, on the coast of Denmark and of Elsenberg [2] on the coast of Sweden. At the same time many small villages presented themselves to view. The sound is here about two miles and a half wide. The castle of Kroneberg which on the Danish coast defends the sound presents as you approach it a majestic and venerable appearance. It was built by Christian [3] in century, and has been standing 260 years. It is a square Building with a front of about 250 feet. It is covered with copper and the walls on their mossy faces bear the marks of its antiquity. It was formerly supposed to command the Town, but since the passage of Lord Nelson in [4] many vessels have since passed in defiance of it. I was informed by Mr. Ellah a respectable merchant of Elsineur that in the course of the present year two hundred merchant vessels under convoy passed without injury tho the batteries kept up a constant fire upon them. Its former reputation secured to the crown of Denmark a sound duty of $450,000 which it is probable hereafter foreign nations will refuse to pay as their vessels can pass without their permission.[5] We came to anchor in the Elsineur roads and about 10 o'clock went on shore. We had been boarded by two revenue boats and after-

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Helsingborg.

[3] The castle of Kronberg was built by Frederick II towards the end of the sixteenth century, and was restored by Christian IV about the middle of the seventeenth.

[4] In March, 1801, just before the battle of Copenhagen; blank in the manuscript.

[5] As a matter of fact the Sound dues, paid to Denmark by foreign vessels passing through the strait since the fifteenth century, were not abolished until 1857, when, after a conference of the interested powers at Copenhagen, a compensation of about $20,000,000 was awarded to Denmark.

wards a Quarantine boat came along side and threw upon our deck a green flag and left us without explanation. From the experience we had had at Gottenburg, we determined not to hoist it and the Capt. went on shore to know if we could land. He was at first forbidden to land, but the commanding officer being sent for, all obstruction was removed. The officer who was the naval commander of the Port upon learning the character of the vessel and of the Persons on board, immediately proposed to send a public barge to convey us on shore. This was declined by our Capt. who stated his ample means for our accommodation. Shortly after the return of the Capt to the ship, who was accompanied by Mr. Ellah who has acted as Amn. consul at Elsinuer, one of the kings boats with six oars and the Officer second in command came along side. The officer upon coming on board presented the compliments of the Commander with a request that he should be allowed to take us on shore. The civility was answered with equal civility but declined. Our own boats being ordered the Ministers and suite went on shore and upon landing met a considerable concourse of people on the wharf. Mr. Ellah was our conductor and in return for the civility of the Commander, we made him a visit. From thence we proceeded to Mr. Ellahs house and being desirous of seeing the castle, it was suggested by Mr. E. that we had better pay a visit to the Governor, in which way alone we could gain admission. This I knew to be a fact from the statem'ts made by Porter in his travels who could not get admission. We immediately proceeded under the conduct of Mr. E. to the castle and were introduced to the Governor who received us with great curtesy. Our visit was short but it obtained us a view of this famous castle which to an Inhabitant of the new world furnished a view of reality which he had before only seen in prints and description. The entrance is along a narrow winding way frequently intersected with motes which were passed on draw bridges; ramparts and battlements and ditches and arches closed by gates, are objects attracting attention. Upon the termination of the passage we entered a large square area of about 200 feet. In the whole route we encontred soldiers passing to and fro. We were announced and immediately admitted to the apartments of the Governor. They were the same as those in which the unfortunate Queen Matilda the sister of George the third was confined.[1] It was impossible to be in them without recalling her story to recollection and sympathizing in her fate. The Governor appeared to be a man of about 60 years of age named [2], a Major General in the Danish service. He spoke french with facility but not English and his manners were mild and polished. Upon leaving the castle we proceeded

[1] The queen of Christian VII.

[2] Blank in the manuscript.

to a scene of infinitely greater interest, one rendered almost an enchanted scene by the pen of the immortal Shakespeare. It was the garden of Hamlet. Who that has read Shakespeares tragedy can tread without enthousiasm the grounds which are the scenes of even poetic history so highly and deeply wrought.

Friday 25.—This morning Mr. Forbes[1] who had been left by Mr. Irvine[2] at Copenhagen as agent of the United States in cases of Capture came on board the ship and offered his services for our accommodation, understanding we intended to land. He informed us that he had engaged rooms for us in one of the best hotels in Copenhagen. About 12 o'clock we went on shore accompanied by the Captain in two boats. Upon landing we were stopt for a moment by the guard but on an explanation from Mr. Forbes were allowed to proceed and were conducted to our lodgings. On our way we passed a fine bronze statue of Frederick V on horseback upon a lofty pedestal which we stopt to view with great pleasure. It is in front of the palace occupied at present by the King.[3] The palace is a large and handsome structure but in its exterior appearance exhibiting nothing splendid. The morning was spent in walking round the battlements and viewing the streets and we returned to dinner at Mr. Bascalants about 5 oclock. In the evening we all repaired to the Kings gardens, which we founded crowded with a great concourse of company. We heard some indifferent music and after passing thro the principal walks returned to our lodgings.

In the course of the afternoon we had paid a visit to Fredericksberg,[4] which is the summer residence of the King. The palace is a spacious building situated on an eminence, and commands a handsome view of the Sound. The grounds are handsomely laid out and covered with a variety of trees and shrubs. The trees are not lofty but display the most luxurient foliage, which at this season furnishes the walks with a very refreshing shade. Fredericksberg is distant about two miles from Copenhagen and is connected with it by a very fine road.

Saturday 26.—Mr. Forbes had proposed to us to ride out to a place called the "Park," which is about 12 miles from Copenhagen, and was to send a carriage for us immediately after breakfast. In consequence we remained at home expecting him, but we saw nothing of him till after two oclock. He apoligized for the detention, which had been occasioned by the necessity of despatching some letters by the Post to Hamburg which was to leave town during the day. It

[1] John M. Forbes, American consul at Hamburg, temporarily serving at Copenhagen.
[2] George W. Erving, of Mass., special minister to Denmark from January, 1811, to May, 1812.
[3] Frederick VI.
[4] Frederiksborg.

was now settled that we should take dinner before we set out upon the excursion. This being accomplished, about four oclock we mounted a stool waggon and set off for the Park. These waggons have nothing to recommend them, except their capacity to carry a great number of persons as they are capable of conveying from 10 to 16 persons at a time. The body is long and uncovered and is formed of the willow twigs worked like the common basket. Within this basket is hung three or four seats constructed like the round bodies of the chaise. These are attached by leather straps to the basket and furnish the only spring you find in the carriage. We arrived at the Park about 7 oclock, where we had been promised a sight of the King. But his Majesty was not to be seen and scarcely a single person of decent appearance. They told us there [were] some deer in the Park but we saw none, nor anything else worth observation. In short it was nothing more than a pleasant walk thro fine woods. The Country between Copenhagen and the Park exhibits beautiful scenes. The ground is well cultivated and apparently fertile and is now covered with rich crops of rye, barley, oats and other grains. I saw no wheat. The fields are not separated by fences and you find the grain in many places growing upon the side of the public road, without being defended by any thing from the inroads of cattle. They did not appear however ever to have been disturbed and the cattle which we saw grazing in different places, we supposed to be tied. Mr. F. conducted us from the Park to a small country House where he had rooms for the summer called Belle vue.

It is a place of a considerable resort. The ground is high and commands a fine view of the sound and of the coast of Sweden. The gardens are common and furnish no other entertainment than a game of nine pins. After enjoying the prospect of the sound for some time and taking a dish of Coffee, we set off for Copenhagen, where we arrived at 11 o'clock, but it was what we call in America before dark.

Sunday 27.—We were invited to day to dine with Mr. De Konink at his Country seat about 13 miles from Copenhagen. We left the Town about 12 oclock and reached Mr. De K. about 2. The day was fine and we rode thro a beautiful country highly cultivated and promising a speedy and abundant ha[r]vest. We passed thro several villages and saw many handsome houses. At Mr. De K. we were introduced to Madame De K. and several other Ladies. Madame De K. was the first female to whom I spoke since the time I left the U. States. Immediately after our introduction we were invited into another room to breakfast. We had breakfasted before we left Town, but it was now two oclock, and there was no difficulty in making a second breakfast especially as we expected that our dinner would be

proportionately late. The breakfast consisted of ham and other meats, crawfish and pastry. Several different kinds of wines were on the table. This would have passed very well for a dinner in the U States. After our repast we returned to the apartment into whicn we were first introduced, and were soon after invited by Mr. D K. to view his grounds. Mr. D K. devotes his time entirely to the improvement of his farm which is very large and valuable.

He drew our attention to the structure of the walls of his out houses, which were formed of earth pounded in moulds and were about 18 inches thick. He stated that they were made at little expence and soon became as hard and durable as brick. They were whitened with lime. The cattle in general were small, but we [were] shown a Bull which had been brought from Holstein which was a huge animal. After viewing the grounds which were finely laid out and cultivated, we returned to the mansion, and we found that we were to dine at Mr. De K's brothers who lived about a mile and a half off on part of the same estate. Mr. De K. gave us the election to walk or ride and he and myself set off on foot, the rest of the Company preferring to ride. An artificial walk was made from one house to the other which is cut thro woods and shrubery nearly the whole distance. Madame De K. house is situated on elevated grounded which gradually slopes to an enchanting lake, many miles in circumference

Close in with the shore we espied two small sloops at anchor, one of which bore the American and the other the Danish flag. We felt the compliment as it was intended.

Madame D. K. to whom we were introduced was from Holland but had resided 40 years in Zeeland. She had been long a widow, and could count a number of great grand children. She possessed however much vivacity and did the honours of her table with great ease. It was about 5 oclock when we arrived at the House and remained but a few minutes before we were led into the dining room. The room was spacious and handsomely finished. The dinner was served wholly in the french style. The meats were cut up, put on plates and then handed round in succession to each guest. No toasts or healths were drank, but every one help[ed] himself to his wine as he did to his bread. At the end of the repast Mrs. De K. rose and the whole Company followed her into [the room to] which we were first introduced. This room was on the ground floor, and had two beds in it. The curtains were of green silk and drawn close. We remained but a short time in the House and were led over the grounds by Mr D. K. They were delightfully laid out affording occasional views of the lake, which were quite romantic. We met with numbers of statues and several monuments raised to the Memory of Members of the

family. There are three sons who are settled on the estate, which is the handsomest and one of the most valuable on the Island. Upon our return from our walk, it was proposed to make a second visit to the Park, where we were promised a sight of the King and of Princes and Princesses. We accordingly set out for the Park, where we arrived about 9 oclock, where we found a crowd of peasantry in their Sunday clothes, but scarcely a person of genteel appearance. The females among the peasants were singular[ly] dressed in short petticoats which stuck out as if supported by a hoop, but we learnt that this protuberant appearance arose from the quantity of cloth plaited into a petticoat, which was usually about 36 ells. The crown of their bonnets was very richly embroidered, and their dresses were sufficiently alike to pass for a uniform. There was nothing of grace or beauty about any of them. We found nothing very attractive at the Park and after parading the walks for a short time we returned to Copenhagen, at about 11 oclock. It was still light and the gates of the city were still open.

Monday 28.—Capt. Barron[1] who had previously paid us a visit, had made arrangements to introduce us to the Kings Librarian, and to procure for us a view of the Library. We accordingly this morning paid a visit to Mr. Thorkelin, who is a native of Iceland, but has long resided at Copenhagen and has the reputation of being a man of learning. He is a Professor in the Kings academy of[2]

We were introduced to him at his chambers and found him equally polite and affable. He put into my hands a latin copy of Terence, in which the name of the Chevalier Bayard[3] was written in his own hand. He shewed us in another Book the name of Francis 1st of France of his own hand writing. We were then conducted to the royal library, which is kept in a part of the burnt palace, which escaped the memorable fire which consumed the principal part of the Building.[4] The library it was stated to us contained 300,000 volumes. We were shewn some of the most ancient books in print and a great number of old manuscripts, written with surprizing neatness and beauty. The letters and lines were as regular as print but infinitely more handsome. I remarked a manuscript prayer book which had belonged to one of the Queens of Denmark, written in a manner not to be distinguished from print, but by its superior

[1] This must have been Captain James Barron, of the "Chesapeake and Leopard" incident. Suspended for five years, he had engaged in the merchant service, then, though the five years had expired, remained in Europe, and was in Denmark in 1812 and 1813. See his letter to Decatur, in Mackenzie's "Life of Decatur", 422, 423.

[2] Blank in the manuscript. Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin (1752–1829), archivist of the state archives, secretary of the Arnemagnaean Commission connected with the royal library, member of the Academy of Sciences, and professor extraordinarius. He had lived five years in Great Britain and spoke English. "Dansk Biografisk Lexikon", s. v.

[3] There seems to be no evidence that the Chevalier was an ancestor of the Bayard family of America.

[4] In 1794.

beauty. It contained the figures of all sorts of animals, executed to the life with the pen. We saw the edition of Saxo Grammaticus, from which Mr. Porter in his travels translated the history of Hamlet,[1] and an ancient atlas, which had been formed before the discovery of America, and of course does not contain the western continent in the map of the world. We were shewn some latin manuscripts of the third and fourth centuries, written on vellum, but bound up in the form of our common books. Our time was limited, and our eyes only could be gratified, with the novelties and the monuments of learning which were shewn us. We were yet to view the museum, and were forced to quit the library without seeing many curiosities to be found in it. We proceeded to the museum and were conducted to the gallery of paintings. This is a noble collection of some of the finest peices of the greatest Masters. This was a banquet I had never before enjoyed. Many of the paintings are several hundred years old; and yet the colours in no degree faded. I only regretted the shortness of the time, that the eyes were allowed to feed upon this superb exhibition. We had engaged the American Gentlemen who were in Copenhagen to dine with us and at 4 oclock were obliged to quit the museum. Excepting the paintings it contains in its collection only the common objects of curiosity to be found ordinarily in other museums.

In the evening about 8 oclock Mr. Rosencrantz[2] the Minister of State called to return a visit we had paid him yesterday. He speaks french with great facility but English badly. He appears to be a man of intelligence and information and he mentioned that he had been accredited to three different sovereigns in Russia. He is of the ancient nobility of Denmark, and is too proud to accept a title from the King.

Tuesday 29.—Mr. T——d and myself went this morning to the Island of Amag[3] in expectation of seeing the King reviewing his troops, which we were informed was to take place to day.

We were disappointed, and were obliged to content ourselves with viewing the grounds.

After traversing the Island, we returned to Town, and spent the morning in sauntering thro the streets which we had not before seen. In the Evening we visitted the gardens at Fredericksberg and met the Princess, the Kings only child, on the walk in front of the palace. Her appearance was common and there was nothing in her dress, person or countenance to attract notice. She is about 16 years

[1] See Robert Ker Porter, "Travelling Sketches in Russia and Sweden", London, 1809, pp. 4–9. The library has a copy of the editio princeps of Saxo, Paris, 1514, and this is probably the one here referred to.

[2] Niels Rosenkrantz (1757–1824), minister to Russia, 1789–1794 (to Catharine II), 1800–1801 (to Paul), 1802–1804 (to Alexander).

[3] Amager, an island opposite Copenhagen.

of age, but neither her age or rank have procured her any admirers.[1] We also met the King whom we passed several times. There is nothing striking in his countenance or person and without being told he was a King, there would be little inclination to look at him.

He is in the 46 year of his age and has the reputation of being a good, tho not a great Prince. He is much beloved by his subjects and his reign has been distinguished by the complete abolition of slavery in Denmark.[2]

Wednesday 30.—Our intention was to reembark to day and to proceed on our voyage, but the Capt. informed us that the wind was so directly ahead that it was impracticable to beat thro the sound. The day was therefore to be spent on shore. We were now informed that this was the day the King was to review his troops. Mr. Law an American gentleman offered us his carriage to go to the ground, which we acepted and again set off for Amag. We had proceeded but a short distance, before we saw bodies of horse and foot directing their course to the field of parade. And we no sooner had entered the Island, than our ears were saluted with a canonade, which had commenced between two armies—one under the command of the King and the other of Prince Ferdinand, the Kings Nephew.[3]

Immediately after we came in view of the troops under the Kings command who were advancing. The Prince was retreating. The King had about 50 peices of flying artillery. Each piece was drawn by 6 horses, and they changed their positions with great celerity. The horses were generally put to full speed, tho the ground was rough and uneven. We followed in the rear of the Kings troops, tho not without some apprehension from the horses whose manuevres we were not informed of. We were informed that the American Minister[4] a short time before narrowly escaped being rode over in a charge of cavalry, and was saved only by one of the officers in passing crying out to him to lay hold of the tail of his horse which he did and with difficulty was carried out of danger. It was not long however before we espied the carriages of the Princess[es] of Denmark and of Hesse,[5] to which we directed our course, judging that they would be placed in the best positions to view the troops and at the same time out of danger.

The number of troops on the ground was about 13,000 of which 3,000 were horse.

An incessant fire of artillery and small arms was kept up, while the Kings troops constantly advanced, and the Prince's retired.

[1] The princess Caroline (1793–1881), who in 1829 married her cousin Prince Frederick Ferdinand mentioned on the next page.

[2] By ordinance of 1788 and 1799, issued by Frederick as regent during his father's reign.

[3] Cousin.

[4] George W. Erving, no doubt; minister 1811–1812.

[5] Sister of the queen of Denmark.

The Prince in the end was beat and retreated to a village where he defended himself for a short time and then capitulated. The whole body was then drawn up in a line and were reviewed by the King. The Princesses passed down the line in their carriage, which we followed at a short distance. The men are well clothed and the cavalry well mounted. And they had the appearance of a fine body of troops. We had followed about 4 miles and we had that distance to walk back. The troops were dismissed from the ground about 12 oclock, but as they had all a causeway to pass in their route to the city, it was near three oclock before we could enter the Town, being in the rear of the troops. I was much gratified with the spectacle of the day, which as to the number, the uniform, the marching, the charging of the masses of horse and the rapid advancing and firing of the artillery was entirely novel. We had an opportunity of being near eno' to the King and the royal family to have a distinct view of their persons and features, which certainty were recommended to notice only by the rank of the objects. We returned to Copenhagen covered with dust and sufficiently fatigued with the days excursion. notice only by the rank of the sbjects. We returned to Copenhagen and went aboard of our ship. The wind was directly a head and the pilot refused to go on board with us, asserting that it was impossible to beat against the current thro the narrow channel in what is called the grounds. We had with us a pilot for the Baltic and with his aid the Capt. determined to attempt the passage, but when the ship was getting under way the sound pilot came on board, and with great difficulty we beat thro the grounds before night, but the wind failing we were obliged to come to anchor off Drago, a small village on the Island of Amag.

Friday 2.—Light winds, and we made little progress in our voyage.

Saturday 3.—We came in sight Moen Island, one of the Danish Isles. We were now in the Baltic with fine weather and a smooth sea.

Sunday 4.—We had been in hopes of celebrating this day in St Petersburg, but it overtook us but little advanced in the Baltic. So we celebrated it on board the good ship the *Neptune*. In the evening we were boarded from two Swedish frigates, who sent each an officer on board of us, who examined our papers and with little detention suffered us to proceed.

Monday 5.—At 4 oclock this morning we were brought too by the english 74 the *Zealous*. An officer came on board and required the sight of no other paper than the passport of Admiral Warren to allow us to proceed. In all instances in which we have been boarded, we have been treated with entire civility. The morning was dark, rainy and cold, and the wind fresh from North. Obliged to stay below chief part of the day and found it very uncomfortable.

Passed the Island of Bornholm which belongs to the Danes, and is said to be strongly fortified. Saw several sail, but none approached us.

Tuesday 6.—High wind, cloudy, dark, cold and raining, a most unpleasant day. Shivering on the 6 of July in winter clothes and with a great coat on.

Wednesday 7.—A cold rain all day and the wind ahead. Beat in view of the Island of Gottland on the Swedish shore. Gained not more than 30 miles in the last 24 hours.

Thursday 8.—Having been confined below three days in succession, I became much indisposed and heartily tired of a voyage which had already continued two months. The wind fresh but ahead.

Friday 9.—The wind continues ahead, and we creep on to our journey's end but slowly. The weather clear but cold. Still indisposed, but not so much as yesterday. My indisposition I attribute to having neglected to put on my flannel jacket in the cold weather at sea which I had taken off in very warm weather on land.

Saturday 10.—The wind unfavorable and the day spent in beating up the Baltic.

Sunday 11.—The wind still ahead, the weather pleasant but little progress made in our voyage.

Monday 12.—Opened the gulf of Finland, but still encountered by head winds.

Tuesday 13.—The wind still adverse. The weather dark cloudy and rainy. We have advanced about 50 miles in the gulf of Finland which is from 30 to 40 miles wide—a clear navigation, which allows us to beat 20 miles upon a tack.

Wednesday 14.—Beating all day in the gulf against head winds and at night came into the roads of Revel.

Thursday 15.—The wind being a head and a strong current setting down the gulf the Capt. and Pilot agreed that it was impracticable to proceed, and in consequence we went on shore. Revel is a fortified Town belonging to Russia. It contains a Population of 10,000 souls. The buildings are generally of the ancient gothic style. Upon landing we were met by the American vice consul Mr. Roddey[1] a Russian Merchant of wealth and of the first respectability in the Town.

He had been apprized of our arrival by a Mr. Barrett[2] an American who has been long in the Russian service and commanded a frigate. He is now upon half pay. We were attended also by the Capt. of the guard ship which lay in the roads. He was at the same time a colonel of Marines. We proceeded first to the Consuls house,

[1] Christian Rodde.

[2] Spoken of by Adams as Lieutenant Barrett, a native of Boston. Adams, "Memoirs", II, 613.

where we remained but a few minutes, and were conducted to the House of the Admiral of the Port. We passed a number of sentinals and thro a long suite of rooms before we reached the apartment in which we were received, we were accompanied by the Capt. of our ship and the Secretaries. The Admiral received us with great curtesy. He spoke to us in English, but spoke indifferently. He was an old man apparently 70. His speech and motions were very rapid. He professed his disposition to furnish every accommodation we could require. This was repeated twenty times in less than as many minutes. He took our hands repeatedly pressed them reiterating his extreme desire to render us some service. He is [1] and a General officer in the Russian service. The visit ended we returned to Mr. Roddeys and we had scarcely entered the doors when the Admiral's carriage drove up to the door and he entered to repay our visit. The more quickly a visit is returned the greater is the proof of respect. He remained but a minute and withdrew. We then went to visit the civil commandant of the Town, Le Baron D. Uxkull who at the same time is Governor of the Province and bears the title of Gouverneur D'Esthonie. We again encountered guards and had a long suite of rooms to pass thro. The Baron received us very respectfully, but our visit was a short one. It was returned in the afternoon, but we were out having gone to the theatre. It still remained in the morning to visit the Military Governor of the Town, General Berk.[2] He had just returned from the army having fought in the battles of Lusten[3] and [1] and received a wound, which induced to return home during the armistice.

As the armistice was expected to expire on the 26th inst he was preparing to return to the Headquarters of the Emperor. He has the rank of [1] The figure of this Gentleman was remarkably fine. He was tall, robust without corpulency, and had the bold, free and commanding air of a soldier who had seen service and done his duty. He appeared to be about the middle age of life, and enjoys a [1] military reputation. These three officers were each covered with insignia of different orders and were attended with much parade and occupied very handsome apartments. It does not often happen that one family occupies a whole house. The common entry is thro an arched way into a Courtyard. A very plain and ill looking door admits you into a house and you see rooms about you fit only to store the coarsest merchandize and having much the appearance of the common goals in America. You are conducted thro dark passages with rough and filthy walls, till you are at last ushered into splendid Halls, some naked and others richly furnished.

[1] Blank in the manuscript.
[2] Adams speaks of the commandant of Reval as Berg. Adams, "Memoirs", II, 624.
[3] Lützen, May 2, 1813.

One house will contain many suites of Apartments occupied by distinct families. This is perhaps the reason the entrance is allowed to be so shabby when the interior is finished in a costly and handsome style. The roofs of the houses here as well as at Gottenburg and Copenhagen are all of tile.

About half past one we were carried by the Consul to an Hotel where there is a table d hote, frequented by the nobility who come from their estates in the Country, to pass some days in Town. The consul had no table of his own in Town, but dined at this Hotel. We had a separate table set for us, in the common dining room, and dinner was served for both tables at the same time which was two oclock. Only one dish appears at a time, and excepting the soup none appeared on the table, but were handed round to each person, being carved when that was necessary. The dinner was indifferent and so were the wines which were medeira and claret. Our repast being finished which was not very long Mr. R. rose from the table, and the rest of the company with him and we sauntered thro a long suite of rooms in which we found Gentlemen amusing themselves with cards and billiards, while we waited for a carriage which Mr R had ordered to take us to his country seat, which is about three versts[1] from the Town. The equipage which appeared was a Drosky with 4 horses. A Postillion managed the two leaders and a coachman on a box the wheel horses. The Drosky is of a singular structure but not always of the same. They are drawn by one 2, 3, and 4 horses, are on four very low wheels of the same size, and have a circular back and front connected by a covered stuffed bench on which the company sit with their backs to each other. They are entirely open, and the whole person exposed.

In the Town on the rough pavement, we were driven at a moderate gaite, but after we got beyond the walls, the speed of the horses was encreased to a full run. Our Postillion who was a Russian, was constantly bawling to people and carriages to get out of his way, but never abated any of his speed. We were put down in a few minutes at Mr. R'. country house. We were introduced to his wife and three daughters, the eldest of whom had just been married. The whole family spoke french entirely well, but english very imperfectly. The exterior of the house had but a common appearance, but the interior was handsome and well furnished. The afternoon being fine, we spent the chief part of it in the garden and walks which are attached to the House. The grounds are very pleasingly laid out. A very extended vista immediately presents covered with birch and pine. In proceeding along it, you pass a number of bridges, thrown over an artificial canal, which is carried in different directions thro

[1] Two miles.

all the grounds forming in its course peninsulas and Islands. When we were tired of walking we took seats upon one of the bridges where we were served with tea. The conversation was chiefly in french, the Ladies occasionally making an effort to speak english. At half past six the carriage was brought to the door, and returning at the same gaite we came, in fifteen minutes we were put down at the Hotel, where we had dined. The theatre was open and the play proceeding when we arrived. It is under the same roof with the Hotel. It was very badly lighted. There was but one chandelier in the centre and the lights on the stage. The House was thin, and the play being in german of which none of us understood a word, we received but little entertainment. They had a fine band of music and both men and women sang very well. The play was over at a little after eight, and we left the theatre before sun down, intending to pass the evening at the House of the Count Steinbach who had met us by accident in the street, and being introduced by Mr. R. invited us to a Party at his house where he promised us at least some good music. By the time we reached Mr. R's house we began to balance in our intentions, and finally determined, as our intention was to return on board the ship that night, and not knowing the regulations as to shutting the gates, that it would be most prudent to give up the benefit of the Counts invitation. We were pressed to remain by Mr. R, who had very civilly provided a bed for each of us in his own house in Town, which in the afternoon he had ordered from the country. But considering it as our duty to lose no time in proceeding to St. Petersberg we thought we ought not to lose the chance of any wind which would carry us on our voyage. We therefore went on board of our ship which lay at anchor about a mile from shore.

Friday 16.—The wind being directly ahead, a strong current setting down the gulf of Finland, we have not ventured to disturb our anchor. And for our consolation the best and most experienced opinions assure us that there is little chance of the wind changing till the moon changes which will not happen for eleven days. Having been indisposed for several days I have remained on board ship during the day under the controle and direction of the Doctor and have submitted to a prescription of 20 grains of cal. and sal. in equal quantities. The rest of our company are all on shore amusing themselves with the curiosities of Revel. Revel was founded upwards of 500 years ago and many of the houses and buildings exhibit strong proofs of its antiquity. We were admitted into its most ancient church, the walls of which are covered with escutcheons of noble families. It contains a magnificent organ apparently of modern workmanship. The ground is covered or paved with tomb stones, with figures in relief of men and woman,

carved upon them. In many instances Knights in full armour. There is a very handsome monument to Admiral Greig[1] who rendered great services in the Russian navy. This building we were informed was erected soon after the Town was founded. It shows every mark of the waste and consumption of time. The Town is divided into upper and lower. The upper Town is inhabitted chiefly by noble families and contains many handsome palaces. We are told that there are a great number of the nobility at present in the Town and I have had several counts and countesses and Baronesses pointed out to me, but they look no better than very common people in the U States. But I have not yet learnt to appreciate the merit and distinctive value of nobility or title and have found it difficult to be grave, when formally addressed with "votre Excellence." This is habit for I have seen some Americans at Copenhagen who appeared to stand as much in awe of the King as if one of his subjects. The Old Admiral whom we visitted yesterday told us, he was in N York in the year 1778 and employed in the British service. The evening has arrived, the wind is still ahead and not the smallest prospect of being able shortly to leave the roads of Revel.

Saturday 17.—The wind being still adverse, and no prospect of a change, we determined to go on shore and see if arrangements could be made to travel to St. Petersburg by land. We accordingly applied to the vice Consul who took the affair upon himself, giving us assurances that he could certainly procure us carriages and horses. We then went to look at the Town, and particularly to see the fair which was held at this time and to which the venders of different sorts of merchandize resorted from all parts of Europe. We were attended by two black servants, one a small boy about 10 years of age. These negros were the objects of general attraction and attention. There were many of Isthonian nobility parading the passages where the fair was held. They took very little notice of the Ambassadors and their Secretaries, but crowded round the negros. One of the gentlemen came up to the smaller negro (Peter) and stroked his face as we do a favorite child, exclaiming "oh qu'il est joli qu'il est charmant." The Ladies passed them several times, and I heard one remark, "Le petit est tres joli," to which another with her replied "oui, mais le plus grand est plus joli." This was George my servant who at the same time tho grown was a small but tolerably well made man. He was well dressed, while Peter who had been carried on shore only to shew him and belonged to a Russian Gentleman[2] who had left us at Gottenburg, was but shabbily equipped. In Revel there is no prejudice against the Blacks, they pass according to their personal

[1] Sir Samuel Greig (1735–1788), a Scottish sailor who entered the Russian navy in 1764. He had commanded the Russian fleet in the Gulf of Finland in 1788.

[2] Mr. Pflug. Adams, "Life of Gallatin", 493.

appearance to the same advantage as the whites having at the same time in their favor the benefit which novelty excites. From the fair I went to a Bath, which was the only one in the town. We found it was engaged till three oclock and in the mean time we went to strole in the streets. Being attracted by the appearance of a very ancient church, we contrived to get admittance. It was Lutheran but very splendid. The arms of the nobility decorated the walls and were graved on the pannels of the pew doors. There was a very magnificent organ. The floor was paved with ancient tomb stones many of which commemorated the deaths of persons who had departed to the shades more than three hundred years ago. Some of the tombs were raised and the figures of the deceased raised in lofty sculpture on the decease. The Likeness represented them dead with the hands in a suppliant position and yet the women in full dress and the men in armour with their swords by their side. We returned to the bath, and afterwards on board the ship having not been able to complete any arrangement for our land journey. The V consul Mr. Roddey went on board and took dinner with us and also Capt. Barratt our countryman, who had been so long in Russia that he spoke English very badly and altogether as a foreigner. In the Evening Mr. G. again went on shore to finish the arrangements but he returned without accomplishing the object.

Sunday 18.—This morning early Mr. G. went ashore with the Capt. to see the V. consul and to ascertain the terms upon which carriages and horses could be obtained, and returned about 11 oclock having settled everything for our journey by land. To understand the expence of the journey it is necessary to know the value of the current money in Russia. The common money is the silver and paper rubel and the Copec. The real value of the silver rubel is 75 cents of American money, and is equal to four paper rubels. The rubel is 100 copecs. The Dollar commanded five paper rubels, but their was no certain exchange for the guina. A few were passed from 18 to 25 rubels. There was a small paper in circulation issued by a private club merely for the purpose of creating change. Mr. G. informed us on his return that he had purchased a Landau for 400 paper rubels and hired a calash for the journey for 110. We were to be supplied with 6 horses for each carriage but these were an Item of Separate expence. The time appointed to commence the journey was 7 in the evening. We were informed of a melancholly event which had occurred in the morning. A noble man named Baron Alstock, who had been married but three months to a young and lovely bride had shot her with a pistol and killed her on the spot. She was enceint at the time. It was said to be the effect of insanity. The wife was a Russian Princess from St. Petersbg.

Sunday 18.—Having dined on board the ship, in the evening we debarked and proceeded to the House of the Consul, where we found a Landau and Calash provided for us and twelve horses. The carriages were old and shabby, but appeared strong enough to perform the journey and that was the point to which we chiefly attended. We had the common Post horses in rope harness, and which were small, lean and miserable enough in their appearance. Our baggage being well lashed on for it was not to be taken off for 340 versts,[1] and our provisions being stowed away, for none was expected on the road. A little after 7 oclock in the evening Mr. G. his son and myself seated ourselves in the Landau and Col. M. and Maj. D. in the Calash and our Servants were mounted on the boxes and thus we began our journey from Revel to St. Petersburg. The horses were arranged four abreast behind and two before. The Driver sat upon the second left hand horse, and drove the 6 horses in hand. The stages are from 20 to 23 versts, when you arrive at a Post office and the horses are changed. There is no stopping between the stages. The horses tho small are vigorous and travel with great expedition. They are frequently put into a full run and at all other times move in a very rapid trot. The roads are uniformly the finest I ever travelled. They present nothing to give you an apprehension of danger. We reached the 1st Post office before sun down, about nine oclock. We here refreshed ourselves with a cold tongue, some biscuit and wine and water and as soon as the horses were ready recommenced our journey. The horses are furnished by the Peasants and in order to avoid delay we had dispatched an Estafette[2] who travelled twelve hours in advance and gave notice of the number of horses wanted and of the probable time of our arrival. Our journey was continued without stopping except to change horses till we arrived at Narva, which we reached about 5 oclock on Tuesday morning. The distance from Revel was 202 versts. Upon the whole of this road we saw no houses but those of the Peasants. These houses are all built in the same manner. There is a center part and two wings, each wing of the same dimension with the centre. The whole presented a front of about 180 feet. The centre is the dwelling house and is one story with a loft. The two wings have no divisions and are inhabited by horses, cows, hogs, chickens, fleas and vermin of all kinds and covered with every species of filth. That part of the house inhabited by the family is divided into different apartments, but I frequently saw men, women, and children huddled and sleeping together. In every house at which we stopt and these were the Post houses, I found the same filthy appearance, and was half suffocated with stenc[h]es of different kinds, before I could accomplish an examination of the interior.

[1] About 225 miles, the verst being nearly two-thirds of a mile.
[2] Courier.

I made a rule to go into every room which was open, night or day, wishing to observe whatever could be discovered in the actual habits, manners and mode of living of the Russian Peasantry. No one ever offered the least obstruction to my passing to any quarter of the House. As we approached Narva it was impossible not to be moved by the recollection of the great battle fought upon its plains by Charles the 12th of Sweden and Peter Zar of Russia.[1] The eye wandered over the ground in search of the spots w[h]ere the hostile columns had encountered and which were drenched with the blood of so many men. But nothing was to be seen but an extensive and uncultivated plain covered in places by low bushes. In this battle it is well known that Charles with [2] Swedes beat 100,000 Russians. The People of Narva appear to have lost even the tradition of the battle; and they would give us no information as to the ground where the battle was fought. This was probably the effect of national pride or policy. The river Narva flows thro the city and passes in a rapid current. We crossed it on a floating bridge. The Post office to which we were carried stands out of the Town and was the most decent house we had seen since we had left Revel. They were here able to give us breakfast of coffee, bread and eggs. In the second story there was a regular suite of Apartments all of which were ornamented with prints. After our meal was over, we went to take a look at the Town. It is surrounded by a Rampart and fortified. Many ancient lofty gothic Towers were to be seen. They appeared to be mouldering into ruins. There was little to attract curiosity excepting the remains of antiquity. The Town appears to contain a population of about 5,000 souls. We here saw a great number of french Prisoners, who had been captured during the retreat of the army last winter. They were in a wretched plight and miserable looking creatures. Many of them crouded round the Post expecting charity and we distributed half a dozen rubles among them. We left Narva about one oclock and proceeded on our journey. The country improved as we progressed. Harvest was fast approaching and it was the season of the greatest luxuriance.

The chief grain to be seen was rye, and we met with oats and barley, but no wheat. The timber is wholly birch. We travelled with great rapidity and about 4 oclock in the morning we reached a palace belonging to .[3] Mr. G. and myself went to look at the grounds which were very extensive and very elegantly laid out. The Proprietor was at this time residing at his and there was no admittance to be obtained into the houses. The grounds exhibited very extensive lakes, canals, gravelled walks, bridges and abundance

[1] Nov. 20, 1700.
[2] 8000; blank in the manuscript.
[3] Blank in the manuscript.

of shrubbery and flowers. The sun was about an hour high and the freshness of the atmosphere and the perfumes of the flowers, rendered the place enchanting. We remained here for about an hour and returned to our carriages. At 7 oclock we reached the last stage from St. Petersburg. We here got breakfast, but were informed that no horses could be had, as they had all been engaged for the Princess of Wirtemberg[1] who was to pass about three o'clock on her way to Riga. We were told that horses might be obtained in the evening. And as we had no means to render the case better we determined to make ourselves contented. I was the more easily satisfied with this resolution, as we saw at a very short distance a very superb palace, called the chateau of Strelna belonging to the Grand Duke Constantine.[2] This was the most superb edifice which I had seen. The exterior was highly ornamented with the richest architecture. It was of great extent and exhibited the most magnificent appearance. We went thro a part of the grounds, but it would have required days to go thro the whole. The walks, canals, lakes and falling gardens presented to the eye the most enchanting scenes. In perspective you have a view of the gulf of Finland at about 2 miles distance. I was rambling thro these delightful walks, when a servant was sent to inform me that horses were engaged and that we must start immediately or wait till night. I returned to the Post office and found the horses harnessed and the carriages waiting. We found that the story about the Princess of W. was contrived to extort some money. The distance to St. P. was only 18 versts. After we had proceeded about 3 versts, we met a coach and four, which had been sent to meet and receive us by Mr. Harris[3] the consul. We exchanged carriages and proceeded and about three oclock on Wednesday 21 were set down at lodgings which had been prepared for us in St. P. After dinner Mr. Harris went with us to shew us parts of the Town. Our lodgings were but a short distance from the statue of Peter the great.[4] This statue first claimd our attention. It is a colossal figure of bronze. Peter is mounted on a furious steed in the act of rearing and having just attained the summit of a huge rock. The horse is trampling a large serpent under his feet. The appearance of the monarch is very majestic and commanding. The rock is evidently carved into too artificial a form, and I observed the base to be cracked entirely thro. I did not feel the force of the criticisms made on the extension of the right arm. I thought the

[1] Probably the wife of Prince Wilhelm of Württemberg, afterward King Wilhelm I, a nephew of the Empress Dowager.

[2] Strielna. The Grand Duke Constantine (1779–1831) was the second son of the Emperor Paul. On the death of his elder brother Alexander in 1825, he renounced his claim to the succession in favor of his younger brother Nicholas.

[3] Levett Harris.

[4] The statue is the work of the French sculptor Falconet, and was erected in 1782.

effect a good one. Not having slept for three nights we soon finished our excursion and returned to take some rest.

Thursday 22.—This morning we received a visit from Mr. Adams, and I delivered to him letters which I had brought from America. He recommended an early introduction to Count Romanzoff the Chancellor or Minister of State. The Emperor was absent with the army. The Empress held her Court at Zarsco Zelo[1] which is about 28 versts from St. P. Etiquette requiring that we should be presented to the Chancellor in full dress, some delay was required to provide the clothes proper to appear in.

It was ascertained that everything could be furnished by Saturday and that day was fixed upon for our presentation. After Mr. A. left us we went out to view the city, with Mr. Harris for our guide. We passed in front of the Winter palace, The Hermitage and the marble palace. These are contiguous and communicate with each other. They stand on the Neva with a broad street running in front. Nothing can exceed the richness and magnificence in the style of architecture. The walls are surmounted with numerous statues and the front decorated with the most expensive carvings. We afterwards went to see the church of St Isaac called the marble church, which tho built at great expence exhibits nothing magnificent in its appearance. We returned at 4 oclock to dress ourselves for dinner being invited to dine with Mrs. Adams. Mr. A. was engaged with the Chancellor, which was an engagement which could not be dispensed with. We went to Mrs. A's at 5 and found there a number of American Gentlemen who had been invited to dine with us. The dinner was served altogether in the style of the Country. Every dish was carved and handed round.

Friday 23.—We spent the day in viewing the city and dined with Mr. Harris in company with a number of our countrymen. Mr. H's establishment is very handsome. For St. P. it is not on a large scale, but the apartments and furniture are very tasty and expensive. The walls of the Drawing room are covered with crimson damask and the chairs and sofas are in the same style. In the dining room there is a very brilliant chandelier which cost 2000 rubles. Every room was furnished with taste and elegance, and the establishment is considered even in St. P. as a very neat and pretty one. Mr. H is quite a polished and polite man, and he has manifested to us every civil and kind attention. He has resided about 10 years at St. P. in the character of consul, and for that character has enjoyed in an uncommon degree the favor of the Emperor.

Saturday 24.—This was the morning appointed for our presentation to the chancellor, Count Romanzoff. Our Chapeaus de bras, swords, coats etc., had been sent home. And having equipt ourselves

[1] Tsarskoe Selo.

in full dress, we proceeded to the House of his Excellency. We were accompanied by Mr. Adams who was to present us.[1] The chancellor's house is situated nearly opposite and in full view of the Winter palace. The hour appointed for our reception was 11 oclock. We were conducted thro a suite of rooms filled with servants to a very handsome Drawing room where we found the Count in full dress waiting to receive us. He is apparently a man of from 55 to 58 years of age. Tall and possessing a good figure, mild in his countenance, and courtly in his manners. After a short conversation, Mr. G presented a copy of our letters of credence. And a copy of our power to treat for peace with England under the mediation of the Emperor and also of the power to treat of commerce with Russia. The audience continued, but a short time not exceeding 15 minutes when we rose to withdraw. Upon our rising the Chancellor requested us to name a day when we would dine with him, and very politely said the shorter the time the more agreeable to him. Wednesday following was fixed on and we withdrew. Upon my return home I was very glad to exchange my Court dress for the plain clothes of every day. The day was very warm, and the Court dress was heavy enough for a winters day.

We were now provided with two handsome charriots with four horses each. The horses were very fine and driven by a coachman and Postillion. The coachman holds the hind horses by a separate set of reins in each hand. One set to each horse. The Postillion rides upon the off fore horse. Each carriage with the coachman and Postillion was to cost 450 rubles a month. But this was the whole expence. The carriages were to attend in the Court yard at 10 oclock or any other hour ordered and to remain as long as wanted. After dinner we took our carriages and accompanied by Mr. H. went to see the famous Tauridian Palace, which is situated about three versts from St. Petersburg. The grandeur of this building is extremely imposing. It is of vast dimension and finished in the richest and most costly style of architecture. It at present belongs to the Emperor and is not occupied. We were admitted into it and conducted thro all the Apartments. The suite of rooms appeared interminable. The walls are hung with the finest paintings of the first masters. We spent some hours in viewing these paintings, which was a feast for the eyes. We were at length conducted into the grand Hall in which Prince Potemkin then the Proprietor of the palace gave the celebrated fete to the Empress Catherine.[2] This hall is of vast extent

[1] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 491–492.

[2] In 1791. Gregor Alexandrovitch, Prince Potemkin (1736–1791), in 1787 commander-in-chief of the Russian army, a favorite of the Empress Catherine II, who had bestowed upon him this palace, called Taurida, the name formerly given to the provinces which he had taken from the Turks.

and the dome is supported by 80 immence pillars. It is filled with statues of the best workmanship and cannot be exceeded in splendour and magnificence. We were highly gratified with the view of this wonderful palace, and returned to Town filled with its enchantments.

Sunday 25.—We were not a little curious to witness the forms of worship in the Greek church and determined to go this morning to the marble church of St. Isaac's. When we arrived the service was partly over, but we were in time to see everything interesting in the form of worship. In the Greek churches no one sits and there are no pews or seats of any kind. This church has been recently built and the interiour is finished with great magnificance and splendour. An immence cylindrical dome is supported by a double row of pillars. Between these pillars and over the whole area the audience are scattered. The worship consisted in chaunting sacred hymns. This was confined to the Priests and a choir of singers. It was accompanied by an organ. The music was very grand and impressive. The altar and sanctuary were concealed from view by a vast gilded screen highly and richly ornamented. The doors of this screen were frequently thrown open and presented the altar to view. There were two Priests, habitted in the richest robes. They frequently passed into the sanctuary knelt at the altar and kissed the bible. The audience worshipped by very humble inflections of the body, repeated several times immediately in succession and at the same time constantly crossing themselves. Before the service ended a number of children were presented for Baptism. The ceremony was performed by two Priests. A few words were said and a croud appeared with infants in their hands. The doors of the sa[n]ctuary were open and the baptism was in front of the altar. One Priest held a basin of water and the other with a small cup fixed at the end of a long handle, dipped up the water and poured it on the childs face. In two or three minutes in this manner more than a dozen were baptized. The service immediately after finished. This church is ornamented with a great number of paintings, the subjects all from the Scriptures. Upon quitting the marble church we returned to our carriages and went out to see the celebrated church of St. Alexander Newski, which is about 5 versts from the city. We here saw the tombs of many celebrated Princes and Warriors. Among others that of Suwarrow.[1] This was very plain,[2] but there [were] some very costly monuments. This Saint enjoys two churches one ancient and the other lately built. The old one is plain and rather shabby, but the new one is very superb. As in all the greek churches there is a

[1] Alexander Vasilievich, Count Suvárov Rimniksky (1729–1800), Russian field marshal, whose brilliant military career had ended in 1800, when he returned to St. Petersburg in disgrace after an unsuccessful campaign against the French.

[2] The inscription, as directed by the prince himself, is simply "Here lies Suvárov."

great profussion of paintings. There is a monastery attached to the church, but I have not learnt by how many monks it is tenanted. We were admitted into the monastery and went thro some of the Apartments, but saw nothing worthy of much attention. In the evening we went to see the new church of our Mother of Cassan. This is esteemed among the most magnificent buildings in St. P. A vast colonade extends in the form of a crescent in front composed of more than a 100 pillars. The interior of the church, its lofty domes, stupendous columns, the variety of paintings, the rich ornaments of the altar, present a spectacle of great impression. Here the remains of the famous Kutosoff are deposited, covered by a plain marble slab. Over his tomb are hung many of the french Eagles captured in the last Campaign. The church is hung in all parts, with trophies of this campaign. The greek churches are open every day in the week and all hours of the day. The Bells are constantly ringing or tolling and a great many of different tones at the same time. There are many votaries who regularly attend prayers many times in the day. The greek christians are said to be very superstitious without being very honest.

Monday 26.—Tho I had been apprized of the cathartic qualities of the waters of the Neva, I profited very little by the information. The only water drank in the city is from the Neva and being used with ice is pleasant enough. Since I have been in the city I had drank freely of it and last night felt its [effect]. I was kept up all night by a violent diarrhea and during the day have been extremely enfeebled, with a smart fever and not able to set up. Mr. G. and myself were to have called on Mr. Adams and gone to visit the foreign Ministers. We were also engaged to dine with Mr. A. But I was unable to go out of the house, and seldom off the bed.

Tuesday 27.—I rose this morning at 4 oclock, having slept little during the night. Better than yesterday but not well. Mr. G and myself waited upon Mr. Adams to confer on the subject of a note to the Count Romanzoff.[1] In the evening we rode out with intention of viewing the gardens of a palace about 5 versts from the city, but it coming on to rain we were prevented leaving our carriages.

Wednesday 28.—This is my birth day and the first ever spent out of the United States. It so happened that on this day the Count Romanzoff gave a grand dinner in compliment to Mr. G. and myself.[2] The palace of the Count is a handsome building furnished in a superb style. The hour of invitation was 4 oclock, and we were very punctual by the advice of Mr. Adams in observing the precise time. We alighted at the Counts exactly at 4 and yet we found two thirds of the Company assembled. They were all Princes, Counts

[1] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 493–494.
[2] See Adams's account of this dinner. Ibid., 494–495.

and Barons, but the American Ministers, and their Persons profusely decorated with ribbands, chains and stars. Among others I remarked the Prince Kurakin, to whom the Emperor Napoleon addressed himself in so strange a manner previously to the last breach between Russia and France.[1] He is apparently a man of 55 years of age and of a very corpulent and unwieldly person. For all the world resembling the figure of Sir John Falstaff. He wore the bleu ribband of the order of St. Andrew the highest in Russia excepting that of St. George of which no member remains but the Emperor himself since the death of Kutosoff. He is attached by a place at Court to the Person of the Empress and resides at Zarskoe Zelo. There were several other Princes at the table, among others Prince Dalgorouchki.[2] We had all the corps Diplomatique that remained at St. P. The most of them had gone to the Emperors head Quarters. There were two Ministers from Spain, one of Sicily one of Sardinia,[3] and one from Denmark. The last was Baron Bloom. His appearance was the most gaudy of any of the company. His coat was scarlet and he was covered with chains and tassels and the insignia of different orders. There were about 30 persons at the table, and about 30 servants in attendance. I observed but one servant in livery. The rest were dressed like common Gentlemen.

The table was handsomely ornamented, but there was nothing on that could be eat except some strawberries and sweetmeats. We were first served with soup, and afterwards with a long succession of dishes, which were handed to each Gentleman. You helpt yourself or not as you thought proper, tho most persons at least tasted of each dish presented. Excepting some common claret on the table the wines were handed round in like manner. A servant brought you a glass first of Madeira, then claret, then burgundy, next Champaign, and Mons le Compte did me the honor to help me to a glass of Hungary which he sent by a servant. The dinner lasted about 2 hours and upon rising water was presented to each Gentleman to wash.

There were no Ladies at the table, the Count Romanzoff not being a married man. The Count did the honors of his table with great ease and politeness. His manners were simple graceful and affable. He took repeated occasions to make Mr. G. and myself sensible that the dinner was in compliment to us. And he appeared the more anxious to do this as in entering with the croud into the dining room, we became seated farther from him, than he designed we

[1] Russian ambassador to Paris; this is possibly a reference to Napoleon's conversation with Kurakin, Aug. 15, 1811. Adams, "Memoirs", II, 309, 310.

[2] Prince Ivan Dolgoruki, administrator and poet.

[3] The Chevalier Bardaxi Azarra and Bermudez Zea from Spain, the Duc de Serra Capriola from Sicily, Count Joseph de Maistre from Sardinia, the political philosopher.

should have been. Upon retiring from the table we returned to the drawing room where coffee was served. And immediately after the chief part of the company dispersed. In the evening we went to the Russian theatre. We arrived at 8 oclock and the play was half gone thro. The peice was "the Judgement of Solomon." Knowing the story and attending to the action, I almost forgot that I did not understand a word of the Russian language. The language is soft and harmonious, and has many of the greek sounds. The acting was not in a superior style, both men and women were deficient in grace in their action. The music was fine, and the dancing much beyond anything I had before seen. The rapidity and variety of Steps, the agility and grace in movements and postures I had never seen equalled. The entertainment ended about 9 oclock. We returned home in our carriages and afterwards went to walk upon the Boulevards. Formerly in Russia no person of condition was seen walking, but the Emperor has of late rendered it fashionable. He walks much himself and notices most people whom he meets and especially the pretty women. At his hour of walking the ladies are all on the promenade, expecting some attention from their sovereign. The Emperor being absent, the walks are not so much frequented, as when he is in St. P. but we nevertheless found much company upon them. The Russian women are not handsome. One occasionally meets with a genteel person but I have not yet seen a pretty face. The Emperor's Mistress Madame Narishkin is said to be handsome. She is now in her accouchment, having been delivered of a son since our arrival in the city, which is supposed to belong to the Emperor. It is said she is still attached to her husband, who enjoys the place of Chamberlain at Court, but they are placed by contract on such a footing as allows her to dispose of her favors to the Emperor. The husband is not however supposed to be excluded from the occasional enjoyment of his marital rights. Madame N. is admitted at Court, and distinguished by the attentions of the Emperor, tho coldly treated by the Empress.

The Empress has no children living. She has had two daughters, but they both died young and I saw their monuments one on each side the altar in the new church of St. Alexander Newski. Their is no expectation that the Empress will have more children, and the Grand Duke Constantine is therefore the heir presumptive. The Grand Duke has been long married and has had no children, but there are two other Brothers of the Emperor who are now in their minority[1] and live with the Empress Dowager. Woe to the Russian Empire if Constantine ever mounts the Imperial throne. But it is

[1] Nicholas and Michael; the elder was afterward the czar Nicholas I.

probable that he would soon meet with the fate of his father.[1] There is but one character given to him, and that of ferocious brutality. As there is little difference in the ages of the Emperor and himself there are but few chances of his ever mounting the throne.

We heard in the morning that our good ship the *Neptune* had arrived at Cronstadt, and in the evening Mr. Todd who had remained with her arrived in the city. They were four days in making their passage from Revel, a distance by water of only 180 miles. Two weeks had expired from the time of her arrival at Revel till the time of her anchoring at Cronstadt.

Thursday 29.—Mr. H. came to see us and detained us at home a good part of the morning. I went a second time with Mr. Todd to see the Cassan church or church of Notre Dame. This church tho finished in the most splendid and magnificent style is not so rich in ornaments as that of St. Alexander Newski. The shrine of the latter must alone have cost a sum sufficient to build an ordinary church. It is of solid silver about 9 feet high and 7 wide. A thousand devices and all the celebrated feats and battles of the Saint are exquisitely wrought upon it. It contains upwards of 4000 pounds weight of silver. This shrine is an object of great veneration. The monument in front of the shrine is of massive silver and on the top the figure of the saint is worked in high relief. The fingers are litterally nearly worn off by the kisses they have received from pious votaries.

In the evening we went to visit the german theatre. The opera was Paul and Virginia,[2] and excited considerable interest tho we did not understand the language. But the after peice of which we knew nothing and could not understand a word and which contained but three dull characters was intolerably stupid and I left the theatre before it was over.

Friday 30.—Mr. G and myself went this morning accompanied by Mr. Adams to pay some visits of ceremony, and particularly to the foreign Ministers.[3] There are here at present two Gentlemen who bear the character of foreign Ministers.[4] One Mr Zea[5] who signed the treaty at present subsisting between Russia and Spain, the other Mr. Azarra—who is regularly accredited as the Minister of Ferdinand. We first called upon Mr. Zea who lives at the house of Mr. Colombie[6] a celebrated Banker for whom I had a letter. We found nobody at home and we left cards. The other Spanish Minister was also out

[1] His father, Paul I, was assassinated in 1801.

[2] "Paul et Virginie", opera by Rudolphe Kreutzer first performed at Paris in 1791.

[3] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 497.

[4] Bayard probably meant to write "*Spanish* Ministers".

[5] Bermudez Zea. The treaty between Spain and Russia, July 20, 1812, signed for Spain by Zea.

[6] Probably Don Francisco Colombi.

and we proceeded into the Country to the seat of Baron Bloom, the Danish Minister, where we also left a card. We next called upon [1] and finally upon Le Comte de Maistre the Minister of Sardinia for whom we left cards as they were not within.

Our first Note to Count Romanzoff announcing the objects of our mission, and asking information as to the intentions of the British Governmt. was sent in. We dined with Mr. Harris, and in the evening the visit being previously announced and an invitation given we went to make our bows to the Princess Beloselsky who resides during the summer at a seat about 5 versts from the city. Her chateau is situated on a small branch of the Neva, where she possesses a noble estate estimated to produce about 600,000 rubles a year.

The Princess had just gone out with some Company when we arrived at the chateau. But she had observed us driving up and left her company and immediately returned. She received us very courteously, and behaved with great affability. She is a widow and apparently 40 years of age. She was plainly dressed and could not boast of many of the charms of her sex. Her manners were easy graceful and interesting. A young Prince her only son was presented to us, who was about 10 years of age, modest and well behaved. He was learning English, and spoke the language well enough to be understood. Before we took our leave the Princess gave us an invitation to dine with her on Tuesday week.

We returned to our lodgings about 10 oclock but it was quite light.

Saturday 31.—We prepared a note this morning for the Count R. proposing a negociation for a treaty of commerce. An alteration proposed by myself was the cause of its not being sent in. Some Diplomatic visits remaining to be paid Mr. Adams proposed that we should dine with him and pay them after dinner. This being agreed to we went to dine with Mr. A. at 5 oclock, and at 7 set out to visit the Countess Colombie who resides at a small chateau about 12 versts from the city. I have not yet distinctly learnt the point of etiquette, which ranks the Countess among diplomatic characters. Her late husband was Mons. Columbie a celebrated Banker and Consul General of Spain. His widow who is a Russian Lady has been Created a Countess by the Spanish Cortes. Mr. A considering that we owed her a visit, we made no difficulty in submitting to his opinion. It was half past eight when we drove into the Court yard at the Countess. A late hour as it appeared to me to pay so distant a visit in the Country. The Countess received us very civilly. Her company consisted only of two ladies. One her sister and the other a young Spanish lady. We were invited to walk in the garden,

[1] Adams says they called on a Captain Guedes, chargé d'affaires from Portugal, who may be the one whose name is omitted here.

which offered nothing worth looking at. There was a hot house which contained scarcely anything but a few stunted cherry trees which bore a very tasteless fruit. We returned to the Chateau where we found tea prepared in a very simple style. A table was set out and the tea cady, cups, etc. placed upon it. Among other things a loaf of bread and some butter. And Mde the Countess's Sister employed herself in cutting the bread and spreading the butter. This was even more than I should have expected to have witnessed in our republican country and was therefore the more striking in a country where rank and etiquette, yield to no considerations. Some very good strawberries were handed after tea, possessing a flavour scarcely to be expected in so northern a climate. The Countess Colombie appears to be about 26 years of age has an open and expressive countenance, but not very regular features. Her person is good and her manners easy and graceful. Her sister is about 20 and has much resemblance to her. She spoke english tolerably and was very affable. In a few minutes we were old acquaintances. The little Spanish girl, was no more than a decent brunette with a good deal of the jewish cast of countenance. Mr. G. had the benefit of all her conversation. Near ten oclock we took our leave of the Countess and proceeded to make a visit to the Duke of Serra Capriole the Secilian Minister, who lived about a verst fa[r]ther on the road. We expected only to leave a card, but he thought proper to be at home. It was ten oclock when we alighted at his Chateau, and we were now 13 versts from St. P. Our bows being made, he conducted us to a portico, where we found the Duchess to whom we were introduced. It was not dark but the light was not good. It was the light in America when the sun has been set twenty minutes. This chateau is situated on the Neva which is here about 1/3 of a mile wide. We saw a great many vessels ascending the river. The grounds appeared well laid out and the situation must be a very delightful one. The Duke is a Neapolitan and his wife a Russian Princess. She is very rich and he is very poor. The Russian Government recognizes the law of nations, which exempts a public Minister from a responsibility for his debts. But a public Minister cannot leave the Country without a Passport, and this Passport cannot be obtained while he has any debts remaining unpaid. To this end he is obliged to give public notice of his intention to leave the Country which furnishes his creditors with an opportunity of stopping his passports. The Duke of Caprioli is overwhelmed with debts and he is condemned to spend his days in Russia. This is imprisonment, notwithstanding the prison bounds are so extensive. He has already spent 30 years in Russia, but certainly has not the appearance of spending ten more in Russia or anywhere else. He appears to be advanced of 60, and

complains of the gout. He is notwithstanding chearful and gay in his conversation and very civil in his manners. The Dutchess is much younger, but time has laid his hands upon her and despoiled her of all the charms of youth. Her conversation however was sprightly, and she required of you nothing, but to be listened to. I do not know that this disposition is exclusively confined to Russian Ladies. Our visit to the Duke was limited by the time, and about 1/4 after ten we reentered our carriage to return to Town. Our Coachman drove us with great rapidity, and in about an hour and ten minutes set us down at our Hotel. The whole distance was paved with the common pebble stone and the riding is very rough with a brisk motion. Upon our return we were much gratified at finding Capt. Jones at our lodgings who had come up in the course of the day with our baggage from Cronstadt. The Capt. informed us that he had been treated with great respect and attention, upon his arrival at Cronstadt and that preparations were made to pay public honors to the Ministers if they had remained on board the vessel. The admiral without any application sent him a shallop to convey his baggage to St. P. and he was allowed to land it without any inspection.

August, Sunday 1.—Mr. G and myself had sent a note yesterday desiring a conference with the Count Romanzoff and he appointed to see us this morning at his seat in the Country a short distance from the Town between the hours of 11 and one. The subject of this conference being of a private political nature does not belong to this journal.[1] There were parts of the conversation not of a private description. The manners of the Count Romanzoff are singularly affable and polite. None of the grimace or affectation of a courtier his action as well as expressions are entirely natural and simple. He has much apparent frankness and is occasionally disposed to be facetious. The conference continued about an hour and an half, and he appointed thursday for the presentation of the young gentlemen of our suite.

Monday 2.—The morning was spent at home in making a detailed note of the conversation which occurred in the interview yesterday with the Count Romanzoff. After dinner we rode to the summer gardens, and surveyed the exterior of St. Michaels palace in which the late Emperor Paul[2] was strangled. The walls are red and the building spacious but irregular. It is completely surrounded with a deep moat filled with water and defended by a stone breastwork peirced with embrazures. In the time of Paul it was defended by Cannon, which are now removed, and the palace is dismantled. It

[1] For a full account of this conference see pp. 231–236.

[2] Paul, son of Peter III and father of Alexander I, czar from 1796 to 1801.

is occupied at present only by Domestics. We did not find much company in the gardens. The absence of the military with the Emperor and of the nobility in the Country has nearly depopulated the city especially of the ornamental part of its Inhabitants. The summer gardens are no more than spacious walks shaded by the birch and opening into numerous perspectives. The walks are lined with Statues representing ancient heroes and heathen Deities. They are surrounded in part with a handsome canal faced with hewn stone. You see no grounds of pleasure without water.

Tuesday 3.—The morning was spent at Mr. A's in conference on the subjects of the mission and particularly upon the answer of the Chancellor to our official note. Understandg in the evening that a national peice was to be exhibited at the Russian Theatre, we went to see it. The peice was partly gone thro before we arrived, and it was impossible merely from the train of action, to discover the plot. It terminated in uniting the hands of two young couples. We saw however what was more intelligible to us the ancient Russian dances, which if actually danced by the Boors, would in no respect be more graceful or courtly than the dances of the American savages. The Boors are an ill looking race of people. They are of a dark swarthy complexion and their long beards and haggard hair gives them a very squalid appearance. They are all slaves and upon the sale of an estate pass with it. It is not however allowed to sell them personally and to separate them from the lands on which they have been accustomed to live. Their individual condition depends wholly upon the dispositions of their masters. Some Lords pride themselves in adhering to what have been the ancient dues, or in imposing light taxes which the Peasant, can easily pay. While others know no other bounds in their exactions, than the want of means to make farther extortions. The Peasant is generally allowed a spot of land, which he enjoys in some degree as a peculium. This he cultivates on his own account and pays a small rent in money or kind. But a portion of his labour is always bestowed upon the domains of the Lord. Cases have occurred in which the Peasant after many years labour having enriched the ground on which he was originally placed has been turned off and located on a poorer spot where his toils were to be renewed to ameliorate the land and render it capable of yielding a sufficiency for his support. I understand this practice is suppressed by a ukase of the present Emperor. An estate is valued by the number of slaves without reference to the quantity of land. There is no estate which can keep a Russian Nobleman out of debt. They have no economy in their expences, and lavish their money upon every object of taste or desire. This probably proceeds from a fault in their laws. A Russian nobleman cannot be compelled to

pay his debts nor in any manner be molested on account of them. It is a matter therefore of no concern to many how they abuse the credit they can obtain.

As our residence in St. P. was in its nature temporary, and might continue but a very short time, it did not enter into our views to form anything like a regular establishment and our object therefore was to fix ourselves in furnished lodgings. Decent lodgings of this description are very difficult to be found in St. P. and the reason assigned for the want of them was, that such lodgings were frequently taken by the Russian nobility who came from the Country to pass some months in the city and who brought with them numbers of worthless Domestics "called Moozicks,"[1] slaves, who abused and destroyed the furniture, and in the end it was an equal chance that the master after an occupancy of 6 months would move off without making compensation or even indemnity to the owner. In consequence the furniture of these lodgings is third or fourth handed and the cheapest which can be purchased.

By accident Mr. Harris procured for us the best lodgings of the kind to be obtained in the city, but the furniture is all old and indifferent. We have a suite of four rooms on a floor besides two rooms for servants on the second story for which we pay 400 rubles a month, and 4 rooms on the 3d floor the price of which is not fixed. Our table is supplied from a kitchen in the house at about 280 rubles a week. The carriages, each a charriot, four horses, Coachmen and Postillion, which are supplied with everything by the owner, stand at 450 rubles a month each. Two valets de place, beside two black servants, are at 50 rubles a month. The salary given by the U States to a Minister is sufficient for this style of expence if he has no family. But it is extremely inadequate to the support of a Minister who has a regular establishment with a family. Mr. Adams excludes himself from all society. That is to say among the higher orders, among whom he ranks by his place as Minister. This course may however in some degree be attributed to personal character. He has little talent for society and does [not] appear to enjoy it. His address is singularly cold and repulsive. His manners are harsh and you seldom perceive the least effort to please any one. He has however treated his present colleagues and their suite very hospitably so far as hospitality consists in giving dinners. In the short period of our residence we have been 4 times invited to dine with him. In regard to ranks, they are divided with great minuteness, but are all established with reference to military grade. After the royal family, the first is the field Marshall. The second generals in chief or commanders of armies. The third Lieutenant Generals and of this rank are foreign Ministers of the second grade.

[1] Muzhiks.

Embassadors rank with the Field Marshalls. There are beside eleven others grades, which proceeds down to the lowest officer in the army. The hour of dinner here is five oclock and at that hour we went to dine with Mr. Adams, who invited to meet us the foreign Ministers at present at St. Petersburg. None of us were in full dress and the rule observed on the subject is, that if the invitation be by card, a Minister then dresses himself, if it be verbal he appears as other People. The dinner is generally protracted to two hours by the course of handing dish after dish and changing all the plates each time. Nothing but fruits and sweetmeats appear on the table when you first set down, and you do not know what you are to dine on till the dishes are handed to you in succession.

Wednesday 4.—This day I was much indisposed from using the waters of the Neva. I had thought that after one operation their effect would have ceased, but have found them capable of producing a second effect greater than the first. It is attended with considerable fever.

Thursday 5.—Not well, but being invited to dine at a Mr. Pflougs, about 5 versts from the city I ventured to go there. We found a good deal of company at the house, but all common people. There were some however decorated with insignia of some order, but this is found among all classes. These Common people were very genteel people, well instructed and of polished manners.

There was no one at the table who did not speak the french fluently. It appears to be more spoken than the Russian. None but the lowest orders usually speak the native language of the Country. We became acquainted with Mr. P. in consequence of his son having been admitted into our ship as a courier for the Russian Minister in the U. S. The old Gentleman is very wealthy and is the Proprietor of very extensive rope walks. We saw two buildings one 200 and the other 250 fathoms in length. We were conducted thro the whole establishment and saw the whole process from the spin[nin]g the hemp to the coiling the finished cable. In winter the entire operation cannot be performed particularly the tarring of the yarns.

The dinner given us by this good Gentleman was very abundant and luxurious, and they contrived to keep us eating for three successive hours. He possesses one of the best hot houses in St. P. which furnishes all kinds of fruits. We had the watermelon, cantalope, cherries and very fine strawberries. There were two pine apples on the table in the pots and very condition they had grown. There were peaches and plumbs of several sorts. The peaches had little taste but the plumbs were well flavoured. The company consisted of thirty six persons, about one third ladies. The Russian women are in general homely. It is seldom you meet with a tolerable face. The style of dress is without taste. and as far I have yet remarked the sex are

inanimate. They have however none of the mauvaise honte, and are free but indifferent in their manners. That soft timidity which we so often meet with in our fair countrywomen, and which is so enchanting, is not discoverable in the manners of the Russian Ladies at any age.

Upon the conclusion of a very laborious dinner, I was rejoiced at the sign of leaving the table. The Lady rose and the whole company rose with her and we left the dining room for the gardens. These I had seen in the morning and after sau[n]tering about the smallest decent time possible, I called my carriage and took a french leave.

Friday 6.—This morning having an order for admission we went to see the academy of Sciences. The academy contains a great collection of natural curiosities. The collection comprehends the animal Kingdom, but does not extend beyond it. There was the skeleton of a mammouth found in Siberia. It was much larger than the frames of some elephants along side of it, but smaller than the skeleton of the mammouths found in America. There was a great collection of embrios, human and of beasts. The human Embrios generally unnatural. We were led into an apartment which contained many of the works—the machinery tools and implements and work benches, of Peter the great. I sat upon one of the benches before a turning machine where his majesty had sat at work more than a century before. In a room immediately adjoining we discovered the figure of the Monarch as large as life seated in an arm chair. He was dressed in his court costume, which was a pale blue silk embroidered with silver. The flaps of the vest reach nearly to the knees. On either side of the figure which is placed in an alcove are two closets with glass doors, in which you see a suit of old blue clothes, a sword an old shabby cocked hat, boots and spurs, which the great Peter had worn and pretty well worn out in his time. This chamber contains portraits of most of the sovereigns of Russia for the last two hundred years. Those of Peter III and of Paul in the form and expression of face are strongly marked with imbecility.

In the evening we made a second visit to the Tauridian Palace, and walked thro the grounds where we saw much company.

Saturday. 7.—We went to day to visit an extensive manufactory established chiefly at the expence and under the patronage of the Empress mother.[1] It is situate a short distance from the Neva and about 13 versts from the city. It originated in a very benevolent intention of the Empress, which was to provide for and to employ Foundlings. The work is chiefly done by children who at the age of 12 are taken from the Foundling Hospital and introduced into the manufactory.

[1] Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg, renamed in Russia Maria Feodorovna. Alexandrovski factory was exempted from paying duties on goods sent to or received from America. Russian Archives, Bureau of Customs, 1806, Nos. 1156, 1254, bundles 32 and 66.

The hospital is open to the admission of all Foundlings and they are taught to read and write before they are transferred to the manufactory. The buildings at this establishment are very extensive but are still in an incomplete state. Sir Alexander Wilson[1] an english Gentleman is Governor of the establishment. He conducted us thro all the apartments. The manufacture is limited to the preparing and spinning cotton and flaxen yarns. There are 28,000 spindles, and about 1500 persons employed, principally of the ages from 12 to 20. We observed that there was an equal proportion of both sexes. They work and eat in separate apartments. We were carried into their dining just before they were dismissed from labour. They dine a few minutes after 12. The food was soup and a porrage made of barley. Bread rye. I tasted of them and found them very good. They occasionally have meat and no soup. We had not been long in the room before we saw entering the head of the column of boys. There were about 250 dined in this room. They entered in regular files two abreast and marched to their seats. They then wheeled so as to face an image of the Virgin in the extremity of the room. All was profound silence and a very solemn hymn was chaunted, which continued about 2 minutes and upon the conclusion the boys faced to the table and were seated with a kind of military action. We were immediately after conducted into a room where we saw about 300 girls at dinner. Their food was the same with the boys. The drink allowed to both is quass,[2] which is a liquor slightly fermented and yielding a pleasant acid to the taste. We were carried thro the dormitories of both the girls and boys, and they appear to be all comfortably lodged each having a separate bed. The Empress has incurred considerable expence by this establishment but derives no profit from it. After defraying its own expences the surpluss of the proceeds of the sales of the manufactures is applied to the support of the hospital. This benevolent foundation has spared many a mother from the unnatural act of destroying her own offspring and rescued many a tender infant from an untimely fate and made them afterwards useful members of the community. Upon leaving this manufactory we proceeded to one of porcelain, which is carried on at the expence of the Government. The workmen were dismissed for the day and we saw little more than specimens of the manufacture. Many of these were very superb and of the most costly discription. Tho very handsome the prices exceeded our expectations. In returning we stopt at a glass manufactory. It being now the afternoon of Saturday, the workmen were chiefly dismissed. We saw some however who were engaged in the process of

[1] Alexander Wilson, not Sir Alexander. The Russians, with equally little warrant, called him Colonel. W. R. Wilson, "Travels in Russia", London, 1828, I, 333.

[2] Kvass.

cutting the glass. And this part of the manufacture appeared to employ a great number of hands. We saw immence plates for mirrours. Some as large as 16 by 8. They shewed us the process of silvering the glass. After the quicksilver is put on, it requires to be pressed to the plate for 6 weeks. The cut glass unless very highly wrought was not dear. Little more than a third of the price given in the U States. In the afternoon we visitted the glass magazine in the City, which is an immence glass shop in which all kinds of manufactured glass is to be purchased.

Sunday 8.—We had an invitation to dine with the Duke of Sierra Caprioli the Sicilian Minister, to day, who resides in the Country about 13 versts from the city. The weather was bad and the day unpleasant. We went out about 4 oclock accompanied by Mr. Adams. The Duke and Dutchess received us with great curtesy. The company was a small one. There was an old Russian Princess at the table, a sister of the Dutchess and Two Gentlemen, one a french Abbé. There was also a young Dutchess about 20 years of age a daughter of the Duke, who without being handsome was rendered interesting by her affability. Having had the honor of conducting her into the dining room I was seated next to her at dinner. She spoke English quite well, tho she spoke the french with more facility. Upon leaving the dinner room we were led into a billiard room, where the french Abbe without regard to its being Sunday exhibited his dexterity at the game. The young Dutchess play'd with considerable skill. As soon as decency would admit, not being well, I ordered my carriage, and returned to Town.

Monday 9.—The Count Romanzoff sent us this morning packets containing letters and papers from America accompanied by a very polite note. They had been brought to Gottenburg by Mr. Swinin,[1] who had come out with Genl. Moreau and gone on with him to the head quarters of the Emperor Alexander. So far distant and so long from home, nothing could be more gratifying, than the intelligence thus conveyed to us. The intelligence however, which came down to the 22d of June left the affairs of the U. S. in a very critical situation and we are now to wait an indefinite time to know the fortune of the war. We went to day to dine with the Baron Rahl, who is the Court Banker. His country seat is about 4 versts from the city. We were received and treated with great politeness, and partook of a very good dinner. The weather was bad and the ground wet and not being well I declined walking in the gardens after dinner and making an apology on the score of health, I called my carriage and returned home.

Tuesday 10.—The morning was spent in perusing our American newspapers. Mr. G. and myself and the Secretary of legation Mr.

[1] Paul Svinine, see p. 242, note 2.

H. were engaged to dine to day at the Princess Beloselsky. Her residence is about 8 versts from St. P. We left the Town about 4 oclock and were put down at her chateau before 5. The company were all assembled by 5 oclock. They were all of the highest class in the Russian empire. There were two Princesses Gallitzin, mother and daughter.[1] The mother was of Georgian descent. Her grandfather was King of Georgia. Her mother who was one of the company was Princess of Georgia. The Princess G. the daughter who appeared to be about 18 years of age spoke english very well and being seated along side of her at table, we had abundant conversation. She was intelligent and entirely affable. The Princess Dolgorousky her cousin sat next to her, of the same apparent age but much prettier. She resembled the Princess G. much more than her daughter and had altogether the Georgian face. I had an opportunity after dinner of conversing with her, but in french as she spoke english with difficulty. She gave me the impression of being amiable as she was pretty. There were two of the Narishkins at table. One the grand Chambellan and the other the grand veneur.[2] The latter is the husband of the present mistress of the Emperor. He is a fine looking man, but it was impossible to regard him without a sentiment of contempt knowing that he was content to receive the reward of his wife's prostitution. I led into the dining room the Countess of Choiseul, celebrated for some adventures at Paris. She was a Polish heiress and married from love but had been long tired of her husband and been separated from him for ten years, tho not more at present than 30 years of age. She enquired how we made ourselves happy in America and upon being told it was in domestic life, she wondered we did not all die of ennui. She had a great passion to be younger and said if she could return to 16, she would be content to live only five years. The Princess B. with whom we dined is not handsome but is an amiable and interesting woman. She is about 40 years of age and the mother of several children. The apartments of her chateau are genteel but not splendid, especially for Russia, where the senses are drowned in the blaze of splendour which overwhelms them in the imperial palaces.

We returned to St. P. about nine oclock. Shortly after our return we had a visit from Mr. A. who had a private communication to make to us. The Count R had received despatches by a courier from the Emperor. They were not however in answer to his communication after our arrival, but merely to the information that the President had accepted his mediation and in consequence had dispatched a special mission. We were told by Mr. A. that the Count in addressing him had stated that he was not to be considered as speaking as

[1] Probably the wife and daughter of Prince Alexander Golitzin, secretary of state.
[2] Alexander and Dimitri.

the chancellor of the Empire nor as speaking to him as minister of the U. S. but that he was ordered by the Emperor to give to the Ministers composing the special mission some tokens of his particular respect.[1] The Count observed that what those tokens were, had not been indicated by the Emperor, but were left to himself. That he was some what at a loss to know what our laws and usages would admit of. That he was satisfied that it would be agreeable to the Emperor that the Ministers should be supported upon an establishment at the expence of his Majesty, or if that were exceptionable that presents of furs should be made to them, or that any other mode would be adopted to afford proof of the Emperor's respect for the mission which had been so promptly expedited at his instance. Mr. A. had answered, that he did not suppose that the Ministers personally could accept of anything, but that he would make them acquainted with the views of the Russian government. My answer was that I could consent to accept nothing which had for its object personal gratification, but if I could be used in any way to enable the Emperor to demonstrate his good will and respect for the U. S. and of his satisfaction in the course the government had adopted, that I was entirely willing to be employed as the instrument. This sentiment was acquiesced in by Mr. G. and such was the answer that Mr. A. was to report to the Count. The whole establishment of the French minister Caulincourt[2] had been accommodated by the Emperor. He had a palace in Town and two in the Country completely furnished. Sixteen horses and a competent number of servants. His personal expences were notwithstanding unbounded.

Wednesday 11th.—An order having been given for our admission into the imperial palaces, we went first this morning to visit that of St. Michaels. This is the palace which was built by the late Emperor Paul and in which he was strangled. It is surrounded by a wet ditch faced with hewn stone, and was regularly fortified during the time of Paul. We were conducted by a well dressed officer thro a long suite of Apartments. They were all stripped of glasses, paintings and furniture and there was little to be seen but the bare walls.

The conductor attempted to hurry us thro the room in which Paul was assassinated, but I loitered behind in order to examine it. The floor has been newly laid, to remove the stains of blood. It adjoins the bed room of the Empress. Two large doors open into it at the opposite sides. Near to where the bed stood is a private door, and stair case. There is a private stair case and door which opens out-

[1] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 504–505. Daschkoff had written to Romanzoff, Apr. 4, suggesting a present to Mrs. Madison, and that the Russian government pay the expenses of the commissioners, adding, to decorate them will "tickle their vanity." Russian Archives, For. Affairs, Washington, 1813, No. 17.

[2] Armand-Augustin-Louis de Caulaincourt (1773–1827), French ambassador to Russia 1807–1811.

side one of the principal doors and between this and the chamber en suite. It was by this stair case that the conspirators ascended and cut down at the door the centinel who guarded it. The Empress in the adjoining room endeavoured upon hearing the bustle in her husbands chamber to excite an alarm. As soon as Paul was despatched one of the conspirators, entered her apartment and informed her of the fact, upon which it is said that she exclaimed, "then I am Empress". She was coolly answered, no madam, but you are the mother of the Emperor. In the morning when the death of Paul was announced, the whole population of St. P. rushed into the streets, with tokens of the most extravagant joy. The regulations of the Emperor which had been strictly executed had scarcely left the person of an individual untouched, and it was the petty tyrranny in the regulation of dress and manners, which rendered him extremely odious. No one here seems to doubt, that his mind was not sound and that his malady was encreasing. His death was necessary to preserve the Russian Empire. It is said the original plan, was not [to] kill him, but to compel him to abdicate the crown, and afterwards to imprison him. His son was to be placed upon the throne. To this plan, it is said, the son was accessory and had agreed to assume the reins of government, from a conviction that it was necessary to the safety of the State. The murder of his father filled Alexander with distress and horror, but he could not refuse the sceptre tho stained with a Parent's blood. It is well known that exile was the only punishment of the Conspirators. The chapel is the only part of St. Michael's palace which is not despoiled of its ornaments. This Sanctuary is preserved in its original state, in order that the prayers of holy and devout may expiate the Crime committed under the palace roof. Upon leaving St. Michael's palace, we went to the first palace erected by Peter the Great after founding St. P. It is situated in the summer gardens and is occupied only by a few domestics, who [were] placed there to take care of it. We were told that a great part of the house and furniture was the handy work of the monarch. The house is only worth seeing because it was the residence of Peter and is considered as the first palace erected in a great city. It was a palace when it was built, but it is a hovel now compared to the palaces of St. P. I omitted to notice that when our carriages entered the Court yard of St. M's palace the guard consisting of about 30 men, immediately turned out paraded and were drawn up. This ceremony was repeated upon our departure. This is a mark of singular respect and not known before to have been paid to any but Ambassadors or Ministers of the first rank. But it seems that a special Mission is treated with a consideration not extended to ordinary Ministers tho of the same rank. In our case from what has been

communicated, we owed the mark of respect to the recent directions given by the Emperor in relation to us. From the old palace of Peter we went to the Hermitage. We were received by Mr. [1] a Gentleman of rank under the governmt. a counsellor of state and Governor of the palace. The Imperial family are at present at Zarskoe Zelo, tho the Empress occasionally comes to Town to hold a Court and receive presentations. The Hermitage and the Winter palace communicate and furnish a suite of Apartments apparently endless. These apartments are finished in the highest style of architecture and filled with the finest paintings of Europe. The ceilings are very fancifully stuccoed and richly gilt and painted. The walls from top to bottom are covered with original paintings mounted in the most superb frames. The collection in one apartment cost the Empress Catherine [2] £60,000 stg. The rooms are furnished with a taste and magnificence truly imperial. In addition to the innumerable paintings in the Apartments there are two long perspective gallery's containing the richest collection of the pieces of the first masters.

We employed upwards of three hours in passing from room to room and always meeting with splendid objects of curiosity and admiration. The Apartment which bears the name of St. George and in which the Knights of the order are installed is distinguished by its grandeur and magnificence. Its length must exceed 100 feet and its hight and breadth in proportion. At one end of the Hall stood the imperial throne, veiled by curtains which however was not denied to the sight as we were permitted to remove the curtains. We saw a magnificent chair of State surmounted by the crown and other imperial signia placed upon a platform raised a few steps and covered with cri[m]son velvet. The Hall was hung with a vast number of chandoliers and lustres, besides a great number of gerandoles and branches employed to illuminate it. At 4 oclock we left the palace, for myself with eyes satiated with the view of grandeur and magnificence.

Thursday 12.—We went a second time to the Winter palace and not being well I limited my curiosity to the imperial library. This library is about 300 feet in length and contains a great number of Books. The libirary of Voltaire composes a part of it. It was purchased from his neice Madame Dennis [3] by the Empress Catherine. In front of it is a fine statue of the author said to be a striking likeness. The books being locked up in cases, we had not the means of opening one of them. Many of those of Voltaire were filled with

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Catherine II.

[3] Madame Denis, the elder daughter of Voltaire's sister Catherine, who had lived with Voltaire for many years before his death, inherited the larger part of his fortune and his entire library, of which Catherine purchased 6000 volumes.

slips of paper used as marks and the same which had been placed in them by that great genius. I was obliged by indisposition to return home very early.

Friday 13, *Saturday 14*, *Sunday 15*.—These three days I have been confined to my room by a violent diarrhia caused by a bad cold in conjunction with the Neva Water. On Saturday I was to have dined with the Countess De Columbi but was unable to leave my room.

Monday 16.—The Empress having signified to the Chancellor of the Empire her intention of passing Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in the city with great condescension intimated, that upon either of those days the American Ministers might have an opportunity of viewing the palace of Zarskoe Zelo and the gardens. This day was fixed upon for the excursion.[1] Mr. Adams who has resided 4 years in Russia had never yet visitted this palace and he proposed to go with us accompanied by Mrs. A. I was extremely anxious not to lose the occasion of seeing this celebrated place. Upon rising in the morning I found myself very unwell and extremely weak. For the three last days I had not set up half an hour at a time. At the time appointed to start, I was unable to go and on the point of determining to remain at home. Mr. G. set off with his son and secretary Mr. D. in a chariot and six, Mr. A. with his wife, secretary and Mr. and Mrs. Smith[2] in a coach and six. The chariot is more in style because more expensive. Col. M. and myself remained two hours longer and flattering myself I could bear the ride and wishing not to disappoint the Col. at 12 oclock I determined to proceed. My chariot and six had been waiting in the Court yard. Our distance from the palace was 23 versts. It is reckoned 22 from St. P. This distance we drove in an hour and 3/4. The approach to the palace is fanciful and picturesque. The arched gate way under which you pass upon leaving the great road rests upon rocks upon either side cut into various forms. The avenue leads you along the margin of a canal at the foot of a hill covered with wood and upon the other side of the road is a row of chinese temples. The view of the palace breaks suddenly upon you, and exhibits the most magnificent spectacle. The extent between the wings is about 600 feet, and the front is decorated and emblazoned with all the ornaments of architecture. We drove to the gate of the palace Court yard and were soon attended by a page belonging to the establishment. We first enquired for the Party who had gone before us and being informed that they had gone to walk in the gardens we took it for granted they had seen the Apartments and therefore determined to view them before we followed. We were led thro a long suit of rooms, the walls of which were

[1] See Adams's account of this expedition, "Memoirs", II, 507–509.

[2] William Steuben Smith, a nephew of Adams, had accompanied him to Russia as his private secretary.

richly gilt and the ceilings painted with a great variety of figures and designs. The Apartments were furnished in the most sumptuous style. There was not here the like collection of paintings as in the Winter palace. In fact I observed but few. After viewing the Apartments, we went to walk in the gardens which are laid out in admirable taste. We found Mess. G. and A. just embarking in a boat upon an artificial lake, and going to visit the Islands. They had left the shore a short distance, but as soon as they descried us put back to receive us. The boat was rowed by four Russian sailors and under the direction of the Count Ozarowsky grand chambellan of the Palace, to whom I was introduced. We passed first to a small Island upon which a spacious and handsome building was erected, and where the Empress occasionally had parties to dinner and to dance. We next visitted a monument erected in honor of the Count Orloff[1] the conqueror of the Turks in the celebrated naval engagement. It stood in the middle of the lake rising out of the water to the height of about 18 feet. The base was composed of hugh blocks of hewn and polished granite and the shaft of marble. It exhibited various views of the battle in bronze relief.

We now passed to the opposite side of the lake and debarked. We went thro many of the walks which were shaded with most trees of the forest. We were shewn the baths of the Emperor and Emperess, furnished with every convenience for bathing. There were a number of Apartments some containing polished marble tubs in the form of common bathing tubs, and others reservoirs in which one might swim.

After going over the grounds, the Count expressed his expectation that we would do him the honor to dine with him. The invitation was accepted by the rest of the company, but being extremely indisposed and exhausted by the exercise I went to my carriage and returned with the Col. to the city. Along the road I remarked that they had just commenced taking in their harvest. They were cutting rye, barley and oats at the same time and pulling flax. The fields of grain were very extensive, and without enclosures or partitions. The ground appeared productive. The labour was performed chiefly by women and children.

Tuesday 17.—It rained during the day, and [I] was personally unwell. In the evening visitted the Casan church and witnessed the curious ceremonies of the Greek worship.

Wednesday 18.—Confined by bad weather and indisposition. Was attended by a Scotch Physician Dr. Gallaway who prescribed the tincture of rhubarb. This Gentleman was educated at Edinburg

[1] Count Alexis Grigorievich Orlov (1737–1808), who had played the leading rôle in the murder of Peter III had, as commander-in-chief of the Russian fleet, defeated the Turks at Cheshme, July 5, 1770.

under Dr. Monroe.[1] He spoke of having studied with Drs. Wistar[2] and Barton[3] of Philada. and knew the names of most of the distinguished Physicians of that city.

Thursday 19.—My complaint caused by the Neva water forsook me to day, but left me weak and without appetite. An arrangement had been made for our seeing the commercial Institute, an establishment under the patronage of the Empress Mother. We accordingly proceeded there at 11 oclock and were received by the Director, an officer of rank. He conducted us thro the whole building pointing out the details of the establishmt. It is designed for the education of boys for commercial pursuits.

It contains at present 150 students, who are divided into four classes. They are taught reading, writing, erithmetic, Mathematics, geography, natural history, political economy, accounts, foreign languages and Drawing. We visitted all the classes and were shewn speciments of their proficiency. The boys were from 12 to 17 years of age. Each class was in a distinct Apartment with a tutor, and under the chief Director there appeared to be subordinate civil officers.

We were shewn the kitchen, dormitory and eating room. Everything appeared very clean neat and well arrange[d]. We were in the dining room when the boys were marched into dinner two and two. After a short prayer they took their seats and commenced their mea[l]. It consisted of soup, pea porrage, and a small portion of meat all very good in appearance. They are fed by contract at 28 copecs a head, the day. This is less than 6 cents for which they have breakfast, dinner and supper. The bread is what they call black bread and made of rye, but palatable and wholsome. In the afternoon we went to dine with Mr. Myer one of the richest merchants of St. P. and one of the most civil men in the city. The dinner was served more in the Am. fashion than any I had met with. For the first time we met with a ham and boiled chickens. The ham was english and equal to any I had ever tasted. The dinner was very profuse and was the first one of which I had tasted for 8 days. But for an Invalid I performed no bad part.

Friday 20.—This day was remembered and this remark is designed to say every thing.[4] We had an appointment at 11 o'clock

[1] No doubt Alexander Monro the second (1733–1817), professor of anatomy and surgery at Edinburgh for many years.

[2] Dr. Caspar Wistar (1761–1818) had been for two years president of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. He began the practice of medicine in Philadelphia in 1787, and in 1789 became a member of the faculty of the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), and physician to the Philadelphia hospital. From 1815 until his death he was president of the American Philosophical Society.

[3] Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815), who had studied in Edinburgh, London, and Göttingen 1786–1788, was a member of the faculty of the College of Philadelphia, and was for some time vice-president of the American Philosophical Society.

[4] The reference is to Mrs. Bayard's birthday; she was born Aug. 20, 1777.

to go and see the Academie des jeune Demoiselles. At the appointed time we proceeded there and were received by an officer in his court dress. This establishment originated with the Empress Elizabeth[1] and has been successively enlarged and its endowments encreased by the Empress Catherine and the Emperor Paul. It is designed for the education of girls and at present contains about 500, besides pensioners. The building is very extensive and capacious enough to accommodate 5000 persons. The Bourgeoise and nobility are entirely separate. We visitted first the quarter of the Bourgeoise. Of these there are about 200 besides boarders. We were received by an old Lady who conducted us thro all the apartments. We were soon conducted to the quarter of the nobility, and introduced to the Baroness [2] who is a Lady of the Court and presides over the whole establishment. The Baroness received us with great civility and shewed and explained everything to us belonging to the establishmt. There are three classes and three divisions for the facility of teaching of each class. The nobility spend three years in each class, the Bourgeoise two. They are taught reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetick and geometry. And in addition to their own the german and french languages. Also embroidery, painting and musick. The annual expence of a Pensioner among the nobles is 600 rubles—among the Bourgeoise 400. This includes clothing and every expence. Parents are not permitted to make presents of any except sugar and tea. We were shewn into the Apartments of each class, and they were examined by their respective Abbés before us. In the quarter of the nobles there are about 500 young Ladies. The grandaughter of Suwarrow and the daughter of Wittengenstein[3] were presented to us. We were shewn the Dormitory, the Refectory and the Infirmary. In the latter we saw several sick children in the beds. There was the appearance of cleanliness neatness and order thro the whole establishment. Before we took our leave we were refreshed with a dish of excellent chocolate. The good Baroness who had been as polite as possible terminated her Attentions by an apology for not having it in her power to entertain us more to our satisfaction. The visit was sufficiently long for we had spent three hours in the Building.

Saturday 21.—An order had been given for our admission into the mint. We accordingly went this morning to visit the establishment. It is upon an Island formed by the arms of the Neva, called the Fortress.[4] We were received by the chief Officer and con-

[1] Elizabeth (1709–1762), daughter of Peter the Great, empress of Russia from 1741 until 1762.

[2] Blank in the manuscript.

[3] Count Ludwig Adolf Peter Wittgenstein (1769–1843), who had taken command of the Russian army after the death of Kutúzov.

[4] Now called Peterburg Island (Peterburgsky Ostrov).

ducted thro the whole establishmt. It encludes every process required for the refinement of metals in their crude state to the ultimate issuing of money. The Apartments and labourers were very numerous, and beside the mere operation of coining there was a complete chemical Laboratory. The principal power was derived from two steam engines, one of which was of the power of 45 horses. We were employed several hours going thro this establishmt. and I was quite satisfied to leave it before the exhibition was completed. Upon the same Island is the church of St. Peter and St. Paul which we went to visit. Among the splendid churches of St. Petersburg it is remarkable only for containing the tombs of all the Russian Princes and innumerable trophies captured from the Turks Persians Georgians, etc., etc. Catherine the second and Peter repose quietly side by side. Paul who brought his Parents together after their death, and whose fate was not more happy than that of his father, rests now in quietness in this little family circle. It was impossible to regard the tomb of Peter the great without emotion. "This small spot envelopes all that remains of that Being who gave birth to an Empire of 40 millions of men." One object of curiosity still remained upon the Island to be viewed. It was the first house built in St. P. built by Peter the great and inhabited by him. It stands close on the margin of the Neva and is preserved by a house built over it and supported by columns. The wreck of a little bark in which Peter used to navigate the Neva stands beside it. The house has two rooms and is of one story. The windows are nearly the extent of the house. I did not discern how Peter had contrived to warm it in this "frightful climate". I saw none of the stoves which are now to be found of all shapes and varieties from the palace to the cottage.

Sunday 22.—The day chiefly spent in my chamber. In the evening I went to pay a visit to the Princess B. at her Country seat, in company with Col. M. She was not at home and we left our cards. In returning we stopt at [1] a place of public resort. We saw here a great deal of company. There was nothing deserving the name of public amusement. There were swings and descents upon an inclined plain which furnished amusement to a very few. The enjoymt. of the chief part of the company appeared to arise from looking at each other.

Monday 23.—We had an appointment this morning to visit the Imperial Cabinet. Mr. G. was unwell and unable to go. In one Apartment we were shewn a large collection of precious stones, a great many portraits of the Emperor set with diamonds, gold watches, etc., etc. designed for presents. In several other rooms we

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

saw great piles of furs sent as tribute from different Provinces of the Empire. Some of the furs were very rare and valuable coats made of some of the[m] cost 80,000 rubles. But such a coat will probably be made out of three or 400 skins. These furs are frequently given as Presents by the Emperor.

Tuesday 24.—The Count Romanzoff had sent separate notes to the members of the mission requesting to see us at 6 in the afternoon at his chateau in the Country.[1] The object was to communicate the dispatches relative to the mission, which he designed to transmit to Count Leiven the Russian Minister at the Court of St. James, in which the offer of mediation on the part of Russia was more formally renewed and a base presented to view on the ground of which he supposed that a negociation might have a favorable issue.

The Count Leiven is instructed that the Ministers of the U. S. having no powers, but what arose under the Russian mediation, in case G. B. had decided not to accept the mediation were anxious to be as speedily as possible informed of the fact not considering in such event that they were at liberty to protract their stay abroad.

The answer to this despatch cannot be rece[i]ved before the middle of October. But it is possible in the course of events it may be anticipated. The Count informed us that he had not as yet received any answer from Head Quarters to his despatch communicating information of our arrival and the copy of our Letters of credence. But that he expected one daily.

Wednesday 25.—We were invited by note to dine with the Count Romanzoff at his Country seat in froc. The en froc was to dispense with the full dress which otherwise the invitation by note would have required. We met there much Company—Princes, counts and Barons, and were very handsomely entertained. The Count treated Mr. Gallatin and myself with the most pointed attention, called to us to take precedence in entering and leaving the dining room, assigned us the seats of the first honor at the table on his right and left hand. And upon our retiring into the Drawing room after dinner again seated us on each side of him, paying little attention to the rest of the Company. It was flattering to us to feel that he considered this attention as belonging to our Government. In the Drawing room after dinner coffee is generally handed round and afterwards a glass of liquer and at the end of half an hour the company disappear.

Thursday 26.—The day spent at home in writing and reading. In the evening we went to the church of St. Nicholas. The Building contains two churches upon an upper and lower story. Upon passing the vestibule, we found the lower church very splendidly lighted

[1] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 515–518.

with innumerable candles, but very few votaries were to be seen. The great extent of the building, the rich pictures the painted walls, a thousand gilded ornaments, which reflected and encreased the illumination of the great dome, presented to the eye a very magnificent spectacle. We ascended into the upper church where we [were] dazzled with the lights and the splendour of the decorations of the Building. There was a great crowd of the faithful engaged in their devotions. The service was performed by the joint operations of several Priests clad in the richest vestments. There are no seats in a greek church and the auditory of course are all upon their feet. The Priests chaunt hymns assisted [by] a select number of choiristers. Written services are read with great rapidity. The Priests are constantly in motion and carrying in their hands golden vessels pendent on gold chains, in which incence is burning and which is waived to the altar to the images and to those who are engaged in worship. The worship apparently consists in crossing and bending the body at the same time and sometimes going on the knees and touching the pavement with the forehead. We remained in the church about an hour fully engaged and interested in the solemnity of the scene. Upon our return to our lodgings I was struck with a confession of [Gallatin]. We were speaking of the war and I had remarked that great difficulty would be experienced in getting money for the service of another campaign and expressed a doubt whether it could be got. I was answered—You are right and if I had not thought so also myself, you would not see me here upon this sofa.

A sentiment of the same.—The Merchants of every Country are English—of the U States, Holland, and even France. Formerly the Literati of different Countrys composed what they called a republic of letters. They made a common cause of it. The same thing may be said of Merchants, tho belonging to different nations, they have a common interest and have a republic among themselves. The English merchants are at the head of this republic—their spirit is infused into it and their counsels govern it.

An anecdote.—We were speaking of the practice of opening letters at the Post offices at home and abroad. [Gallatin said] that he once was made acquainted with an act of opening a sealed letter, by a man who professed religious scruples,[1] which he thought very shameful. He was informed while in Congress, that there was a letter in the hands of Mr. Beckly[2] the Clerk of the House of Reps. from Mr. Murray[3] the Minister of the U States at the Hague to Mr. Pickering the Secretary of State. He was desired to go and see it, which he

[1] The allusion is to Logan the Quaker; see p. 148, note 4.

[2] John Beckley of Virginia, clerk 1789–1797, 1801–1807, and the first librarian of Congress.

[3] William Vans Murray.

accordingly did with John Nicholas,[1] from Virginia. They found that it was partly in cypher, and no one had been able to make anything out of it. He took it home with him and had it about three weeks, and in the end made out the substance of it.[2] Mr. Murray stated to the government, that if they considered the spirit of Jacobinism sufficiently extinguished or subdued in the U States, that he had the means of opening a channel of communication with the french government by which peace could be brought about upon reasonable terms. He advised that the letter should be enclosed in a blank cover and sent to the Department of State. This was ultimately done. He afterwards learnt the manner in which the letter had been obtained. The letter had been sent by the way of France and the person charged with Mr. M's despatches sailed in the same vessel for America with Dr. Logan. There were orders to sink the despatches in case of imminent danger of capture by any Power. This event occurred and the person in the hurry of taking from a trunk the Papers to be sunk, dropt this letter in the cabin. Dr. L. picked it up and secreted it. Afterwards opened it, but being unable to read it on acct. of the cypher, put it into the hands of Beckly to get it decyphered. And it was there he had seen it. This was the letter which contained the propositions of Pichon in behalf of the Directory to Mr. M. and which led to the appointment of a special mission to France.

Friday 27.—The morning employed in preparing despatches for our government. In the evening Mr. G., Mr. H. and myself went to make a visit to Mr. Casadavelof, the Minister of the Interior, who resides at this season about 12 versts from the city. He is married to a Princess Gallitzen, who is now old and must always have been ugly. Mr. H. kissed her hand and she returned the salutation by kissing his cheek. This is the fashion in Russia, but a stranger is

[1] John Nicholas (1761–1819), Democratic member of the House from 1793 till 1801.

[2] It is doubtful whether this anecdote can be entirely accurate. The letter of Talleyrand to Pichon which caused Adams to appoint Murray and then the second mission, is the letter of 7 Vendémiaire an VII. (Sept. 28, 1798) printed in Adams's "Works", VIII, 690–691, and in Richardson's "Messages", I, 283. Such is the contemporaneous statement of Adams in his letter to Washington of Feb. 19, 1799, the day after the nominating message, the letter printed in "Works", VIII, 625. Now Murray's letter transmitting to Adams this letter of Talleyrand (ibid., 688–690) is dated Oct. 7, 1798, and must have been received at some time in February not much anterior to the date of the message of Feb. 18; and Murray's letter of Oct. 12 to Pickering, Pickering Papers, XXV, 219, enclosing, to him also, a copy of this letter of Talleyrand's, has only one unimportant word in cipher. Logan arrived in America at some time in November, before Nov. 17, having sailed from Bordeaux Sept. 10, as appears from his letters printed in his widow's memoir of him ("Memoir of Dr. George Logan of Stenton", Philadelphia, 1899, 132, 133).

It is quite possible that Gallatin in 1813 might have confused this decisive information which Murray sent to the President under date of Oct. 7, and to Pickering under date of Oct. 12, with the letter which Murray addressed to Pickering on Aug. 18 largely in cipher, informing him of the proposed advances from officials of the Batavian Republic—the letter printed in our "Annual Report" for 1912, pages 457–458.

not obliged to observe it. Mr. C. had just received from Moscow a number of speciments of silk and cotton manufactures from factories reestablished since the burning of the city. They were all handsome of their kind. He told us most of the manufacturing establishments at Moscow had been destroyed when the city was burnt, but he expected most of them would be revived and reestablished in a short time. We returned to the city about 10 oclock. Tho the sky was overcast with clouds the night was not dark.

Saturday 28, *Sunday 29*, *Monday 30*.—Constant rains. On Monday engaged during the day in writing to the U. S. Wrote to my wife, daughter C.,[1] Son. R., A. Bayard, R. Bassett, and C. A. Rodney. Mr. Redwood took charge of the letters as well as of public despatches. He proposed going by the way of Cronstadt, to cross to Stockholm, thence to Gottenburg. And to take from thence a direct passage to the U. S. if to be had, otherwise to go by the way of London or Lisbon. A Passage from St. Petersburg to the U States is at present very circuitous and difficult.

Tuesday 31.—We went this morning to view the Palace and water works of Peterhoff. This Palace is 26 versts from the city. It was commenced by Peter I and finished by Elizabeth. It commands a view of the port of Cronstadt and a very extensive view of the gulf. A public order had been given for our admission into the palace, and for the exhibition of the water works, and of the grounds. We took with us a letter addressed to his Excellency Mr. Klupfeldt, by whom we were very civilly received. He told us that he had been expecting us for some days. We were first shewn the palace, which like all the imperial palaces was grand and magnificent. The walls of one Apartment are covered with female portraits. There were several hundred faces all of different countenances attitudes and expressions, and all handsome. They were said to have been painted by one man and all taken from life. There was not a true Russian face among them. The sofa was pointed out to us, which the Emperor makes his bed when he resides in the palace. It is covered with red Morocco with two pillars covered with same leather. We saw also the empress's bed, which stands in a recess between two apartments and is screened from both by silk curtains. It was covered by a wrought silk counterpane. From the windows of the palace you have a fine view of Cronstadt, at the distance of ten versts and of the gulf which is here about 25 versts wide. After conducting us thro all the Apartments of the Palace his Ex the Director took us to see the grounds and water works. The latter exceeded every thing I had ever even imagined. The quantity of water

[1] Caroline.

is immense. Streams from one hundred and sixty springs are united and brought under ground thirty versts. Innumerable jet d'eau's are spouting at the same instant in all directions and casting the water in all forms. Great columns of water are thrown into the air thirty and forty feet and made to ascend and fall in such a manner as to present to the eye the constant form of obelisks and pyramids. The Palace stands upon an elevation about fifty feet above the ground where the works are in general found. This elevation presents a great number of falls. They [are] broken by plattforms which are planted with jet d'eaus, casting up the water in every form and co[n]stantly tumbling down the falls which are covered with copper and exhibit a fine appearance.

You are often surprized with secret works which are put into action in places not expected. Trees, plants and herbs of all kinds are employed as jet d'eaus and you suddenly see the water in opposite directions springing from the ground in spiral forms which cross each other forming beautiful arches. We were shewn a bath of the Emperors, which was about 100 feet in length and 50 in breadth, 5 deep. There was a fountain in the centre and the water gushed from the form of a star which was constantly moving round and exhibiting new appearances. We were led into a room, in which there was a circular bason about ten feet in diameter to collect the water of a shower bath, which passed thro tubes to a hight of 8 feet and descended in all directions. Immediately new pipes were opened laterally and the water issue[d] from a 1000 mouths in every direction. We were insensibly led into a room adjoining the bath room in which the servants were left gazing at the shower bath, when suddenly the water rose from small secret tubes in the floor in every part of the room and completely inundated them, before their surprize and terror allowed them to scamper out of the room.

We were conducted to a Building on the margin of the gulf, once the habitation of Peter the great. It had two stories and contained about six rooms on a floor. The furniture of all kinds is allowed to remain as in the time of its first Proprietor. His bed, his morning gown and night cap, still keep their places. The kitchen and all its utensils remain undisturbed. The old pictures still hang on the walls, and some rude china ware decorates the mantle peices. At a little distance is a small palace of Catherine II called " Mon plaisir ". It was here that the intrigues and plotts were carried on, which ultimately placed her on the throne of Russia and it was from the same house she issued when she put herself at the head of a military force to march against Peter her husband, who was idly and carelessly spending his time at Oranianbaum, about 10 versts distant

and opposite to Cronstadt where the gulf is 7 versts wide. Mon plaisir is a neat building ornamented with some handsome paintings and commanding a wide and beautiful prospect of the gulf. The vast extent of the water works of Peterhoff, was to all of us a matter of amazement. They are spread over the surface of many miles and acting at the same time. The Director had very civilly and providently furnished us with a carriage called "la ligne". It is a kind of Droski or bench stuffed and covered with leather divided Longitudinally by a board which divides the bench into two seats and forms the back of each—each end is terminated by carved peices raised about two feet. The feet rest upon a bench about a foot from the ground and after you are seated a kind of leather curtain extended upon an iron bar and which may be loosened at either end is spread over the legs and the lower part of the body and is intended to defend you agt. the dirt. The carriage is on four wheels and narrow and very low. The fore wheels not more than 18 inches in diameter. La ligne was drawn by 4 horses having a coachman and Postillion. The grounds we had to visit were separated six or 7 versts. We occasionally took our seats in la ligne, and when we arrived at any remarkable works or places, we alighted to view and examine them at our leisure. In our course we were put down at an ancient, but small palace of Peter the 1st called Marli. Here also are preserved the bed and night gown of Peter and the same furniture and pictures which his convenience or taste had provided for his use.

In front of the house is a large square fish pond about 600 feet in length and three hundred in breadth. It contains a great number of carp which are preserved as objects of curiosity and not of use.

One of the Domestics approached the margin of the pond with a small bell which he rang and immediately the fish crowded to the shore. He threw to them handfuls of black bread which they eat voraciously, making the water fly with their tails as they darted at the bread. Some of the fish appeared to be very large and said to be very old 70 to 90 years of age. We were told by the Director that the Empress Mother had caused one to be caught and served at her table but the flesh was unsavoury and not eatable. Not far from Marli and on the shores of the gulf is a cottage where Catherine II used occasionally to pass some hours with select friends. It contained a neat dining room on a second story handsomely furnished in the middle of which stood a table supplied by dumb waiters. By springs the plates were sent through the table and floor into the lower story where they were changed and supplied with the different courses. From Marli we were transported on la ligne to the English gardens, about three versts distance. These grounds are laid out in the modern English

taste. Art is so fashioned as to preserve the wildness of nature. In these grounds the Emperor has erected a very handsome palace in the english style of architecture. To enter it you ascend thirty two marble steps, which are fifty feet in length and cover abt. one third of the front of the palace. There is a handsome colonade in front. It is at present occupied only by a few Domestics placed to take care of it. The Apartments are not furnished but are finished in a beautiful taste. It was occupied last year by Admiral Twitchigoff.[1] Half of the Houses in St. Petersburg and of the palaces in the Empire belong to the Emperor who lends or gives them to officers in his service. We were carried to a thatched cottage altogether rough and rustic in its exterior appearance but handsomely finished and decorated within.

Between 5 and 6 oclock we returned to Peterhoff where rooms had been provided for us in a house belonging to the palace and where after the exercise of the day we sat down with voracious [appetites] to a very pleasant cold collation which we had brought with us in our carriages from the city. We left Peterhoff about 8 oclock and arrived in Town at 10. Each charriot had 4 horses harnessed abreast and we easily accomplished 13 ver[s]ts an hour. The company consisted of Messrs. G. and B. and Messrs. Harris, Milligan, Tod, Dallas, and J. Gallatin.

Wednesday 1 September.—The Russians still use the old style, which is 12 days behind the New. According to them this is of course the 20 of August.[2] We spent our morning at home and went in the afternoon to dine at the Hotel de Londres. We dined by agreement at 5 rubles a peice, and had a pretty good dinner but of german cooking. The wines were from three to 8 rubles a bottle. Madeira 5 rubles, port the same, claret according to its quality. There were many more wines in the card furnished us than could be found in the cellar. The dinner cost us 61 rubles for 7 persons.

The courier brought Mr. G. a letter to day from General Moreau, dated at the Imperial head Quarters.[3] Commences—Me voila pret de combattre Bonaparte—and without repugnance to contribute his means to his fall. Comblé des faveurs de L'Empereur. He states that he has been informed by an English Minister[4] in germany that the mediation of Russia would not be accepted. Regrets the event and expresses great interest in the affairs of america where he had so long resided and received so many civilities. The war cannot be made a national one in the U States. The exageré of the Federalists take pleasure in the calamities of their country which they expect

[1] Admiral Paul Vasilievitch Tchitchagov (1766–1849), who had important commands in 1812, but failed at the Beresina.

[2] See under Aug. 20.

[3] Dated Aug. 21. "Writings of Gallatin", I, 562–564.

[4] Probably Sir Charles Stewart, envoy extraordinary to Prussia at this time.

will bring them into power. The Exageré of the opposite are pleased with the disappointment of the mission which they expect will render the President and Mr. G. unpopular in the Country from the precipitancy of the measure. Too much wealth and egotism among all classes in America, to allow union and vigour in the prosecution of a war. The letter concludes with the offer of all services personal or public in his power to render.

In the evening we went to the Russian theatre and saw a new national peice in the form of a pantomine. It was taken from the last campaign, a[nd] brought on the stage a number of french foraging plundering Parties, who are attempting acts of all kinds of pillage and violence. They are met chiefly by Russian peasantry armed with broad edged axes who beat their adversaries and recapture their booty and the women they had carried off. The peice was recieved with great enthousiasm and the success of the Peasants was greeted with thundering clappings.

Thursday 2.—Mr. G. read to me this morning the letter he had prepared in answer to the one he had received from Genl. Moreau.[1] The main object of the letter was to engage the good offices of the Genl. with the Emperor in relation to the mission and to obtain information upon certain points. Dined at the Hotel de Londres and road out in the afternoon to the mouth of the Neva. In the evening had a visit from Mr. A. and Mr. H.[2] The conversation on the politicks of the Parties in the U. States. Mr. A. of opinion that the Federalists in general are disposed to disunion. Firmly of that opinion as to those in N. E. and particularly Massts. N. E. states will not pay the taxes if imposed. Believes a separation will take place within 5 years. Civil war to be expected and not to be deprecated. There will be no subordination in the Country till produced by the sight of Bayonets. These opinions controverted. Conversation animated and continued till after one oclock.

Friday 3d.—We had an appointment to day to visit the Institution of St. Catherine an establishment under the patronage of the Empress Mother for the education of Young Ladies of noble families. The Lady Directress received us very civilly and conducted us thro all the Apartments. The establishment contains 250 Ladies all of noble families. They are divided into two classes and each class into three divisions. The classes are distinguished by the appellations of Les Grandes and Les Pettittes. Six years completes the course of education. Three years in each class and one in each division. They are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, Logic,

[1] Writings of Gallatin", I, 576–581. Moreau died on Sept. 2.
[2] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 522.

Physics, embroidery, music, dancing and three languages Russian, German and french. The classes were examined at considerable length before us, in geography, arithmetic, translation of Russian into French and recitation. One was the Princess of Jakoisky who went thro a long series of figures in extracting a cubic root, but she went thro the task with skill and facility. After spending two hours in attending to these examinations we were led into the salle a dancer, which is a very spacious Apartmt. and in which we found all the young Ladies assembled. There appeared to be about 240. They were standing in two rows and the Directress conducted us between them to the head of the room. We were saluted by a curtesy by all as we passed. At the head of the room chairs were placed and the good Lady seated herself, requesting Mr. G. to take the seat on one hand and myself, on the other. The young Ladies were formed into a half circle before us and a forte piana placed in the centre. A master played a number of tunes and was accompanied first by [1]. They then accompanied the instrument in chorus. When the music ended the dance began. The figures were handsome and gave the Ladies an opportunity of displaying all their graces. The dancing was a good deal in the style of the stage.

The young countess Shuvaloff who appeared to be about 17 had her station behind the chair of the Lady Directress. She spoke English very well and held a conversation with me for some time in the language. She spoke beside French, German and Russian. Her form was delicate and her features regular and expressive. She was the prettiest Russian I had seen. And her manners were very ingenuous and affable. A girl once entered in the Institution is not allowed to leave till her education is completed. Her Parents and friends are at liberty to visit her at the Institution at the[ir] pleasure. The Princess Jakoisky is the only exception to this rule. She is allowed to visit her father once in a fortnight. He is in bad health and an infirm state of mind. This Lady is sole heiress of an estate of 400,000 rubles a year.

The expence of education is 550 per year. And this includes clothing and every species of expence. It does not always defray the expence of the establishment and the deficiency is supplied from the private purse of the Empress Mother who is the Founder of the Institution.

Saturday 4.—We went to day to view another Institution established for the education of poor female orphans. It was formerly called Institution des orphelins, but the Emperor Paul gave it the name of "Marie" after his wife by whom it was founded. No chil-

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

dren are admitted into it but those who have lost their Parents and are entirely destitute of the means of support. All the expences are defrayed from the private purse of the Empress Mother. The establishment contains 55 girls, from the age of 10 to 18. They are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing and embroidery. We were shewn a good deal of embroidery of their work which was very handsome. These fruits of their skill and industry are sold, and the proceeds presented to them upon their leaving the institution, to enable them to commence life. They remain at the establishment six years. We were carried into the dining room at the moment they entered to dinner. They proceeded to their places at a long table extending the length of the room and turning and facing an image of the virgin in the corner chaunted a hymn of about 4 minutes before they seated themselves at the table. Soup, some sliced beef and black bread, was the dinner before them.

Upon leaving the Institution of Marie we went to visit the palace of Tscheme[1] built by Catherine the 2d in honor of Count Orloffs victory at sea over the Turks and presented to him. It stands on the Peterhoff road about 7 ver[s]ts from the city. It contains a long suit of Apartments which are decorated with the portraits of all the Princes of Europe living at the epoch when the palace was built. This suite of Apartments encircles a very spacious room in the centre which also contains the portraits of a great number of Kings, Queens and Princes. The palace is occupied by only a few Domestics.

Sunday 5.—Attended the greek religious service in the church of St. Isaac's and the Kazan. The churches were crowded with votaries. Some very devout and many quite lukewarm. The Priests occasionally presented images of the virgin and of saints and figures of the cross which were eagerly kissed by those who could approach. The day was as warm as I had ever felt the 4 Sept. in the U States.

Monday 6.—Spent in my chamber. The weather fine. This will continue it is said for 10 days, when rain and cold commence, and are soon followed by frost and snow which continue till May. In the evening rode out with Col. M. to the palace of Strogonoff abt. 6 ver[s]ts and walk[ed] till dusk thro the grounds.

Tuesday 7.—Amused myself in the morning in going thro the Apartments of the Winter palace and viewing the superb collection of paintings. Went at 5 to dine with the Princess Belozelsky at her chateaux in the Country. Mr. G. and myself have an invitation to dinner here every tuesday. This Lady holds the first rank at Court and entertains the best company in St. Petersburg. Her Party to day consisted of 14 persons. There were two Princes sev-

[1] Tchesma.

eral Princesses a Spanish Genl. named [1] in the Russian service and three Scotch Lords who had lately arrived on a visit to St. P. One was a Capt. in the Navy .[1] Being the only foreign Minister present I had the honor of leading the Princess B. into the dining room and being seated next to her and between her and the Princess [1] a very ancient Lady who spoke only Russian. After dinner we walked into the grounds which are very extensive and tastefully laid out. We continued walking till after the moon had risen and the evening being mild and the atmosphere bright, the lustre of the moon had an enchanting effect upon the foliage of the trees the waters which surrounded us and the numerous cottages with which the grounds are planted.

Wednesday 8.—Spent the morning in visiting and viewing different parts of the city. Dined with Mr. Kremer who resides in the quarter of Wibourg. Mr. K. is a German, who has been long settled as a merchant in St. P. and is married to a Russian Lady. The language of the House is English, tho the whole family speak russian and german. They have been always remarked for their hospitality to the English and Americans. Mr. K's partiality is on the side of England in her controversy with America. And this is the prevailing sentiment in St. P. The English Party generated by the collisions and war with France are evidently a Party as much against the U States as against France. They know nothing and are not disposed to enquire as to the nature of our dispute with England, but consider us as the Friends of France and dislike us accordingly.

Upon our return in the evening from Mr. K's, we received a very polite note from Count Romanzoff, informing us that the Empresses would be in Town on Friday, Saturday and Sunday and that we might avail ourselves of the occasion to visit Paulowski and gratchina.[2] And that the Empress Mother had given particular orders that every thing should be shewn to us in a manner the most gratifying. This is a rare act of civility not heretofore experienced by any Foreigner. The Count had sent a courier to know the Empress's pleasure on the subject in consequence the Empress gave orders for our reception, and sent her answer accordingly to the Count who communicated it to Mr. Harris. This civility is connected with some circumstances. Saturday the 11 (30 Augt. O. S.)[3] a grand procession with the Empresses at the head moves from the winter palace to the Cathedral church of St. Alexander Newski.

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[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Pavlovsk, seventeen miles, Gatchina, twenty-nine miles, south of St. Petersburg. The former today attracts many visitors because of the beautiful parks by which it is surrounded.

[3] The feast-day of St. Alexander Nevski.

Mr. H. in a conversation a few evenings ago was requested by the Count R. to desire the Am. Min. G. and B. to attend the procession and to appear in their diplomatic dress, observing that he would make an arrangement for their being noticed by the Empresses. This was approaching as nearly to a formal recognition of their diplomatic character as etiquette would allow. In a conversation the Count subsequently had with Mr. G. he appeared to have altered his views on the subject and to have thought he had gone too far. Mr. G. enquired if we were to attend in our diplomatic character. The Count had not given the invitation in that character and that a place would be assigned us but not with the diplo[ma]tic corps. The difficulty was suggested of appearing in our diplomatic dress, when the character was not attributed to us. The Count saw the impropriety and said the thing could not proceed in that course. He afterwards remarked that upon the celebration of the anniversary it was usual for the Chancellor of the Empire to give a formal diplomatic dinner and as we had not yet been received by the Emperor he could not possibly invite us. He enquired however if some of the young Gent. with us were not only nominally attached to the mission. This was said to be the case as to Mr. Todd and Mr. G's son. The Count proposed inviting them to the dinner as strangers as they had no public character. Mr. G. remarked that in fact Col. M. and Maj. D. had no public character and the Count instantly proposed inviting them. But the same consideration extended itself to the Ministers who under circumstances might be invited as strangers, but which renewed the former difficulty and in the end the whole scheme of attending the procession or being present at the diplomatic dinner on the part of the mission or any one of the suite was given up, and in place of them we were invited to visit the palaces of Paulowski and Gratchena. The Count R. has studiously endeavoured by every attention and civility on his part to prevent any unpleasant inference being drawn by Mess. G. and B. from the circumstance of their having remained so long in the Capital, without having been in any form noticed by the Emperor. He supposes that the Emperor being in the field at the head of his armies (toujours à cheval his own expression) may not have adverted to the dispa[t]ch which announced our arrival. He is assured that the sentiments of the Emperor are friendly to the U. S. and that no neglect could be intentional. It is to be remarked that the count himself in his official character and correspondences addresses us in our diplomatic characters. A second courier has been despatched to announce our being in the city.

Thursday. 9.—This day spent at home. Our Capt. came to dine with us and set with us till late in the evening.

Friday 10.—We made our arrangements for visiting Pavlofsky to day. We had three chariots each with six horses. In one were Mess. H. and T. in another Mess. G. and D. and in the third, Col. M. and myself. The distance is 26 versts and this we rode in two hours.

When we arrived at the palace we were su[r]prized to find after the formal communication made to us by the Chancellor of the Empire, that no orders had been given for our reception. The Empress mother and Director of the palace had gone to the city but had left no directions respecting us. However the chief valet of the Empress undertook to shew us all the Apartments, not excepting the Empress's bed room. On the sides of the Empress bed were two square mahogany cases, on which were written ara noctis. I was not hardy enough to open them to see what they contained. This palace like the others consists of a long suite of Apartments very richly and elegantly furnished. The ceilings painted and gilded and the walls of many of the chambers hung with very rich tapestry.

After viewing the palace we went to walk in the grounds, attended by a servant in scarlet which is the Court livery, with his chapeau de bras and sword. He conducted us thro the grounds, till our limbs were wearied or our curiosity satisfied. Fine shady walks skirting and passing on bridges numerous canals occasional views of artificial ruins, of cottages and of grecian or chinese temples were the objects which attracted attention. About three oclock we returned to the palace and in a room assigned to us spread a table for a cold collation which we had very providently taken with us. Dinner ended about 4 oclock Mr. G. and D. set out to return to St. P. (Mr. G.'s son being unwell) and Mess. H. and T. and the Col. and myself to prosecute the excursion to Gratchina. This was 27 virsts from Pavlofsky. We arrived at Gratchina at 6 oclock, and found here as at Pavlofsky that they were not apprized of our visit. We were however readily shewn the palace. It was built by Paul and was his residence during the life of Catherine.

It soon became too dark to examine the Interior of the building which in fact presented little to view as the furniture is chiefly removed and the palace inhabited only by a few Domestics. We descended to look at the exterior and the grounds. The building is of vast extent and capacious eno' to lodge ten thousand persons. The walls are of hewn granite and their mossy appearance would seem to put even time at defiance. The grounds which surround the palace are very beautiful and in a small artificial lake was a ship of apparently 300 tons pierced for 20 guns and not far off a sloop of about 100 tons. The interspersion of the grounds with canals and lakes is universal in country seats of all descriptions. We con-

tinued our walks here till the night closed upon us, when we retired to a public house and made a pleasant supper upon what remained of our cold collation. Between 11 and 12 oclock our horses being refreshed we entered our carriages to return to the city. We had 44 virsts to ride and this we accomplished without stopping in about 3½ hours. It was three oclock when we were set down at our lodgings and having rode and walked more than 100 versts in the day, I hastened to bed.

Saturday 11.—This being the Emperors name day or the day in the Calender of the Saint after whom he was called, St. Alexander Newski, it was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity at the Church of St Alexander Newski. The ceremony continued about three hours, and was conducted by an archbishop and a great number of Dignataries of the church clothed in very rich costumes and wearing caps sparkling with diamonds and precious stones. The two Empresses, two of the archDukes and an archDuches were present.[1] Towards the conclusion of the ceremony the archbishop and his clergy approached the Empresses and each in succession after bowing with great reverence were permitted to kiss their [hands?], the Empresses curtesying at the time. The Empresses then ascended the steps of the shrine—the Queen first, and three times knelt and three times kissed the figure of the Saint, which is at full length on the face of the monument, then curtesying to the Archbishop who stood on the opposite side of the monument, returned to their places. They were followed in succession by the archDukes and archDuches. Upon the conclusion of the ceremony the crowd opened into two rows forming a broad passage, thro which the Imperial family withdrew to their carriages, constantly bowing very graciously to the persons on either side of them. The two Empresses entered the same carriage, which was a very splendid coach the whole body of which was plated with gold, and was drawn by eight bright bay horses. They were followed by a great number of carriages with six horses and an immence train with four. This was the day the Chancellor was to have given his diplomatic dinner, but being invited to dine with the Empresses it was postponed till Sunday for which day Mr. G. and myself had an invitation.

Sunday 12.—The morning spent in my chamber. Being invited by card to dine with the Chancellor to day we of course put on our embroidered coats, but it was for the first time since they had come from the Tailors.[2] They appeared sufficiently fine for republicans and especially without comparison with others but they were quite

[1] The Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and the Grand Duchess Anna. See Adams's account of this celebration and of the dinner on the 12th, "Memoirs", II, 524–526.

[2] See page 217.

plain when they came alongside of the Chancellors guests who were invited for the day. The company was very numerous, not less than 45 or 50. The greater part were Princes or Counts and all of the nobility excepting a few Foreigners. The dinner was very sumptuous. The plates of silver or of china most costly. A profusion of gilt ornaments covered the table. The desert knives, forks and spoons of gold.

While we were at dinner a note was brought to Count from the Empress Queen announcing a great battle fought at Trepolitz[1] not far from Dresden in which the Emperor of Russia had beat the French, taken 66 canons and 7000 prisoners. The table, as well might be expected, where the chief part of the company was in the service of the Emperor, resounded with acclamations and the Chancellor rising from his seat proposed as a toast the health of his Majesty which was drank by all the company standing. The Count afterwards proposed as a second toast, "His Majesty and the glorious victory which he has gained." This was drank as the former. It deed not strike me that the event was so heart-felt as national success generally is in the United States.

Monday 13.—Te deum was ordered to be celebrated at the church of "Notre Dame" for the victory announced yesterday. It was understood that the service commenced at 11 oclock.

Having never been present at such a ceremony I was glad of the opportunity to attend. I went to the church at 12 and found it crowded by people of all descriptions. In the front of the alter the officers of State in splendid uniforms were assembled in a group pressed in by columns of people of motley appearance on either side. A Passage was kept open to the great door of the Church for the entrance of the Empresses. A multitude of Priests occasionally shewed themselves in the sanctuary and on the platform before the screen. They were covered with very rich and costly robes, and most of them wore very splendid caps. None were without beards which some appeared to have carefully arranged so as to render them as bushy as possible. Before the ceremony commenced the Lords of the Court did not appear to pay much respect to the holiness of the place in which they were assembled or the purpose for which they were met. They were as merry and as noisy as if they had been in a coffee house. The Empresses did not arrive till nearly 2 oclock and during the time they had been expected, nearly 3 hours, every one had been on their feet. There is no place to set down in a greek church. I pitied the old Priests, who could not have borne the fatigue but from habit. I saw many women have the appearance of fainting but no one seemed to depart before their Majesties made their appear-

[1] Teplitz. The battle was fought at Kulm Aug. 30.

ance. When the approach of the Empresses was announced the archbishop with his Dignataries, some with lighted tapers in their hands, marched in solemn procession from the sanctuary to the great door of the church to receive them. They were bare headed and passing thro the door stood under the Portico nearly half an hour before their majesties arrived. It was raining and cold. At length their Majesties came in great pomp and State, and were conducted thro the mass of people crowding on each side the passage with the most eager anxiety to see them. The Priests proceeding before them.

The Emperors despatch announcing the victory was then read, and afterwards the service of Te Deum performed. This consisted in chaunting hymns in Russian and continued about half an hour.

Tuesday 14.—Sent a letter this morning to go by the way of England addressed to A. B.[1] It is understood that every letter which passes thro the Post offices in Russia is opened, and those of the least importance are copied into a book kept for the purpose. The letters are never delivered from the office for a day after they are received. G. H.[2] and myself went to day to dine with the Princess B.[3] We found there a company of 12 or 14, all people of the first fashion. I was seated by side of Madam Bakowkin an extremely affable and interesting woman. She was well acquainted with the geography of the U States and made many enquiries as to its cities, rivers, soil, climate, productions, etc. etc. Age had made some inroad upon the charms which nature had given her but it was soon forgotten in the amenity of her manners and conversation. I saw a very pretty young Lady at the table of about 18 yrs of age and I enquired of Madame B. quelle jolie demoiselle it was. She answered that is my daughter Sir. They both spoke english very well. It is the custom here to lead the Ladies to dinner by giving the right arm. I was not certain that the arm was material and in going to dinner I offered to the young Princess B. my left arm and she immediately stept round me and took the right. It is a point of etiquette, to lead back to the Drawing room the same Lady whom you conducted into the dining room. After coffee you retire when you please sans ceremonie, tho it is common to remain an hour. We left the Princess about 8 oclock, at which time a company for the evening was collecting.

She spends most of her evenings at cards and the common game is Boston.[4] The evening ends at about 3 o'clock and the next day commences at 2. Boston is taken from a game once played in America,

[1] Andrew Bayard.

[2] Possibly Gallatin and Harris.

[3] Beloselsky.

[4] A card game said to have originated in Boston during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and very popular in France at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It is played with two packs and partakes of the nature both of whist and quadrille.

but is varied by a number of new combinations which render it very complicate. Whist is played but not so generally as Boston, and the interest it excites appears to arise from the bet depending, which is commonly pretty high.

Wednesday 15.—I went this morning to see the fruit market which is held in a narrow dirty Street in the skirts of the Town. On each side of the street are shops or booths in which a great variety of fruits are exposed to Sale. I observed strawberries, cherries, rasberries, whortleberries, currans, apples, peaches, plumbs, and pine apples. The pine apples are small and extravagantly dear—from 20 to 40 rubles. Peaches are a ruble a peice. They are fine in appearance, but without flavour. The cherries are large and well tasted. The strawberries are excellent. The rasberries also. The apples are small, shrivelled and extremely acid. Fruits of all kinds are dear.

We had an invitation for the evening to the Baroness Ralls. It was a fête as she told me which she gave to her husband in honor of his birth day. The invitation was at 7 and we arrived at her house about 4 versts from the city at half past 7. A large company was already collected. About 8 we were conducted to a private theatre at a distance of 4 or 500 yards. The path was handsomely illuminated by two rows of lamps between which we passed. The light reflected thro the trees had a pleasing effect. The company and the theatre just fitted each other. There were about 150 persons, who filled the house without being crowded. The theatre was nothing but a stage without scenery and with a simple curtain in front. When we arrived the curtain was down. I was surprized after we were all seated for a considerable time that the curtain was not raised. I enquired of Mr. Labinski the Director of the winter palace, etc. who was seated next to me the reason and he replied that they were waiting for the *Principal person.* This custom proceeds from the principle of the Government. In private as in public life there must be one above all the rest. After waiting nearly an hour the Principal Person made her appearance. It was the Countess Soltikoff.[1] As soon as she was seated, the music began to play. The orchestra was well filled, and the effect in a small house very fine. The curtain was soon after raised and the peice began. The actors were chiefly the sons and daughters of the Baron. There were but two who did not belong to the family. The piece was in french, consisted of two acts and lasted about an hour and a half. The acting was very well. The Barons youngest daughter who was about 15 and ugly to deformity, contrived to look quite decent upon the stage. Near 11 oclock we returned thro the same illuminated walk to the house we had quitted. Dancing soon commenced and

[1] Wife of Count Alexander Soltykov, member of the council of state.

began by one Lady after another taking a Gentleman's arm and marching around the room with a common step and from one room to another, with no other plan than following each other, then returning to the place they set out from and separating with a bow. This was followed by a very simple but crowded contré dance which they call the polonaise. We understood there would be supper at one but the hour being rather too late Mr. G. and myself called our carriages a little before 12 and returned to the city. The servant in calling up the carriages used the words "Americanski Posalonick,"[1] the russian words for american ministers.

Thursday 16.—What is called in Russia the fine weather still continues, but has it is said continued beyond its usual period. In this country however I find differences of opinion on the subject as there are in all others. More than two weeks ago I was told on a rainy day that the fine weather was done till the Month of May next (O. S.). But the rain ceased with the day, and with occasional clouds we have enjoyed delightful weather since. Yesterday I was told, that the fine weather may continue for two or three weeks longer. In fact the Evenings and mornings are not as cold at St. P. at this time as usually at the same season in the 40 Deg. of Lat. in the U. States. The season breaks up here with dark cloudy and rainy weather, after which regular cold sets in, the snow falls and continues till May. The cold of the Winter is never spoken of with reference to the feelings, but to the thermometer. The scale of Reaumeur[2] is the one in use, and speaking of cold they say when the cold was at such and such a degree etc. etc. The cold of the last winter so disastrous to the French, but the salvation of Russia, is universally said to have set in a month sooner and to have been more intense than any one living could remember.

Mr. G. and myself went in the evening to visit Mr. Kremer who resides 6 versts from the city. It was after 7 oclock when we got there, but found him at dinner with a large company. We sent up our names and he came out and insisted upon our taking seats at the table. This we did and both with as good appetites as if we had not dined. The company were all english or german. Mr. K. gave as a toast "property and liberty." I asked him if they talked of liberty in Russia. He answered "yes certainly and If the Emperor were here I would give the same toast and I am sure he would drink it." It was the first instance I had witnessed in Russia where the company remained at table after the Lady retired. But Mr. K's society has been chiefly english and he has adopted in some degree their man-

[1] Poslaniki.

[2] René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683–1757), who took 0° as the freezing point of water, and graduated his tube into eightieths of the difference between the boiling point of water and the melting point of ice.

ners and habits. In political feeling he is altogether an englishman. In this he is not singular for most of the Russians are extremely partial to every thing english. The most unpopular, tho among the most politick acts of the present Emperor, is the exclusion of British manufactures. The Russians are an ingenious people, tho they have been more remarked for their powers at imitation than in invention. They make excellent manufacturers, and labour is here so abundant, that they are capable of manufacturing beyond the consu[m]ption of the Country. The prejudice in favor of English manufactures was such, that russian could not be sold, but under the name of English. The exclusion of english manufactures has been a long time rigidly enforced. It was supposed in the U. S. that this was a compliance with Bonapartes continental system. But the fact was not so. It was altogether a russian measure and designed to encourage the manufactures of the Country. Not withstanding the alliance with England the system is as strictly executed and as much to the annoyance and vexation of Britain as at any former period. It is true english goods are still found in the Country, but they are introduced by smuggling which no laws can entirely prevent. Seizures however are frequently made, and the governmt. never remit the forfeiture.

We returned from Mr. K's at about eleven oclock, which is quite an early hour in Russia.

Friday 17.—The weather to day was not a little embrouillé. Occasionally dark and lowering clouds and rain, followed by a bright sun. This contention continued during the day. About 3 oclock I had a very pleasant promenade with Col. M.[1] down the Boulevards, a fine gravelled walk extending from the Neva to St. Isaacs church, then passing in front of the Admiralty to the Winter p[a]lace, then turning and running with the S. W. front of the palace till it reaches the Neva again. The walk is in the centre of the street shaded by rows of trees on each side which are protected from the street and from the walk by a low railing. When we reached the Neva we proceeded up the quay in front of the palaces. The front of the Winter palace as well as we could ascertain it by stepping was about 750 feet, that of the Hermitage 580 and the marble palace 300. Our walk was extended to the summer gardens, but we were here driven back by the threatening appearance of the clouds, which however allowed us to return home with only a slight sprinkling.

In the evening between 6 and 7 Mr. G and myself got in our carriage to go and pay a visit to the Duke of Sierra Caprioli, the Neapolitan Minister. The distance is about 15 versts. The sky was covered with clouds and there was every appearance of a dark

[1] Col. Milligan.

rainy night. But such a distance or such appearances in Russia do not interfere with visits. The roads are good, the Drivers are safe and the carriages are dry. We found the Duke and his family at home. The Duke, Duches, and an elderly Lady round one small table, and the young Duches and a younger Party around another. Some had work in their hands others were reading. We spent upwards of an hour with them and returned to our lodgings by 10 o'clock, having rode 30 versts. We found the city illuminated and discovered afterwards that it was in honor of a fete day of the Empress Mother. The Duke informed us to day that General Moreau was dead of his wounds.

Saturday 18.—The day fine. The morning spent in writing and reading. Went out to walk at 3 and took the course of the quay descending the Neva. The quay on the South of the river is a great and noble work. It is formed of vast blocks of hewn granite, which form a wall facing and slightly inclining from the river, which rises from the bottom of the river to about three feet above the walk, which is formed of flat hewn stones of the same kind, about three feet square and is 6 feet broad. At intervals the wall projects its massy front into the river and a descent is made to the edge of the water by stepts on one side which rise again into the walk upon the other. A parapet or wall interposes with a passage at each end to descend and arise from the river. This is designed for the convenience of landing in passing the river and also of drawing water from the river for the use of the city, which is the only water used. It is carried thro the Town in hogsheads on a Kibitka[1] or in large tubs swinging from a pole resting on the shoulders of two men.

The quay extends above two miles along the river. It is said to be a favorite walk of the Emperor in the winter. The Emperor is a great walker and has much changed the russian sentiment and fashion in respect to the exercise. A few years past it was not reputable to be seen walking, and now people of the first rank are frequently seen on the boulevards. The habits of the lower classes are always less flexible and more difficult to change than those of the higher. And the common people are more tenacious at St. P. of their Droska's than the nobility of their coaches, and for the same reason the lower orders of the Russians still wear their beards, when not one bearded face is to be seen amongst the gens comme il faut.

Their are no brick pavements in the city, and seldom on the sides of the streets foot walks of any kind. The public foot walks are all in the middle of the streets. In the evening Mr. G. and myself rode out with the Col. and Mr. T.[2] to the Countess Columbi. This was

[1] A wagon with rounded top of felt or leather. [2] Mr. Todd.

a distance of 14 verts and altho we did not start till half past six, we took tea with the Countess and returned before 10' oclock.

Sunday 19.—The weather mild and fine and I took my usual walk on the quay in front of the Neva. I observed a vast crowd around the academy of arts, which is situated on the Island of St. P. on the opposite side of the river. Upon enquiry I learnt that there are a few days in the year on which all persons are admitted gratuitously, to view the curiosities of the academy and that this was one of the days.

In the afternoon we went to dine with Mr. K.[1] in the Wibourg on the banks of the Neva 6 verts from the city. Sunday is his public day on which his table is open to all his friends who please to come and partake at his board. He has the reputation and the manners of a hospitable man. His wife is accomplished, but a woman of caprice and excessive pretension. A merchants wife is nobody in Russia and yet this lady is more lofty in her port and manners than any Princess in the Country.

At dinner I set by the side of Mrs. F. the widow of young Mr. F. late son of M F of Philada.[2] Her misfortunes are early and singular. She is by birth a russian, and a native of Moscow. Her Parents died when she was very young leaving an orphan destitute of property. Mrs. K. became her Patroness and she was brought up in her family. She is well educated and sensible, and speaks the Russian, german, French and english languages fluently. She is apparently twenty three or four. She was addressed by Young F. to whom she gave her hand. They were married in the spring of the present year. He was two or three years older than his bride. On the day after the espousals she removed to his house. On the morning following poor F. on descending a stone stair case from the chamber of his wife, he fell, and before he was discovered had breathed his last. His fall had not been heard and he had remained

[1] Mr. Krehmer.

[2] Miers Fisher, son of Miers Fisher of Philadelphia, a member of the assembly, first counsellor for the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and a director of the Bank of North America and the Insurance Company of Pennsylvania, and Sarah Redwood of Newport. The father was a Quaker, as indeed were the family in general, and was among those deported to Winchester, Va., by Congress in 1777 (Gilpin, "Exiles in Virginia", passim). The son, Miers Fisher (1786–1813), in his twenty-first year sailed to Cadiz, and on the return voyage to Havana he was seized with yellow fever. In April, 1809, he sailed as supercargo to Russia. The vessel was captured by a Danish privateer, and reached Cronstadt just before the closing of the Neva River. He remained in St. Petersburg, where he established a mercantile house. He married, June 4, 1813, Helen Gregeroffsky, niece of Gen. Alexander Tocke, who had been educated in England. "Their marriage was allowed to take place by the gracious condescension of the Emperor Alexander without his being subject to the various regulations of the Greek Church. You cannot conceive the sensation it has created in this town among all ranks. He was taken off 30 hours after his marriage by a fit of apoplexy" [from a letter of John Venning to Bainbridge and Brown of London]. His widow died in Cincinnati, Ohio, Apr. 9, 1828. I am indebted to Mr. John W. Jordan for this information.

a corpse an hour before he was found, casually by one of the servants. What a scene of agony and horror for the widowed Bride. How short the dream of fancied happiness. But one day had she worn the nuptial garment when she was doomed to cover herself with the sable weeds of the widow. She expressed a strong inclination to visit the friends of her late husband in America. I told her they were Quakers and that their manners and mode of life would not please her. She replied, that she was sure, that they were amiable and that was enough.

I left Mr. K's immediately after coffee was handed round, and returned to the city. It was quite dark. Mr. G. who followed in about an hour, was overturned in his chariot, but escaped without injury.

Monday 20.—The weather remains extremely fine, and certainly warmer than in the Lat. of Philad at the same season. The day spent at home. In the evening paid a visit to Mr. Adams.

Tuesday 21.—The weather mild and fine. In taking my usual walk on the Quay I encountered a Russian who was exhibiting a strange animal which he had taken out of a large tub of water and was holding in his arms. A crowd was soon collected about him, and I was enabled by the assist nce of a man who spoke a little english to learn that the animal was called a sea dog. It was about the size of a small Pointer. The head and neck much like that of a dog. The body was longer than that of a dog and at the extremity had a dogs tail. The dimension of the belly exceeded that of the breast. It had four short legs terminating in paddles like a ducks foot. They were placed very near the extremities of the body. Its eyes were convex and sparkling. There were apertures for the ears but no protuberance. It was jet black and the hair very short and slick. It played with the keeper as a dog would do—growled, snapt at his hand and would catch hold of his sleeve and shake it with his teeth. The animal was amphibious, tho its natural element was the water. It was very properly called a sea dog. It had been taken 60 versts below the city in the gulf of Finland.

In the evening we visited the Russian theatre but not understanding the peice or the language we found nothing to amuse us but a cossack dance in which great agility and grace were displayed.

Wednesday 22.—We went this morning to see the academy of arts. It is now open for the indiscriminate admission of all persons. It is a vast quadrangular building containing within its sides an extensive Court. The house was crowded with people of both sexes of all descriptions. Among others I observed a Queen and several Princesses of Georgia in their national dress, which was much more of the Asiatic than European cast.

We had dined the Tuesday preceding with one of the Directors Mr. [1] at the Princess B. We had been introduced to him and he very civilly promised us his attentions if we would visit the academy. He met us soon after we entered the house and conducted us thro all the Apartments, giving us explanations upon all subjects which required them. The chief exhibition were paintings, engravings, castings, and models. The paintings for the most part were those of the pupils which had won the prizes. There were many views of scenes which had occurred at Moscow, after it had been taken by the French. These were designed and calculated to excite national feeling. You saw the Peasants falling and expiring who had been shot in the streets by order of Bonaparte. The Priests on their knees and the french soldiers tearing their crucifixes from their bosom. Infants trampled under foot. One peice of great size represents Bonaparte flying from Moscow in the form of the Devil. The Painter has dressed him like a little frenchman with talons to his feet, but no tail. Under his feet is an Infant—a woman, and the ground is covered with blood. In the back ground is the Town in flames. In the front Moscow is represented in a female figure leaning on an altar surrounded with flames and plunging with her own hand a dagger into her bosom. The head of Bonaparte is turned round towards the scene in his flight, with a most diabolical scowling visage. His army are flying over the whole Country and men and horses throwing themselves from precipices and plunging into a river. I saw many Russians gazing at this picture with great apparent satisfaction. I was most struck with the models of the ruins of ancient temples, palaces, baths, and amphtheatres. They are designed and said to give exact representations in all points of appearance of the ruins.

There is a model upon a very large scale of St. Peters church at Rome. It fills a room which is about 40 feet by thirty and the ceiling of the hight of 16 feet. The Dome which is here represented in miniature the Director told us was 800 feet high. We enquired as to the scale of the foot he spoke of—and he said it was less than the french foot and the same as the english. I think still there must be some misunderstanding. A dome with an elevation of 800 feet cannot well be conceived.[2] There was a model of the great rock, on which the statue of Peter the great stands, on the road with all the machinery and contrivances by which it was moved. There are figures of men at work on the rock at the same time that thousands are employed in moving it. The peasants who were shot at Moscow, were put to death for refusing to enter into the french service. A statue has been cast in commemoration of the heroism of one of these Peasants, who had been seized and forced into service. In order to indentify him in

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Height 162 feet.

case of desertion he had been branded on the left arm. He enquired what the brand was for, and was told that it made him a french man—upon which he laid hold of a hatchet, and instantly chopt his arm off. There are also prints representing the same act.

From the academy Col. M. and myself drove to a small Island formed by banks of the Neva called Petrowskoi ostrow. The day was very fine and we traversed the whole Island. We saw on it and old house, which was said to have been inhabited by Peter the great and is called his palace. It was tenanted by peasants and going rapidly to decay. In advance of the house about 500 yards were two redoubts one on each branch of the Neva, built of sods, much of the form and size of that in the vicinity of Wilmington.

The platform had been removed, but the piles remained perfectly sound upon which it had been laid. One of these redoubts had four and the other five embrazures. They are both at present in ruins. But were evidently once necessary to defend the Palace against the incursions of the Swedes, when they were masters of the Country on the opposite side of the gulf of Finland. At the extremity of the Island we observed at some distance in the Neva a small cabin resting upon piles and elevated about 8 feet above the water.

We observed a man lying at one end of the cabin apparently a sleep. While employed in conjecturing the nature of the life followed by the Inhabitants of this wretched tenement, I heard a bell ring and instantly the man whom I had supposed to be asleep sprang up and another one made his appearance. I could just discover something thrown into the water and see them sinking poles into the river. Soon after a net was drawn up which appeared to contain fish. I imagined that the fish on striking the net rang the bell and gave the signal to the Fisherman, when it was to be drawn. I was curious to have a nearer view of the contrivance and a small boat having come to the shore we hired the boatman to row us to the place where they were fishing. We ascended by some crazy steps to a platform of some loose planks in front of the cabin, and saw the whole operation in this strange mode of fishing. Below us was a man lying upon his face upon an inverted box covered with matting and suspended by ropes, so as to swing upon the surface of the water. We thought at first he was a sleep and had nothing to do with the fishing. But hearing strange voices he raised his head for a moment, and we found he was employed in looking thro an aperture in the box into the water. The box swung in an oblong pen formed by small piles driven into the bottom of the river, about 7 feet wide and 16 long. The man looking thro the box held a string connected with the bell and when he saw fish enter the pen he rang the Bell. Instantly a net in form of a bag was thrown into the water at the opposite extremity of the pen. And the upper part being attached

to the logs the under part was forced down by poles to the bottom of the water. They then beat the water above to drive the fish into the net and raising the poles brought the mouth of the net together, when it was hauled out of the water. In this manner we saw them catch 20 and thirty fish at a time. They were about the size of a small herring, but rounder. The fish brought to the Market at St. P. are taken generally in the Neva, and are in great abundance, but commonly without flavour. The Salmon and salmon trout are the best, but are much inferior to the salmon in America. The table is supplied with a great variety of fish, and I have not in a single instance set down to a dinner of which fish did not make a part. Having satisfied our selves as to the mode of fishing, we regained our boat tho with some difficulty and returned to the shore. It was nearly 5 oclock when we got back to the city.

Thursday 23.—Mr G and myself paid a visit this morning to a magazin de linge in order to inform ourselves of the quality and prices of the russia linen. The measure in Russia is the archine which is equal to 28 inches or 7/9ths of a yard. The quality of the articles was common and the prices high. Sheeting 72 rubles for 57 archines, napkins 80 rubles a dozen, coarse diaper for towels 37 copecs an archine, and for napkins 1 ruble, 25 copecs the archine. A Table cloth three archines square 50 rubles, 5 archines by 4 100 rubles—and in proportion. You cannot rely upon the price given you in a russian shop. It is common to ask twice the sum they will afterwards take and especially of a stranger. If you refuse an article at the first price proposed and appeared disposed to go off they will reduce the price, and if you are not yet satisfied and begin to move, they end by asking you " What will you give."

In visiting the magazin de linge we had the precaution to take with us a russian Gentn. well acquainted with prices.

Friday 24.—An arrangement had been made for our visiting this morning the Institution of the corps of Cadets. We went at 10 oclock and were introduced to Genl.[1] who was at the head of the institution and who with a train of 8 or 10 officers in full uniforms conducted us thro all parts of the immence building belonging to the establishment. It is situated in the Quartier Wasiliostrow,[2] was founded by Elizabeth and enlarged by Paul and the present Emperor. None are admitted but of noble families, by the rules of the Institution. But at present I was told by one of the Professors, that children of the Burgeoise were admitted, on account of the augmentation of the armies. The number of Des Eleve in the Institution at this time is from 900 to 1000. They are taught all arts and sciences

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Vasili Ostrov, Great Island.

entering into the education of a soldier. Everything has a military form and air within the walls of the Building.

They put on a uniform at 12 and 13 and are trained to arms and disciplined a portion of every day. We were shewn one room which contained models of all the operations belonging to the fortification or seige of a Town, of the operations of armies engaged in the field, of all the machinery used in the manufacture of gunpowder, and in short of all machines and most operations of a military nature. We passed thro the refectory, dormitory, the infirmary, different apartments in which the arms and clothing were arranged, and were shewn even the economy of the kitchen and found everything admirably arranged. At 12 oclock les eleve in uniform were called by beat of the drum to the grand parade which is a very spacious and level campus. Here they were drawn up and went thro a variety of maneuvres, with great dexterity and exactness. Upon the conclusion of the parade the Genl. led us again to the Refectory, where a table was laid with about 400 covers. Soon after the drum announced the approach des eleves and they entered with the military step two deep and took their stations at the table. The greeks turned themselves towards an image of the virgin in the corner and crossed themselves and upon a stroke of the drum they were all seated. They were allowanced in meat, but given as much soup and potatoes as they could eat. They retired from the Refectory by beat of drum and in the same order they entered. This institution is furnished with all the means of military instruction and is admirably calculated to create and confirm military habits and to inspire the sentiments and spirit of a soldier. The greatest crime which can be committed and one which is punished in the most exemplary manner is insubordination.

Upon leaving the institution of cadets Col. M. and myself paid a second visit to the academy of arts which remains still open to the public and was crowded by a great concourse of people.

One of the Professors who accompanied us thro the Apartments pointed out to me a full length portrait of the Emperor of China, in his national costume and which was said to be a likeness, but he made me remark particularly his finger nails, which were nearly as long as the finger itself. The Emperor never cuts his nails.

Saturday 25.—I went to day about three oclock to walk in the Summer gardens. As usual I found very few persons there. These walks in fine weather are very charming but notwithstand[ing] are not much frequented. From the Garden I passed into the Champs De Mars to view a colossal bronze statue erected in honor of Suwarrow.[1] The figure is bold and commanding and it is considered as

[1] Erected by Alexander within a year of the death of Suvárov.

a fine casting. In the evening we sent for tickets in the Russian Theatre, but every box and seat in the house were engaged. This theatre is always crowded. We then went to the german theatre where vacant seats eno' were to be found, but the dulness of the scenery and acting soon drove me out, and I went with Mr. T, to the Hotel de Londres, where we forgot the dulness of the german over a good beefstake and a bottle of claret.

Sunday 26.—The weather was cloudy and cold during the morning, but still supportable without fire. In the afternoon we went to dine with Mr. K. on the Neva. The Party was small. I mentioned to Mrs. K. Sir John Carr's N. S.[1] She recollected his visit to St. P. and immediately added—"He has done me the honor to give me a place in his Book with which I should have been more flattered if he had not made me speak such bad russian."—"Then you remember your expression to him." "Oh yes. He asked me how I would express in russian, come and take a seat by me. And I answered [2] As Sir John tells the story, one would suppose the Lady had invited him to come and take a seat beside her. This however Mrs. K would hardly have done in Russ as she speaks very good english.

I returned from Mr. K's at 9 oclock. The night was dark and rainy. We had however the benefit of the light of three lamps to our charriot, and not more than a verst of unpaved road.

Monday 27.—The fine weather appears to have ended. It has been raining for three days and no sight of the sun. Remained at home all day. In the evening the whole of our Party went to a public masquerade. It was after 10 when we went and I returned at 1/2 past one and Mr. G. at 2. The House was very spacious and beside one immense hall, contained a suite of more than a dozen rooms. There were two orchestras in different parts of the house, containing almost every kind of musical instrument. The music was fine. One half of the company were without masks, some half masked, and a few dominos. There was occasional dancing and a very few attempts at character. The chief amusement was in marching round the great hall and parading from one room to another. The crowd was prodigious, it was scarcely possible to move unless in a current. The strictest order however was observed, and no one person offered the smallest offence to another. Every place of public resort is attended by a number of police officers, who are known by their uniform and white plumes in their hats, and also by a Party of the military. If any one commits an offence or does an improper act he is seized and carried off immediately. In descending the great stair case, I saw apparently a good looking man in the hands of a soldier who dragged him along with great indignity. When he reached the door

[1] "Northern Summers"; the story is found on pp. 162–163 of the 1806 edition.
[2] Blank in the manuscript.

an officer stept up, while the soldier held him by the arm. He appeared extremely alarmed and was crying. The officer heard him for an instant, when he was dragged off by two soldiers, and making a little resistance was pushed with great violence. This having been the anniversary of the Emperors coronation, the city was brilliantly illuminated at night.

Tuesday 28.—Arrangements had been made for our seeing to day the "Foundling Hospital". The establishment is extremely extensive as all public institutions are in Russia. The house must contain several hundred rooms all of which are connected on the same story. Children forsaken by their Parents, are received without any enquiries or mothers are admitted with their children and allowed to remain and nurse them. Women are also admitted pour s'accoucher. The child remains till it is three weeks old, and it is then sent into the Country where it remains till it is seven years old and then returns to the Institution and is brought up to some trade or otherwise educated. This establishment originated with Catherine the 2d but has been much enlarged since her time. The expence of supporting it was stated by the Director who conducted us thro the Building to be about half a million of Rubles annually. Their chief funds are derived from a right given them to grant licences to make playing cards, which produces 380,000 rubles yearly and of perquisites from the theatre which yield 30,000. There were other smaller funds. It frequently happens, that Parents pay the expence annually by agreement, or deposit with the child a gross sum sufficient to bring it up. These children have certain priviliges. The number of children at present in the hospital was stated to be about 400 girls and 300 boys. And the number in the Country about 7000. On an average 2300 are received annually. We were led thro all the Apartments—and as usual the refectory, dormitory, Infirmary, and kitchen. No two children sleep together each one having a separate bed. We saw a great number of infants of the tenderest age. Each one had a nurse. The infant does not sleep with the nurse, but in a small cradle, without rockers, two of which are placed between the beds of two nurses. I saw one Infant apparently but a few days old feeding from a bottle. The boys and girls are entirely separate. We were in the refectories of both when they came into dinner. With the girls a grace was pronounced by one of them before they were seated at the table and with the boys a deep toned hymn was chaunted. The Greeks uniformly turn towards an image of the virgin and cross themselves, before they sit down. We observed the smell of frank incense burning in most of the Apartments. We employed upwards of two hours in going thro the Institution and were shewn everything belonging to the establishment. In the evening we went to the Russian theatre,

and were much amused with a new national ballette, the plot of which was designed to expose the rapacity and cruelty of the french while in Russia.

Wednesday 29.—The bad weather continues. Cloudy and cold, rain early in the morning, which at 10 oclock turned into snow and whitened the roofs of all the houses. Yesterday our stoves were heated for the first time. Every room has a stove. In different houses the stoves are of various forms, some very ornamental. They are in general from ten to 12 feet high, about 15 inches from the floor there is an aperture of about 10 inches square, which may be closed by a door. In the side of the stove about 5 feet from the floor is another aperture with a door. Both are open when the wood which is placed in the lower aperture is burning. When it is reduced to a coal both are shut in order to confine the heat. These stoves are built up with brick and faced with tile. Spent the evening at Mr. Adams.

Thursday 30.—Upon rising this morning I observed the roofs of the houses covered with snow. The weather during the day very changeable. The sun occasionally shining for a few minutes, and then overcast with dark clouds from which snow fell. Te deum celebrated for Successes of the crown Prince[1] and of the russian army over the French. And a discharge of 100 rounds of cannon.

Friday 1 October.—Mr. G. and myself went this morning to pay a private visit of civility to the Count Romanzoff. The conversation on common subjects, and on the part of the Count consisted of anecdotes connected with difficult characters. Spoke of the Prince Gallitzen[2] in America at the head of a Roman catholic order or institution. In consequence of his becoming a catholic Priest he forfeited his estates in Russia which were very considerable. His sister who became entitled to the succession allows him a portion of the profits for his subsistence. This sister from a singular caprice of her mother had been taught the use of the sword and of fire arms and in all points had received a male education. The mother always affirming that there was no foundation in nature for a different course of education between the sexes. Upon rising to take leave of the Count, I asked Him, within what time he expected an answer from Count Leiven in relation to the renewed offer of mediation. He answered in two weeks, but that it might be three. I remarked that a few days as the season advanced might be very important to us, in obstructing the navigation of the gulf. The Count replied that he hoped that we should have no occasion to navigate the gulf this season, and that he had strong expectations, that the objects of our

[1] Of Sweden; see p. 205, note 4.

[2] Prince Dimitri Gallitzin (1770–1841), becoming a Catholic, came to the United States in 1792, was ordained priest in 1795, and had, as such, a distinguished career in Pennsylvania, becoming in 1821 vicar-general of the diocese of Philadelphia.

mission would be obtained, and of course we must think of remaining at St. P. during the winter. Our visit was of half an hour.

I am very confident that the mediation of Russia will not be accepted by England. She never can endure a third power to judge of her pretensions, which she calls her maritime rights. And especially a power whose commercial interests are strongly opposed to these pretensions and all of whose late commercial regulations are hostile to British commerce. The only doubt is as to the course she will pursue to decline the mediation without giving offence.

Saturday 2.—We went this morning to see the institution for the instruction of the blind, dumb and deaf and imbecile. It is conducted by Mr. Hauy[1] a French Gentleman and a pupil of the celebrated Abbe Sicard.[2] It is a late establishment. The chief object is the instruction of the blind. These are taught to read and to write—Geography and Music, and various mechanical arts. The number of pupils is small, not exceeding fifteen. We saw one young woman who was deaf and dumb, and who possessed an astonishing faculty in discovering ideas by signs. Mr. H. requested us to propose any word for her to define. She was asked "What is friendship." Mr. H. conveyed to her the question by signs, and she wrote immediately a very correct answer. Before we took our leave we were entertained with a concert by the blind upon a variety of instruments.

Sunday 3—The Russian Sunday commences the afternoon of Saturday and terminates at noon on Sunday. This is meant as to religious observance. This evening the theatres are open and there is also a public masquerade. But no part of the Sunday is very rigidly observed. Shops are open all times of the day, and tho not generally yet you find people engaged in ordinary occupations.

The greeks are notwithstanding very superstitious and devout. The churches are open every day in the week. The church Bells begin to ring long before daylight and continue ringing a great part of the day. The pious never pass a church, without stopping bowing and crossing themselves several times. The Priests are numerous and have great influence in the Country. They support and are supported by the throne. An equal interest is the basis of this union. I was not out during the day except to walk on the Boulevards and on the quay in front of the palaces. The weather has improved tho very fluctuating. Little colder than the same season in the U States.

Monday 4.—The Col. and myself rode in the morning to the Island of Petroskoy Ostrow. The weather very unsettled. The sun was shining when we set off, and before we had accomplished half the

[1] Abbé Valentin Haüy (1745–1822), inventor of raised letters and other methods of teaching the blind, which he practised in Paris and then for two years in St. Petersburg.

[2] Abbé Sicard (1742–1822) became head of a school for deaf mutes in 1786, and was the author of "Cours d'Instruction d'un Sourd-muet de Naissance".

distance it rained with violence, and the sky was overcast with very dark clouds. Our carriage was turned to take us back, but before we had proceeded a quarter of a mile, my russian footman announced a clear sky and the carriage was again turned, to proceed upon our original expedition. The day became fine and allowed us a fine walk on the banks of the little Neva.

We obtained admission into an ancient mansion, called a palace of Peter the great. There is no reason to doubt its having been a place of his residence. The basement story was occupied by some poor people, who appeared to be charged with the care of the building. The second story contained a suite of eight rooms. They were all furnished. The floor of one was covered with crimson damask. This was the bed chamber of the Zar. The matrass remained. The counterpane was blue silk worked.

This palace presented but few objects of curiosity, and the interest excited by it arose from its having been the residence of a great Prince.

Tuesday 5.—The weather cold and occasionally raining and snowing. Remained at home during the day.

Wednesday 6.—Indisposed with a bad cold. The weather abominable. Obliged to remain at home.

Thursday 7.—The morning cold and windy. The sun making his appearance about one, the day became fine and I went to walk on the Boulevards. The walk much crouded with people of all ranks. Being alone I was occupied with my own thoughts which respected our errand in Russia. I put them down in order to see whether time will verify my conjectures. My conclusions were that England would not act under the mediation of Russia either at St. P. or even in London. That she would not however give either an immediate or a decisive answer to the new offer of Russia, and that in expecting this answer we shall be detained so long in St. P. as to be prevented by the season from returning to the U S. this year. If this should happen it is possible that new powers may be sent to the mission in the spring and the negociation be transferred to London. Peace may result from this negociation, but the U. S. will not obtain the cession of one principle contended for by G. B. at the time when the war was declared. This prospect is not a pleasant one, but in searching for truth, we are not to think of what is desireable. The evening spent at the Russian theatre.

Friday 8.—Chief part of the day passed in my chamber. Went to walk on the boulevards at 3. Many people of fashion on the walks among others the Princess Amelia, sister of the Empress.[1] The evening spent at home.

[1] The empress Elizabeth Alexievna had been the Princess Louise Marie Auguste, sister of the Grand Duke Karl of Baden; her sister was the Princess Amelia of Baden.

Saturday 9.—We received a proposition from Mr. H.[1] to take Apartments in his house for the season. And we went to look at the rooms. They are handsomely furnished but too few for his accommodation and for ours.

Monday 10.—This morning we received a note from Count Romanzoff communicating the information that a Courier had just brought him orders from the Emperor, to receive in his behalf our Letters of credence, and to transmit them to Him. The letter states that from the moment the letters are delivered, we shall be entitled to all the rights and prerogatives of Ministers, etc. etc. It marks in very civil terms a condescension of the Emperor, in offering an apology for have[ing] so long delayed his orders upon notice of our arrival, stating that having been constantly in view of the enemy, and generally on horseback, he had been drawn from that attention to the proof of confidence which the U S had given him, which the interest he took in their affairs would otherwise have induced him to have paid. The cause of the delay being explained the thing itself is of no consequence, as nothing in the meantime could have been done, G. B. having taken no step to give effect to the mediation. The day spent at our lodgings.

Monday 11.—A Note was sent to Count Romanzoff this morning requesting him to indicate the time when we should officially wait upon him to deliver our Letters of Credence, and he was civil enough in the course of the day to send us an answer, appointing to-morrow at 12 oclock to receive us.

We went to day to dine with Mr. De Kosodawlew Minister de l' Interieur upon an invitation received on Saturday. This Gentleman ranks in the class after Count Romanzoff. He married the Princess, and has the reputation of a man of abilities. He is without children, but his wife adopted a neice whom she educated and who is married to the Prince Cherbatoff. They live with the Parents who have adopted them. I handed the Princess into the dining room and sat next to her during dinner on her left and to the right of Mrs. K. The old Lady is very homely, but that defect is lost sight of in her affability and good sense. Mr. and Mrs. K. sat opposite to each other at table. I remark this as an affair of fashion. The Princess is young and handsome—spoke english very well, and was sprightly, affable, and well informed. After Coffee Mr. K. led us into his Cabinet to shew us samples of Russian Manufactures in wool, cotton, flax and porcelain. The Quality and prices of the manufactures shew that they must succeed in Russia. We have several times felt embarrassment, upon the point of Etiquette as to dress upon invitations to dinner. Upon an Invitation from the Chancellor

[1] Levett Harris.

by *Note*, you go in full dress unless invited en frac. Upon invitations in the Country you go in boots. Our invitation from Mr. K. was by Note and we applied to Mr. A. to know how we were to dress, and were answered in our uniforms. In the evening we were invited Mr. H. our Secretary received a note to come and take la fortune de Pot. He therefore concluded that ceremony was not required, and the uniform would not be proper. We dressed however with shoes and took our Chapeaus. Against all information we found every one dressed according to his taste, some in boots, some in shoes and some in full dress. It is the remark of every one that since the reign of the present Emperor, that forms and ceremonies not only at Court but among the nobility have been much dispensed with and social intercourse put upon a footing of much more ease than formerly. No one uses less ceremony than the Emperor and his example is omnipotent.

Tuesday 12.—According to appointment Mr. A., Mr. G. and myself went in full uniform to deliver our Letters of credence to Count Romanzoff. As we passed one of the city guards consisting of about 30 men, we found them turned out under arms. This is an honor limited to very few and on particular occasions, but it is always paid to Members of the imperial family.

We were received by the Count in great state. The different halls thro which we passed were filled with servants in waiting. The Count was in full dress with his blue ribband[1] and the decorations of different orders. The Letters were delivered by Mr. A. who seemed disposed to make a short address. But he was interupted by the Count who seated us all and soon began a familiar conversation, remarking that he was already in possession of a copy of our Letters of credence. At the end of an half an hour we rose to take our leave and the Count remarked, "from this moment Messrs. you have your diplomatic existence and shall possess all its rights and privileges." In the conversation he informed us that the Emperor, had approved of all the Steps he had taken to give effect to the mediation, and directed him to proceed in the same tract, and appeared satisfied, that no impression had been made on the Emperor by the British Government tending to impair the interest he took in the affairs and well being of the United States.

Wednesday 13.—The day dark cold and raining. In the morning we had a visit from Col. Rapportel[2] aid De Camp to the late Genl. Moreau and at present aid to the Emperor. He came to the city to attend the remains of the Genl. which are to be interred in the Catholic Church. He was within three steps of the Genl. when he re-

[1] Note in the manuscript: "Order of St. Andrew the highest in the empire."

[2] Col. Rappatel, who had been in this country with Moreau, had returned to Russia in 1812 and had been instrumental in inducing Moreau to join the czar. It fell to him to complete the letter to Madame Moreau, then in this country, which Moreau began after he was mortally wounded.

ceived the wound of which he died. The Emperor of Russia was at about the same distance upon the other side of him. They were making a reconnoisance of the french position before Dresden. There had not been more than five shots fired, when the unfortun[at]e Moreau was struck with a canon Ball. He was on horseback. The Ball struck on one knee, nearly severed the leg passed thro the body of the horse struck the other knee and shattered the bones of both thighs. Both legs were amputated above the knees. He was wounded the 15 of August and died the 21, O. S. The horse fell on him and when relieved from the pressure he said to Col. R. "Je suis un homme perdue." He had only arrived at the Head Quarters [1] days preceding. He mentioned to the Col. before he died, that observing the enemy were firing at them that the words were on his lips to desire the Emperor to change his position. The Col. was much attached to the General and spoke of his death with great feeling.

Thursday 14.—I attended this morning the celebration of the funeral service of General Moreau at the Catholic church. The house was extremely crowded, and it was difficult to obtain admission. "Les Grands de l'Empire ont assisté a cette ceremonie." The service was conducted by the metropolitan archbishop of Mohileff and followed by a funeral oration. The coffin was covered with crimson velvet bordered with gold lace and trimed with gold fringe. It was placed on a monument about 7 feet high—"sur un magnifique catafalque", under a superb canopy. Around the monument more than a thousand candles were burning. The vocal and instrumental musick were both fine and the whole service solemn and interesting. It continued from 10 till 2 oclock. At the conclusion there were several discharges of small arms from a line of 2000 troops drawn up in front of the church.[2]

Friday 15.—The weather, dark and raining.

Saturday 16.—Bad weather confined to the house during the day. In the evening we paid a visit to Mr. K. Minister of the Interior. We found there a small Party. Cards were introduced and a table at Boston formed. The game was played by four persons of whom Mrs. K. was one who appeared to understand it better than her guests.

Sunday 17.—This day was appointed for our formal presentation in our diplomatic characters [to] the reigning Empress. At 11 oclock the three Ministers paid a visit to Mr. D Narichkin Grand Maiter des Ceremonies.[3] We were informed that the hour of our presentation would be 2 oclock and we were requested to be precise

[1] Blank in the manuscript. Moreau was shot Aug. 28, twelve days after his arrival at headquarters.

[2] See Adams, "Memoirs", II, 534–535.

[3] Ivan Naryshkin.

in our Attendance. At the time we repaired with our suite to the Winter palace. At the door we were received by a page richly dressed and with plumes in his bonnet who conducted us thro a very long hall and led us up stairs. At the head of the stair we left our surtouts and servants. A door opened and we were received by an officer of the palace, without a livery or uniform. He conducted us thro his Apartment to the door of another. Upon the door being opened we were saluted by a chambellan who led us thro the Apartment to another. In this we were received by Mr. de Swistounoff[1] chambellan actual de S. M. and passing thro it, in another we were received by Mr. Narishkin Grand Maitre des ceremonies. He conducted us to another Apartment and delivered us into the hands of Le Grand Chambellan Naryschkin,[2] who attended us to the door of the Apartment in which we found her majesty. The Empress was standing and the Countess [3] behind her. In approaching her majesty we had three bows to make, which she returned by a slight inclination of the body. The audience continued about five minutes. She expressed her regret that she had not had it in her power to receive us before. Enquired about our passage from America and the nature of our climate and terminated the audience by expressing a hope that we should pass our time agreeably at St. P. We each kissed her hand and retired. After we left the palace she came into the room in which we had left our suite and each Gentleman was presented to her. In the afternoon we went to dine with the Count Romanzoff, who gave a grand diplomatic dinner on the occasion of the presentation of Madame Bardaxi the wife of the Spanish Minister and of ourselves. The company consisted of Ladies as well as Gentlemen and exceeded forty.

Monday 18.—After a minister has been presented at Court, he is furnished with a list of names to whom he is to make visits. These visits excepting to the Chancellor may be paid by sending cards, but the visit to the Chancellor must be en personne. We paid our visit to the chancellor and sent out upwards of 200 cards. Mr D. left us to day and set out about 3 oclock for Abo.[4]

Tuesday 19.—Dined with the Princess B. The Party numerous. A number of the first nobility at the table. She has opened her winter establishment in the city. Her establishment is among the first in the city in splendour and expence. I was seated at the table between the Princess Gallitzin and Madame Luning. These Ladies both spoke french as their native tongue, and were both extremely affable and communicative. Madame K. had a daughter at the table

[1] Nicolas Svistounov.
[2] Alexander Naryshkin.
[3] Blank in the manuscript.
[4] George Dallas. See p. 248. Åbo in Finland.

one of the greatest Belles in Russia. She is young, accomplished and rich, but not handsome. She speaks french, Italian, German, English, and Russian languages. Has travelled over the greater part of the Continent, and has had every advantage of education. She is proprietor of [1] slaves and of course is much admired. Letters were received by the mail of yesterday containing information, that Mr. G's nomination had been negatived in the Senate.[2]

Wednesday 20.—The weather dark cold and rainy and in consequence we have been shut up all day in the House. This morning Mr. T. communicated to Mr. G. the rejection of his nomination in the Senate but he did not think proper to make it a subject of conversation between us.

Thursday 21.—Wretched weather, cloudy, cold and raining. In the after noon we rode out to the glass manufactory. We saw the process of making tumblers in which the glass is heated to the point of being malleable and yields upon pressure to any form designed to be given to it. The establishment belongs to the Emperor and is carried on chiefly by his slaves. In the evening Mr. G. and myself had a conversation upon the subject of the rejection of his nomination.

He felt no mortification he said as it regarded the Russian Govt. or the Society of St. P. because his appointment had been asked by this Govt.

The President had not intended to appoint him, but he requested the appointment. The President remarked, that he could not spare him from the Treasury. He replied, he could be of no service there, because if the war continued another year it would be impossible to support public credit, that money could not be obtained, but if sent abroad, he might be useful to the Govt. by the means he would employ to make peace, knowing as he did the want of means to support the war. He attributed his rejection chiefly to Mr. King,[3] whose talents he spoke highly off.

Friday 22.—Bad weather and confined to the house.

Saturday 23.—Same.

Sunday 24.—Same.

Monday 25.—Same.

Tuesday 26.—It is a long time since we have seen the sun and the weather cold and rainy. The snow which fell a few days ago has disappear'd and rendered the walking bad. To day we gave orders to Capt. Jones to leave Cronstadt immediately and to repair to Gottenburg where it is expected that the *Neptune* will winter.[4] We are

[1] Blank in the manuscript.

[2] Gallatin's nomination was rejected in the Senate July 19. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 388.

[3] Rufus King, senator from New York, had introduced the resolutions asking whether Gallatin still held his cabinet position. "Sen. Ex. Journ.", 1805–1815, 348–349.

[4] See p. 245.

impatiently waiting for the return of the Courier sent with despatches relating to our mission the 29 August.

The time ordinarily allowed for a passage from St. P. to London is 20 days. The danger we apprehend is that the Court of St. James's will temporize and avoid giving a decisive answer. This suspence is extremely painful. Knowing our powers to be limited to the mediation of Russia it is our anxious desire if the mediation be not excepted that we should be placed at liberty to return to our Country. In a few days, it will be scarcely practicable to leave Europe during the Winter. And we can scarcely hope that events will possess such a definitive character as will justify the abandonment of the objects of the mission which could be justified alone on the ground of utter impracticability.

Wednesday 27.—Still bad weather. And no expectation of good, till winter has taken complete possession of the Country. The last year several days before this time winter made her appearance and the Neva was frozen across and passable on the ice. But that winter is remarked for its early commencement and severity. The present is considered as the most disagreeable season of the year. The sun is not to be seen, the atmosphere is damp and chilly, the ground wet, and the appearance of everything calculated to inspire sombre reflections.

Thursday 28.—The weather continues as bad as ever and almost kills one from the ennui and want of exercise occasioned by confinement.

We are still without information from England and entirely ignorant of the intentions of the British Cabinet in relation to the mission.

Friday 29.—Upon rising this morning I found the houses and ground covered with snow which had fallen last night. The clouds however had disappeared and we had a very brilliant day. The atmosphere was remarkably clear but the cold very peircing. I have had occasion to make the remark, that the same degree of cold here does not freeze or create snow, as in the U. S. in the Lat. of 40. This may be caused by currents of different temperature in the A[t]mosphere or by different causes.

Saturday 30.—A clear bright day. Wind from S. W. very cold. We have not yet heard whether or not our Capt. has sailed from Cronstadt. Since he left St. P. the wind has been constantly ahead. And there is some reason to apprehend that he may be detained by the ice. This would be a serious embarrassment, as we should be obliged let events occur as they may to remain here probably till the month of June.

Sunday 31.—The Empress mother with her family having come to Town from Gratchina, the Count Romanzoff sent us a note in-

forming us that at half past one, we should be presented at the winter palace. At the time appointed we proceeded to the palace and were received with more parade than when presented to the Empress. In one of the Halls we passed a file of soldiers in very splendid uniforms who saluted us in passing. Before we reached the Hall of audience we passed thro a large chamber, where we found a croud of great Men who were officers of the Household. We were delivered over in succession by the different officers till we came into the hands of the Master of ceremonies and then of the Grand Master of ceremonies and finally of the Grand Chambellan. We were informed by the Grand Master of ceremonies, that we must be careful in leaving the audience chamber not to turn our back upon the Empress. Upon entering this chamber we found the Empress standing near the door with a lady in waiting behind her. She received us in succession, and spoke of St. P., the different public institutions, of the Neva which she affirmed to be "la plus belle revierre du Monde," tho she observed we had larger. She spoke of the regulation of prisons in the U. S. which she understood t[o] be excellent and very civilly remarked that there were many analogies between the Russian and american characters. The empress mother is above the common size a good person and a majestic deportment, with all easy in her manners. In conversation she is very eloquent and professes a cultivated mind and excellent dispositions. Her name is "Marie Feodorowna." She was Princess of Wurtenburg and born the 26 Octr. 1759. She supports her years extremely well. Upon leaving the Empress we were admitted to the honor of kissing her hand and that ceremony terminated our audience and according to our instructions we were careful to *back out* of the chamber. Upon quitting the Apartment of the Empress we were informed, that we were to be presented to the Grand Dukes Nicholas Pavlovitch and Michael Pavlovitch.[1] We were according conducted thro a long suite of rooms till we were ushered into their apartment by the Master who introduced us separately by name. Nicholas was born the 7 July, 1796 and appears to have already attained his full hight. He is tall, slender, well made, graceful and fine expression of countenance. Michael was born the 9th of February 1798, and is well grown for his age. He is rather more robust than his brother, and is at present at least 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high. He is not as handsome nor as graceful as his brother. This audience lasted but a few minutes and the Dukes were both c[i]vil enough to say to us each, "Mons. J'ai bien de plaisir in faisan votre connaisance."

We had now to be presented to the Grand Duchesse Anne Pavlovna and were accordingly conducted thro another suite of Apartments to

[1] Nicholas (1796–1855), afterward the czar Nicholas I; Michael (1798–1849).

her chamber. We were introduced to her in succession by the master of ceremonies, and after a few words to each we kissed her hand and retired. Anne was born the 21 of January 1795 and has little claim to beauty.[1] She had the too[t]hach and her face was bound with a handkerchief.

The Gentlemen of the suite were not presented with the ministers nor in the same hall. A station was assigned them and the Empress came out of her Apartment, spoke a few words to each and retired. The different presentations occupied upwards of an hour.

Monday 1 November.—The weather has become extremely cold and ice is forming in the Neva. By the thermometer there were 5 deg. of frost. Mr. H. informed us that Mr. Baily[2] the British consul had called upon him three times in the course of the day, but did not find him at home till the last time. That Mr. B. told him that he was authorized by Lord Walpole[3] the British Minister (who arrived from the h[e]ad quarters on the 29 Octr) to inform him that the Russian Mediation had been explicity refused by the British Government. And that Lord Cathcart had communicated the refusal to the Emperor at the head quarters who replied that the British Government having made their determination in the case, he had nothing more to do in the business.

Tuesday 2.—Mr. G. to day by appointment waited on Count Romanzoff to state to him that he did not consider himself any longer a Minister of the U States, his nomination not having been approved by the Senate. He explained the reason of his rejection to arise from his being Minister of finance, and the President preferring to retain him in that character to his remaining at this Court and the Senate insisting that the offices were incompatible, the rejection by the Senate was the consequence. He took occasion to mention to the Count the communication which had been made by Lord Walpole. The Count expressed much surprize, as he had a letter from the Emperor in his own hand writing of the 22 Augt. N. S. approving of the course he proposed to take of renewing the offer of mediation to the British Govt. He stated however that he had recently received a despatch from Count Leiwen[4] at London by which he was informed that he had declined delivering to Lord Castlereagh, the letter which had been sent to him, containing the renewed offer of mediation assigning as a reason that the state of things did not allow the offer to be renewed and of which he count R. could not be apprized.

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[1] Anna Pavlovna (1795–1865), afterward queen of William II, king of the Netherlands.

[2] Daniel Baily.

[3] See p. 261, note 2.

[4] Lieven.

He said that he had designed to have sent for one of the Comm. and make the communication of the fact, altho he did not feel himself at liberty from anything that had occurred to say to us officially that the mediation was at an end. That he had already sent Count Liewen's letter to the Emperor, and that he designed immediately to despatch a Courier to Head Quarters for the express purpose of learning the pleasure of the Emperor as to our mission. He stated to Mr. G. that he being accreditted to this Court, he should consider him as Minister till he presented letters of recall. That he did not understand the constitution of our Government but that by the usages of nations nothing but letters of recall could be noticed by a foreign Govt. He observed however if Mr. G. was desirous to depart he would at any time obtain for him an audience of leave. To get out of Russia at this moment is next to impossible. The gulf of Bothnia cannot be passed. Three fourths of the time of the last month it has been raining. The ground is not yet frozen and the roads are cut to peices. A journey to Gottenburg to go round No. by Torneo, would be 1500 Miles, to go South more than 2000. Our ship had sailed from Cronstadt, and we must find our way to Gottenburg. We must now wait for the snow and the roads may not be passable for a month.

Till the winter has set in and the easterly winds prevail, the weather is from this time cloudy and dark. The day has become very short, and diminishing rapidly. The sun sets about 4 oclock. At the shortest day at St. P. the sun sets 46 minutes after 2 o'clock.

Wednesday 3.—A dark cloudy rainy day which denied us the satisfaction of even walking on the Boulevard.

Thursday 4.—A note had been sent by the Grand Master of ceremonies to the members of the corps diplomatic that Te Deum would be sung at the Cassan Church for the victory of Leipsick.[1] We accordingly repaired to the Church at 12 o'clock and took our stations assigned by the Grand Master. About 1 o'clock the Empress, Empress-mother, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael and the Grand Duchesse Anne entered. Their station was in a hollow square formed by the corps Diplomatic, Ladies of the Court and the Dignataries of the Empire. The Empresses stood facing the Corps Diplomatic. Behind them stood the Two Grand Dukes and the Grand Duchesse on one side just in front of the Ladies of the Court. The reigning Empress was dressed very splendidly and was extremely interesting from the modesty and softness of her appearance. The Empress mother was richly dressed and sparkled with diamonds but their was nothing in her appearance to fix or to attract much notice. The ceremony of the Te Deum commenced as soon as the Imperial

[1] Oct. 16–19, 1813.

family had taken their places. At one part the whole audience had to kneel. The Emp. mother required assistance to enable her to rise. The Ceremony lasted till two oclock and concluded by the adoration of the image of the virgin Mary by the Imperial family. The Empress first approached the image, knelt and bowed her head towards the ground. She rose and knelt a second and third time bowing her head in each instance. She then kissed a part of the image pointed out by a Priest. She then made several salutations to the choiristers to the imperial family to corps Diplomatick and returned to her first station. She moved with great dignity and grace. The Empress mother then went thro the same ceremony. The Grand Duke Nicholas then followed. He knelt upon both knees and touched the floor with his forehead and kissed a different part of the image from the Empresses. Then came Michael and after him the Grand Duchesse Ann, who went thro the same forms. The Imperial family then withdrew and the congregation separated.

At 4 oclock we went to dine with Count Romanzoff who gave a grand diplomatic dinner. The table was ornamented and the dinner served in a very superb style. We remained at the table about an hour and a half. Lord Walpole was one of the company. Upon with drawing from the dinner room and being seated in the room in which coffee was served, I found his Lordship sitting by side me. He was conversing with the young Count Woronzoff.[1] From his manner I evidently perceived that he was disposed to enter into conversation with me, and being desirous of the same thing I commenced it upon my part. Dining together with the Chancellor of the Empire is always considered as an introduction and no other is required. I remarked to him that he had been long on the road from the Head Quarters. He said no, tho he had not travelled in courier.

He immediately after remarked, that he [was sorry he (?)] had not come sooner, as he could have relieved us from a suspense which he knew must have been unpleasant, and the effects of which might have been injurious to our two Countries. He said as early as the 6 July Lord Cathcart had been instructed and the same instructions repeated by despatches of the 13 July to inform the Emperor explicitly that Great Britain could in no form accede to the mediation he had proposed. That this information was communicated to the Emperor anterior to the 22 of August. For on that day the Despatches of Lord Cathcart were dated which informed the British Court that he had made the communication. That Great Britain was willing to treat directly with the U. S., that the Ministry and

[1] Count Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov (1782–1856), afterward prince and field-marshal, already distinguished in warfare, notably at Borodino.

People of England were desirous of peace with America and that the Ministry could not do a more popular act than to make the peace.

Friday 5.—The weather has moderated, but is dark, cloudy, rainy and altogether extremely disagreeable. The day spent at home.

Saturday 6.—The weather continues raw and disagreeable. We contrive however to walk an hour or two every day upon the quay. The wet weather has interrupted the walk on the Boulevards.

Sunday 7.—I dined to day with Mr. K. who has moved into Town from the Country. Met with Mrs. F. widow of the late M. F. our countryman.[1] She had just received letters from America from the father and sisters of her late husband. They had not heard of his death, but had written to her in terms of great friendship and kindness in the prospect of her becoming united to their family. She appeared highly gratified and delighted with the proofs of the satisfaction of the family in her becoming one of them. She appeared very desirous to pay a visit to America.

In the evening we paid a visit to Mr. K. the Minister of the Interior. The old Lady and a small party were engaged in a Party of cards. My conversation during the whole evening was with Prince Cherbatoff a well informed civil and affable young man. He lives with the Minister having [married] his neice whom he has adopted as his child.

Monday 8.—The weather moderate but dark and cloudy.

Tuesday 9.—The same weather as yesterday. The Neva had been filled with ice and the bridges removed, but the ice has disappeared and the river is crossed in boats. Upon the commencement of sever frost, the water first congeals in the Ladoga, and the ice is brought down by the current in large bodies. When it is known from the state of the cold that this will happen, the boats on which the bridges rest are unmoored and they swing to the right side of the river. They are not reinstated till the river is completely frozen. The ice is cut when this happens and the bridges replaced.

Wednesday 10.—The weather remains uncommonly moderate. The wind from W. and S. W. To day we heard from our Capt. who after great labour and escaping many perils has got into the port of Revel. He left Cronstadt when the gulf was filled with ice, which had come from the Lake, and when he had great reason to apprehend that he would be frozen up. The wind was favorable and forced the ship thro the ice which could not have extended to a great distance. But the wind after a few hours came ahead and continued so till he reached Revel. His dangers arose from the head wind, innumerable shoals in the gulf strong currents and eddies and very long nights and dark weather. The *Neptune* prob-

[1] See p. 461, note 2.

ably remains at Revel as the weather has been constantly bad since her arrival there and the winds adverse. The ship however is out of all danger of being ice bound.

Thursday 11.—The weather still moderate but dark and cloudy. Ice and snow have totally disappeared and the atmosphere quite as mild as at the same season in the U S. in the Lat. of 40. The sun rises after 8 and sets before 4. Of course we have a great deal of night and little of day. We are now waiting for an answer from Count Romanzoff on the point of the mediation being refused. He knows the fact to be so, but he will not give an answer to that effect without the express orders of the Emperor. He has sent for those orders to Head Quarters, and an answer may be expected by the 1st of December.

Our situation in St. P. has become unpleasant. The Society is in no degree inviting to mere strangers and knowing we shall remain here but a short time the object is not worth the trouble of attempting to cultivate the intimacy of any one. This by the bye is not an easy task as the Russians are as cold as their climate in its most frosty season.

We have again much cause to complain of the treatment received from our Host, whom we pay liberally and who provides us with miserable fare. For each breakfast we pay 3 rubles, for dinner 5, and for supper 3. For 7 rooms we have paid him at the same time 750 rubles a month. To our servants he is extremely insolent, but to ourselves as humble as a spaniel. But there are no remonstrances which can improve our mode of living. Expecting to remain but a short time, we bear with the ill usage rather than take the trouble of removing to new lodgings.

Friday 12.—The weather continues cloudy and dark, but very temperate. The oldest persons do not recollect so mild weather at the same season. The lower bridge on the Neva is reinstated, which never happened before, till the river was permanently frozen. We have begun more seriously to think of the manner in which we are to get out of Russia. At present the roads are impassable, and we must wait for the snow before we move. The route by Abo is now impracticable, as the gulf of Bothnia cannot be passed without the greatest hazard. The route by Torneo is frightful in the depth of winter and with not more than two hours of a feeble sun. The journey to Stockholm requires 14 days during which time the Traveller is shut up in a Kibitka, and stopping only for horses at the posts. You provide yourself with all your refreshments for the voyage as nothing is to be had on the road. In case of a violent snow storm there is danger of losing the road, and perishing before it can be recovered. This has happened.

The advice of most people is against this route. It only remains to travel South, and the question has been considered, whether to pass by Moscow, Smolensk, Grodno, and Warsaw or to take the road by Riga or Koningsberg. In either case our destination will be Hamburg, if by that time it should be in the possession of the Allies, otherwise we shall pass thro Holstein and Sleswick, cross the Belts and sound and take the road thro Sweden to Gottenburg.

The following are the distances of the different routes:

	Miles, Engl.	
From St. Petersburg by Torneo to Stockholm	1750	
from Stockholm to Gottenburg	300	
		2050
from St. Petersburg to Moscow	485	
from Moscow to Grodno	686	
from Grodno to Warsaw	200	
from Warsaw to Berlin	366	
from Berlin to Hamburg	169	
from Hamburg to Cuxhaven	70	
		2076
This route passing by Hamburg and Copenhagen to Gottenburg would be		2465
from St. Petersburg to Riga is	374	
from Riga to Konigsburg	369	
from Konigsburg to Berlin	400	
from Berlin to Hamburg	169	
from Hamburg to Copenhagen	291	
from Copenhagen to Gottenburg	168	
		1771

Saturday 13.—The weather moderate but still dark and cloudy and of consequence after so long a continuance extremely gloomy. I was told to day by Mr. G. that when the rupture took place between Mr. Madison and Mr. Smith,[1] the late Secretary of State, Mr. M. told Mr. S. that his course of conduct had been such, that he could no longer retain him in office, but in order to wound his feelings as little as possible as well as those of his friends and to avoid the eclat of an open rupture which would be of injury to the Party he should leave the office under the appointment of Minister to Russia. That in the first instance Mr. S. expressed himself under great obligations to the President and very gladly accepted the offer and made arrangements for his journey and had consulted Count Pahlen[2] as to several points which regarded the arrangements he was to make. But afterwards, as he believed, thro the influence of his Brother the General,[3] determined to take the course he in fact pur-

[1] Robert Smith (1757–1842), secretary of state from March 6, 1809, until Nov. 25, 1811.

[2] Count Theodore de Pahlen, minister to the United States, 1810–1811.

[3] Samuel Smith.

sued.[1] He mentioned also that he had declared to the President that Mr. S. and himself could not remain in office at the same time and that he must chuse between them. He assigned as the chief reason of his offence against him, a conviction that he was the author of many anonimous publications written against Him.

The conversation turning upon the administration of Mr. Jefferson Mr. G. spoke of the great offence I had given him by my speech on the judiciary Bill[2] and mentioned that Mr. J. had prepared a message on the subject to the House of Representatives, but that He (G) had advised him not to send it and that in consequence it was given up. He also stated that J. some time after had taken the pains to examine the journals of the H. of R. for every vote I had ever given in the House and had marked and turned down every one he supposed unpopular and he afterwards offered the journals containing them to my political adversary Mr. Rodney,[3] who however declined accepting them. This anecdote redounds little to the credit of the President but much to the honor of R.

Sunday 14.—Weather moderate, but still cloudy and dark. Notwithstanding the state of the weather I have contrived to walk an hour or two every day immediately before dinner. We had an invitation for the evening at the Princess Michael Gallitzen. It was after nine when we went, and were yet the first of the company who arrived. They were all assembled however before ten. Among the company were two french Emigrants—the Duke and Duches of Polignac.[4] There were several English men, who were travelling, and young and old Princesses in great abundance. There were four tables separate from each other standing in the room.

The company were in general seated round them, and engaged in conversation or cards. About eleven o'clock a plate and napkin were placed before each person (no table cloth being laid) and supper served. It consisted of soup, fish, bird, pye, roasted veal, etc. At half past 12 they began to disperse generally to take french leave. In ten minutes not half a dozen persons remained and those I left behind me. At the door of the Hall I met the Princess, who very civilly observed as I bowed to her remember Sunday evening is my evening.

Monday 15.—The weather continues moderate, but the sun not visible—rain during the morning. We spent the evening and took

[1] Smith announced to Madison his purpose of appealing to the country, and in 1811 published an "Address to the People", charging Madison with numerous offences. Adams, "History", V, 378.

[2] Feb. 19, 1802. See "Annals", 7 Cong., 1 sess., 603–628.

[3] Caesar A. Rodney.

[4] The Duke of Polignac (1749–1817) and his duchess had belonged to the intimate reactionary circle of Marie Antoinette, and had fled from France in 1789. But the duchess had died in 1793; perhaps Bayard saw their daughter, the Duchess de Guiche.

supper with the Princess Boris Gallitzen where we met a very pleasant society.

Tuesday 16.—The weather temperate but cloudy and dark. The Count Romanzoff gave a grand dinner to day to Lady Lyttleton,[1] to which we were invited. Lord Walpole, Lord Dumfries[2] and a number of Englishmen were at the table. Lord D. is the heir at law and great grandson of the celebrated Earl of Bute and is at present on his travels. He appears to be about 20 years of age. I had a good deal of conversation before dinner with Lord W. who was very communicative upon all subjects. The Count R. told me after dinner, as he remarked en confience, that he had information that the British had fitted out an expedition to destroy our settlemt. at the mouth of Columbia river.[3]

Wednesday 17.—The sun still invisible—raining occasionally but not cold. The day spent at home, and the evening at Mr. Adams.

Thursday 18.—Raining all day, but the weather remarkably mild. Dined with Mr. Sebastian Cramer a merchant of the first credit and respectability in St. P. The company was numerous and we had one Prince at the table. He did not appear to be a man of much consideration as in fact little notice seemed to be taken of him. In the evening Mr. G. and myself called on the Countess Columbi and not finding her at home, went to the Sicilian Minister's the Duke Sierra Caprioli where the evening was spent. Supper is served here between 11 and 12 oclock, and every one remains who pleases but no one is asked. The hour of supper varies in different houses from 11 to one, and where ever you are admitted you remain to supper if you please. Or you disappear without ceremony when you think proper. Most houses of distinction have what they call their days of company when they are sure to be found at home, some for dinner and others for the evening. Some have two evenings in the week. This custom extends to the merchants as well as to the nobility. The point of Society here is to put every one at his ease. And in consequence after admission into Society, it is a rare thing to receive an invitation, nor is any enquiry made why you leave the company so soon or why you have been absent from the House so long. This course of Society suits the Natives better than Strangers as it carries with it the appearance of coldness and indifference and at least at first is felt as repulsive. Modesty is a quality not much in esteem and in consequence not much in fashion in St. P. The more you push

[1] Lady Sarah Lyttelton, see p. 257, notes 1 and 4.

[2] John Crichton Stuart (1793–1848), seventh earl of Dumfries by maternal descent, was on the paternal side grandson and heir of the first marquess of Bute, whom he succeeded in 1814. He was great-grandson of the third earl of Bute (1713–1792), prime minister 1761–1763.

[3] Astoria, founded 1811, was in December, 1813, occupied by the British vessel *Raccoon*, sent from Rio Janeiro for the purpose.

your way the better you get on. You avoid rudeness, but think of no one but yourself. This appears to be the common course et quand on est a Rome il faut faire commes des Romains.

Friday 19.—The day dark and cloudy and rainy, but mild. No appearance of ice or snow. The Neva at this season is generally frozen over, but there is not a speck of ice to be seen in it at present. Spent the evening at Mr. K's minister of the interior. My conversation chiefly with the Princess Cherbatoff who speaks english very well. This Princess and her husband have the reputation of being much attached to each other and are cited as models of domestic harmony and matrimonial fidelity.

Saturday 20.—To day was held the first Court which has been held since we have been in Russia. It had been announced to us in a written notice from the grand maitre des ceremonies. At noon the time appointed we proceeded to the winter palace. We were conducted into a room appropriated to the corps diplomatique. In addition to the Ministers of the U. S. there were assembled the Ministers of Spain, England, Naples, and Sardinia and the chargé d'affairres of Portugal and of Prussia. In this room the corps Diplomatique remained more than an hour engaged in conversation with each other. The Empresses were at this time attending Mass in the palace Chapel. At about 1/4 past one we were shewn into the Hall of Ambassadors. This immence Hall was crouded with great officers of State and of the Household all richly dressed.

In about half an hour the approach of the Empresses was announced. The foreign Ministers had the place of honor at the head of the room. The Courtiers were entirely separate and towards the lower part of the Hall. The Empresses were preceded by a number of officers of the Household splendidly attired and were followed by a croud of young Ladies belonging to the household. The reigning Empress entered first, but followed immediately by the Empress Mother. The foreign Ministers stood in a line, the Spaniard being at the head. The Empresses saluted the line in general with a slight inclination of the Body. The reigning Empress was all sweetness dignity and grace. She went up to the Spaniard and repeated her Salutation. Both Empresses went thro the same ceremony to each Minister speaking a few words to each, about the weather or the city and passing down the line withdrew into another room and were followed by the body of courtiers. The Court was held to day in honor of the day which was the name day of the Grand Duke Michael. In consequence the Grand Duke held a Court Himself and after the Court of the Empresses was over the Corps Diplomatique were conducted to the Apartments of the Grand Duke. We were placed in a line as before and the Grand Maitre told Mr. G. that the Spanish Minister was to be at the head. The reason of this, is not understood.

The other Ministers had no place assigned them, and changed their situation according to accidents. The Grand Duke entered the room, passed down the line saying a few words to each Minister and withdrew. The ceremony in either case did not last more than 8 or 10 minutes. We left the palace at half past two. The evening spent at the Minister of the Interior, where the old Lady was engaged in a Party of three at Boston.

Sunday 21.—The weather continues dark, cloudy and misty but the cold has not yet commenced.

Monday 22, *Tuesday 23*, *Wednesday 24*, *Thursday 25*, *Friday 26.*—A series of days of the most gloomy and de[te]stable weather. Dark misty and drisling. The sun rose this morning 45 minutes past 8 and will set 15 after three. A very light snow fell last night and there was one degree of frost. Having been confined to the house for some days I went out at 8 oclock and walked 7 versts and returned and breakfasted two hours before any other one of the family rose. Mr. G. rises usually from 11 to 12 and the Col. and he commonly breakfast together. In returning from my walk I saw a fine Regiment of about 700 men reviewed near the statue of Peter. The men appeared extremely well disciplined. There movements and exercise were very exact. The evening I spent at the Princess Boris Gallitzin. The Party was numerous. About 25 Ladies and as many Gentlemen. The Company began to assemble between 9 and 10 oclock. And supper was served at 12. A few were engaged at cards among those were Count Markoff who once made a figure at Paris.[1] The Princess Alexis Gallitzen played at chess with the Duke De Polignac. The Duke is esteemed an excellent Player. The Princess was beaten several times. At the end of the last game she told the Duke she should never again think any thing of french gallantry, as he had not been civil enough to allow her to beat him once. She asked me if I played at the game and upon my answering in the affirmative the men were arranged and the Duke gave me his seat. The game was pretty equal between us but I finally gave the check mate. All who supped were at this time at supper. The company are generally seated during the evening round small tables, and when supper is brought in a plate and Napkin are placed before you. And the dishes are successively handed to you. No one leaves their seat, unless they should not be seated at a table. The tables are served with some light claret and very little of it is drank. The Russians eat heartily and drink sparingly. This remark applies to the higher ranks. You frequently meet Peasants drunk in the streets.

Saturday 27.—The snow began to fall to day about 11 oclock, but very fine in small quantity. I walked out about half past 8 before

[1] Count Arcadius Ivanovich Markoff (1747–1827), Russian ambassador to the First Consul 1801–1804.

sunrise and found the weather quite moderate. With a very light surtout on I was sensible of no cold. It is a long time since the sun has been visible. Not a solitary ray ever reaches the earth. Nothing is to be seen but thick, dark and heavy clouds. In my walk this morning I remarked several instances of what I had observed before, charity given by very poor persons who look as wretched as the Beggar to whom it was given. It is not uncommon to see change given by the Beggar. I think it probable that the greek church imposes charity as a religious duty. You meet with many Beggars on the walks, many of whom are small female children. As you approach them they fall on their knees and bend their head to the ground, and address you with very humble and soft sounds. They are satisfied with a copec which hardly pays them for their trouble. This kind of begging is taught to the children and they soon become expert in the business.

Sunday 28, Monday 29, Tuesday 30.—The wheather uniformly cloudy and dark. The cold has encreased to two degrees more snow, and some ice in the Neva. We are told the winter has began. And the weather is certainly preferable to what we have had for a month past.

Wednesday 1 December.—The Thermometer stands at about two degrees of frost. The sledges begin to appear. They are very small and low, and are capable of containing only two persons. I wrote to day to my wife by a Mr. Dana of Boston who goes to America by way of England.

Thursday 2.—The weather cold and cloudy. It is singular that the clouds frequently disappear in the night and the stars shine with brilliancy, but it is a long time since the sun has been visible. In the day the atmosphere is constantly charged with a mist or fog which renders it dark and gloomy. The cold does not increase and one can walk very comfortably with a light surtout. I spent the evening at the Countess Columbi's, where I met with Lord Walpole. We had some conversation relative to the speech of the Prince Regent,[1] which I have not seen. The chevalier Zaire who was present has promised to send it to me.

Friday 3.—The little sledges have completely banished the Droskis. They appear in great numbers drawn by one horse, sometimes tho seldom with a furioso. The frost has encreased to 4 and 1/2 degrees. But the cold is not very sensible. I observe that the Russians take more pains to clothe themselves warmly than foreigners and appear more sensible of the cold. This remark they make themselves. I went in the evening to the Princess B. Gallitzen, but she did not receive company, one of her children being very sick. The evening

[1] See p. 261, note 1.

spent with Mr. K. Minister of the Interior, where I found the chief part of the company engaged in Parties of three at Boston. Those engaged at Boston were little desposed to conversation, but the Prince C. who is one of the family and who did not play obliged me to talk a great deal of bad french.

Saturday 4.—The sun rose this morning exactly at nine and will of course set at three. The Thermometer has risen from 4 degs frost to 2 degs of heat. It has been raining all day, and the snow has almost disappeared. The atmosphere is charged with a thick and heavy vapour and there has scarcely been at any time light enough to read. We are told that last year at this season there were 20 degs. of frost and that the Neva had been frozen up more than a month. Now there is no ice to be seen in it. The ice first forms in the Ladoga and comes down the Neva with the current but if not continually supplied from the lake the current soon carries it away, until there is frost enough to stop it. Two days ago the river was full of ice and the bridge carried away, now none is to be seen.

Sunday 5.—I rose this morning at half past 7 and walked out at 8. This was an hour before sun rise and yet I found the air temperate and soft. Such an atmosphere as is felt in the U S. the latter end of March. I returned to breakfast at 10 having walked upwards of 6 versts, up the Quay on the banks of the Neva along the Quay of the Fontanka, returning to the place d'Isaac by the Newski perspective. Great pains are taken to preserve this walk in good condition. When it snows people are employed to remove the snow immediately. If it rains and freezes the same thing is done with the ice. Many men are employed in brushing and others if it becomes slippery in sanding of it. The Quays are the favorite walks of the Emperor when he is at St. Petersburg, and of course the resort of the fashionable world. But the perspective is crouded with the greater numbers, of all descriptions, but the bulk of them people who are walking for a different object than amusemt. It is impossible to have worse weather than the greater part of the day has presented. Drizzling the chief part of the time and as dark and gloomy as the thickest clouds can make it. The snow has disappeared. The weather is very uncommon and very unfavorable to the Town. At this season provisions are in general supplied from great distances in the interior. They are brought and preserved in a frozen state. They cannot be brought till the snow has furnished roads for the sledges. At present the country in the vicinity of St. P. is nearly exhausted of its supplies, and articles of provision risen three and four prices. The poor are suffering and the rich complaining. One would hardly suppose that in 60 Degs. N. Lat. on the 5 of Decr. People should be complaining of the want of snow and frost.

Monday 6.—The weather mild but cloudy and dark. No appearance of snow remaining. Occasionally drizzling. The Grand Master of ceremonies announced a Court to day to the corps Diplomatique to be held at 12 oclock it being le jour de nom de S. A.[1] and Madame la Grande Duchesse Catherine Pavlovna et fete de l ordre de Ste Catherine, The Corps Diplomatique assembled in the Hall of Ambassadors between 12 and one. There were present the Spanish, Neapolitan, Sardinian, British and American Ministers and the chargé d'affaires of Portugal and Prussia. About one oclock we were conducted into the Hall of Audience and in about half an hour the Empresses entered with their usual pomp and retinue. The Ministers were ranged in a line along which the Empresses passed stopping to say a few words to each and then withdrew into another Hall. The reigning Empress made enqueries of me respecting my compatriot Allen Smith and a Mr. Poincet.[2] She was dressed with great magnificence and taste and was rendered extremely interesting by the modesty of her appearance. I observed at Court Lord Dumfries a young english Nobleman on his travels. His present title he inherited from his Mother, who is dead, but he is the son and heir at law of the Earl of Bute who is living. His physiognomy promises very little, but I found in conversing with him that he was affable intelligent and well informed. I had before met him at the Duke de Sierra Capriola, and had dined with him at the Count Romanzoffs. In the evening I paid a visit to the Princess B. Gallitzen. I here met with the Duke and Duchesse of Polignac. It was the evening for the Princess to receive company but one of her daughters was sick, and she denied herself to most who called. About 10 oclock Lady Lyttleton was announced and admitted. It was her first visit since her arrival at St. Petersburg. Her husband Mr. L. was with her. She saluted the Princess in the russian fashion of kissing each cheek with great grace and ease. Her face has nothing to recommend it, but her person is fine. She spoke french fluently. Mr. L. is a M. P. and has the reputation of being a very accomplished man. The conversation I had with him persuaded me that he deserved the character attributed to him. He is the younger Brother of Lord L. and at present his presumptive heir. Lady L. before marriage was Lady Spencer. Mr. and Lady L. remained about an hour and took leave at half past eleven. I rose to take leave and the Princess asked me "ou allez vous Mons. passer la soirée?" She expected I would remain to supper

[1] S. A.=Son Altesse (Her Highness). The Grand Duchess Catherine, the czar's fourth sister, was the widow of Prince George of Oldenburg; later she was queen of Württemberg.

[2] Joel R. Poinsett (1779–1851), who had travelled in Russia in 1806–1807, and to whom the czar had shown great evidences of friendship. Afterward secretary of war in Van Buren's Cabinet. Joseph Allen Smith and Joel R. Poinsett were the first and the second Americans whom the czar Alexander had ever met, so he told Poinsett. Stillé, "Poinsett", 12, 26.

which is seldom introduced till 12 and the company separates between 1 and 2 oclock. The hours of Society are all in the night and very late. Walking on the Quay after sun down and nearly dark I have often been saluted with good morning. Many do not rise an hour before the sun sets, and of course then morning runs into the night.

Tuesday 7.—The sun not visible, nor has he been for five or six weeks. The weather misty dark and gloomy. I went to dine with the Princess Belozelski. The company was numerous and all the Russians of the nobility. Two Englishmen Brothers of the name of Sandford[1] were at the table. The elder was a M. P. and belonged to the opposition. The evening was spent at the Countess Columbi, where I met Lord Walpole the English Minister. He visits very frequently at the Countess and has established himself upon a footing of great intimacy. During the evening he affected or indulged much singularity of character. He was in the negative on all points. He never heard from his government, he never wrote to them, he never read newspapers excepting articles about murders, could not bear to look at births or marriages, he never wore boots, never walked, hated music and dancing, etc. etc. This however was a train of conversation with the Ladies, and the Countess remarked that he was fond of throwing salt into his conversation.

Wednesday 8.—In the course of the day the snow reappeared. There was not however more than one degree of frost. I dined to day by invitation at the house of Mr. B. Cramer. The Party was composed chiefly of members of the family, which is very numerous. There are several Brothers of the Cramers who are engaged in trade and are very rich. Benedict and Sebastian are of the most note. Sebastian is married into an anglo-russian family of the name of Smith who are born in Russia and of a Russian mother, but claim to be english thro the father who was an english merchant settled at St. P. The Russian dinner seldom lasts two hours and general[ly] reaches little beyond one. Soon after we left the table we were served with coffee and afterwards we were provided with several amusements. In one room there was music and dancing, in another several tables with cards in another books of drawings and prints and several devices to exercise the ingenuity in matching cards which rightly put together exhibitted landscapes etc. These Parties are terminated by a supper which is always served after twelve. I left them at eleven which is esteemed an early hour unless you mean to go to another Party.

Thursday 9.—The clouds and darkness preserve their empire. The snow and cold have encreased during the day and the ice begins

[1] There was no Sanford or Sandford in any Parliament of this time.

again to appear in the Neva. The river is now passed in boats which are constantly plying from shore to shore and always crouded with Passengers.

Friday 10.—I walked out this morning before sun rise and found a great encrease of cold. Before my return I had a glimpse of the sun, which I had not seen for six weeks. By the thermo[me]ter there was 4 deg. of frost. The ice has encreased in the Neva, but still moves with the current. The snow has fallen in small quantities several times during the day and a few sledges have reappeared. The evening I passed at Mr. Adams.

Saturday 11.—The winter seems as last to have commenced. I went to walk about sun rise on the banks of the Neva and found the cold very peircing. The frost has arrested the ice in the river, which no longer moves. The parts of the town divided by the river have now no communication. I observed them occupied however in forming a bridge over the river. It consists of small poles, about 2 inches in diameter about 6 feet long fastened close together by cords in the form of matting and so unroled and carried over the ice. In places where there was no ice, a double lace is laid and floats upon the water. This is designed only for foot Passengers and gives a road about 6 feet wide. We enjoy the novelty of a clear day and the sun is allowed the exercise of his feeble powers. He shows himself but a few degrees above the horison and while you are thinking that he is just rising he begins to descend. The shortest day at St. Petersburg is five hours and thirty two minutes and the sun of course is not visible for eighteen hours and twenty eight minutes.

Sunday 12.—Being indisposed I remained at home during the day. The day was clear and cold, from 6 to 7 degs. of frost. The snow has encreased and the sledges multiplied, but the ground is but slightly covered with snow.

Monday 13.—The weather dark and cloudy, and the snow occasionally falling during the day.

Tuesday 14.—The thermo[me]ter fell to eleven degs. of cold this morning standing out side of my window. On the Quay I understood there were 15 degs.

No answer is yet received from the head Quarters on the subject of the mediation. This causes much impatience and embarrassment. The roads will soon be in a condition to admit of travelling but the incertitude continues when I shall be put at liberty to leave St. P. To day I bought a calesh to be placed on a sledge and the wheels packed under it for seventeen hundred Rubles. So that I will be prepared to move so soon as the freedom of motion is given to me.

Wednesday 15.—To day the Count Romanzoff gave a grand diplomatic dinner. Their were 8 americans at the table and about as

many Englishmen. After dinner I enquired of the Count if he had as yet received an answer to the despatches sent by the Courier on the 3d ult. relative to the mediation. He told me he had not, but he had direct information that the Courier had arrived at the head Quarters, that his despatch had been received by the Emperor and that an answer would be returned in a few days.

Thursday 16, Friday 17.—Dark cold and cloudy.

Saturday 18.—Le Grand Maitre des ceremonies gave notice qu'il y aura Cour au Palais Imperial a midi samedi jour de nom de son altesse Imperial Monseigneur le Grand Duc Nicholas Pavlovitz and the Corps Diplomatique accordingly assembled at the palace and had an audience of Empresses with the usual ceremonies. In the evening a very splendid Ball was given by the Duke de Sierra Capriola where all the rank and beauty of St. P. was collected. The company exceeded 300 persons. Supper was served about 2 oclock. I came home at three and left the greater part of the company behind me.

Sunday 19, Monday 20, Tuesday 21, Wednesday 22, Thursday 23.—The weather dark cloudy and dismal. No occurrences worthy of notice.

Friday 24.—Notice was given to the corps Diplomatique that to day 12 O. S. Aniversaire de la Naissance de sa Majeste l'Impereur il y aura Cour au Palais Imperial a midi et qu' a l'occasion de la prise des villes de Dresdi Stetin and Pampelune[1] par les armies combiné un Te Deum Sera chanté en action de graces ce meme jour a l'Eglise de la Cour. At 12 oclock we went to the Palace. The Hall of Ambassadors was unusually crouded. At 1/2 past one the corps diplomatique were conducted into the church of the palace. They were in the midst of mass. The two Empresses stood in front of the altar. About 6 yards behind them the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michel. Rather behind them and a few yards upon the right were placed the Grand Duchesse Anne, and the Princess Amelia sister of the reigning Empress. The Corps Diplomatique were placed in front and directly opposite to the Empresses. Each Minister as he took his place made a very humble bow to the Empresses, who had turned towards them, and who returned the Salutation. Excepting a hollow square which was faced by the public Ministers and the great officers and Dignataries of the Court and in which the Imperial family stood, the body of the chapel was filled with dames d'honneur and Gentlemen attached to the Court. The service was very solemn and celebrated by an archbishop and about 20 Priests all clothed in the richest costumes. The choir was numerous and very fine. At 2 Oclock while

[1] Dresden was surrendered to the Allies Nov. 11, Stettin Dec. 5, and Pamplona to the British Oct. 31.

mass still continued the corps diplomatique were led by the grand master of ceremonies into the Hall of presentation where the Empresses soon appeared and held their Court. We returned home about half past two.

Saturday 25.—In all other christian Countries, this is Christmas, but in Russia it is the 13th day of the month. In honor however of the Emperors birth day which happened yesterday, the Chancellor gave a great dinner. About 80 persons were seated at table. The whole corps Diplomatique were invited. About 20 Senators in a uniform official dress. And a great number of Princes and counts. The Prince Kurakin[1] was most superbly dressed. He was covered with diamonds.

It is usual to attend the chancellors invitations with remarkable punctuality. The company generally arrive at the same moment, and that is the one appointed in the card of invitation. On this occasion Lord Walpole, the English Minister, delayed the dinner 3/4ths of an hour. The chancellor became very impatient but his fear to offend the English Minister preponderated and he waited the arrival of his Lordship. The delay was evidently designed and intended as a proof of neglect or contempt. The English Party all hate Romanzoff, and suppose that he has no longer any influence in the Government. We have some reason to be of the same opinion and to regret that it should be so. His despatches which have concerned our mission, have evidently been neglected by the Emperor. The Emperor must have been in possession of his last despatch more than three weeks and yet he can give us no answer, whether the mediation continues or is terminated.

Sunday 26, Monday 27, Tuesday 28.[Wed. 2]*9, Thursday 30, Friday 31.*—During these days the frost has been extremely rigorous. Generally from 25 to 20 degrees of cold. And one evening 31 and 1/2. On the thirty first the reigning Empress left St. P. to proceed to Baden where she expects to meet the Emperor. She took her departure from the casan church, where mass was said previously to her commencing her journey. There were 24 degrees of cold when she started. She was accompanied by the Princess Amelia her Sister, the Grand Chambellan and two or three Dames D'honneur. Upon the carriage moving from the church door she was saluted by the benediction of an immense multitude. She is very popular and deservedly so.

1814.

Saturday, January 1, Sunday 2, Monday 3, Tuesday 4, Wednesday 5, Thursday 6, Friday 7, Saturday 8.—On the 6 a Court was held by the Empress Mother and attended by all the Corp Diplomatique.

[1] Prince Alexander Kurakin, privy councillor of the first class.

To day Col. Milligan and Mr. Todd took leave of St. Petersbourg to proceed to Gottenburg and from thence to England. They go first to Abo and if the Gulf of Finland be passable they cross into Sweden and go thro' Stockholm, otherwise they go round the gulf by Torneo. They had two Kibitkas in one of which they rode and the other conveyed their baggage, provisions and servant. They expect to arrive at Abo in four days.

Sunday 9, *Monday 10*, *Tuesday 11*, *Wednesday 12*, *Thursday 13*, *Friday 14*, *Saturday 15*, *Sunday 16*, *Monday 17*.—No material occurrences.

Tuesday 18.—This being L'Epiphanie the Empress mother and the Grand Dukes attended the ceremony of the benediction of the waters. A Handsome temple was erected on the Neva. It stood on piles driven into the ground. The floor was raised about 5 feet above the ice. In the centre was an opening of about 8 feet by 5 thro which you could descend to the water. A large hole was cut thro the ice, and after the water had been blessed by the Archbishop thousands of people of all ranks and appearances crouded to get water of which they drank some, then washed their face with it and crossed themselves. The number assembled could not have been less than 20,000.

The last evening I received a note from Count Romanzoff in which enough is said to determine me to ask for an audience of leave and immediately to quit Russia. No words can express my joy at the prospect of soon commencing a journey towards my home. Nothing can compensate a separation from one's family and Country.

Wednesday 19, *Thursday 20*.—A final note was sent this day to Count Romanzoff and an audience of leave asked for myself.

Friday 21.—To day I recieved a note from Count Romanzoff informing me that the Empress Mother would grant me an audience on Sunday the 23 inst. And we have in consequence fixed on Tuesday as the day of our Departure.

Saturday 22.—Prince Kurakin gave in the evening a very splendid Ball which was attended by all the Beaux and Belles of St. Petersburg. His rooms are numerous and very magnificently furnished. Supper was served at 2 oclock and many of the Company remained till 4. Dancing, cards and sauntering thro the rooms were the amusements.

Sunday 23.—This being the day appointed for my audience of leave and being informed that I should be received immediately after mass, I went to the palace at one. I found there Mr. Harris our Secretary of legation who had been directed to attend at 11 and who had been waiting for 2 hours. He was to be *presented* to take leave. A Secretary has no audience. At half past one I was con-

ducted by the Grand Maitre des ceremonies Mr Narishkin to the Hall of the Empress. Her Majesty was attended only by her Lady in Waiting. She received me in the most gracious manner and with an air of affability which placed me wholly at my ease. She regretted that we had seen St. Petersburg only in the absence of the Emperor when the Court had lost all its splendour and magnificence. She hoped I should again visit the city. Enquired if I had left a wife and how many children in America, regretted the war which existed between England and America, hoped it would not last long. Upon my joining in the same sentiment and adding 'very sincerely', she very civilly remarked oh Mons. Bayard that I believe. We know you were against the war and your character is very well known and that is what you should be glad of. She spoke of Mr Poincet and of Mr Smith as americans who had [been] much esteemed in Russia, and protracted the audience an unusual length of time. I kissed her hand upon withdrawing. I was then conducted to the Apartments of the Grand Dukes and of the Grand Duchess of whom I had separate audiences. Finally after kissing the hand of the Grand Duchess, I left the palace for the last time.

Tuesday 25 Jany. 1814.—Left St. Petersberg at 1/2 past ten oclock P. M. Mr. G. in a carriage on a sledge with 4 horses. Myself in a calesh with 4 and 4 servants in a Landau with six horses. In leaving the city Mr. G's carriage separated from the other two and before he proceeded 6 versts his carriage was stalled in the snow, where he remained several hours before he was extricated. I proceeded to the 1st station at Strelna,[1] changed horses and went on. This was 17 versts.

Wednesday 26.—I proceeded with the servants to the second station 25 verts called Kiepena where I stopt only to change horses and continued my route to Cascowa.[2] Upon the servants carriage coming up I found that Mr. G.'s black servant and my own black were in it. The two German servants who had been hired for the road, were not along. I had come on 61 versts without seeing Mr. G. and I determined to wait at this Station till he came up. His remaining so long behind and the two white having unaccountably left their carriage created a suspicion that some accident had happened to him and that they had formed some plan to profit of it.

In about three hours Mr. G. made his appearance much to my relief and satisfaction accompanied by the two servants, for whom a Kibitka was hired to bring them on. I now learnt the cause of Mr. G's detetention, and found that his own servant at the last station had designedly waited for him and that mine was left behind by accident.

[1] Strielna. [2] Kaskovo.

From Cascowa we all proceeded together to Chercovik[1] a distance of 22 versts. I had been extremely unwell when I started, having caught the day before a violent cold, which in this climate is extremely dangerous especially in case of exposure. At Cascowa I hesitated to go on. I found myself feverish—a violent pain had attacked me in the breast and I thought it not unlikely that in the same distant climate from my country and friends in the same Empire and under circumstances resembling each other that I was doomed to share the fate of poor Barlow.[2] I was unable to eat any thing, but this was not a symptom of my disorder, for I had been destitute of apetite the whole time I remained at St. Petersburg. With feelings oppressive and alarming and prospects very gloomy I determined to proceed. We set out in a snow storm which still continued. The horses being ready we entered our carriages and went on 22 virsts to Chercovick. He[re] we found that every room in the house was occupied except the Kitchen and bedroom of the family. The night was very dark, the snow falling in great quantities and I was compelled to remain at this station all night, altho there was no other alternative than to set up all night. This was a most wretched Hovel. The room covered with filthy articles and being a hot close stove room, stinking most intolerably of the fumes of the pipe. This was to be born, as it was impossible without being covered with fur to venture out of doors where the cold was intense. I passed the night without sleep and it was the second that I had not slept.

[*Thurs.*] *27.*—In the morning every symptom of disorder had encreased but as it was as well to die on the road as in such a miserable hole I determined to go on. We started in the morning as soon as horses could be procured and proceeded to Apotice[3] 25 virsts and changing horses went on 15 virsts to Yamburg[4] where we determined to remain during the night. I obtained a dish of tea and at 8 oclock went to bed which I found tolerably Comfortable altho it was only a small bed placed on a sopha. Altho I had slept none for two nights, and now found myself in a bed, yet I could get no sleep. I was restless and feverish all night. Towards the morning a perspiration broke out upon me and I slept about half an hour. I rose in the morning however much better, without fever, the return of some apetite but with a cough and pain in the breast.

Friday 28.—We started early in the morning and proceeded 22 versts to the famous town of Narva. We changed horses at the post house before we entered the Town and passed thro it, only stopping

[1] Tchirkovitsi.

[2] Joel Barlow, the poet, going out to France as minister in 1811, followed Napoleon to Poland in 1812, and died there Dec. 24 of that year as the result of cold and privation incurred in the French retreat.

[3] Opotice.

[4] Iamburg.

at the gates to shew our passports. Our next stage was Waivara[1] 22 versts, and proceeded changing horses to Fokenhoff, where we rested for the night in very dirty and miserable lodgings.

Saturday 29.—This morning we had great difficulty in getting horses. Our Equipages required six in two carriages and 8 in the other. About 9 oclock however they were brought and were the most wretched sett which had been furnished. The snow which had been constantly falling since we left St. P. upon the vast extended plains where no tree or plant was to be seen presented to the eye the appearance of the ocean. The road was marked by green boughs stuck in the ground. It would have been impossible otherwise to have steered a certain course without a compass. The snow had become very deep, and we were apprehensive that we should not be able to get along. We started from Fokenhoff and proceed[ed] 11 versts to Yava[2] where we got fresh horses. We had now left the gulf of Finland and turned South. At Yave the road forks one branch leading to Revel the other to Riga. We here changed horses and went on 20 versts Kleinpungern where we stopt no longer than to change horses and pursued the road 24 versts to Kanapungern. Tho it was night yet we determined to proceed to the next stage at Nennel[3] which was only 14 ver[s]ts. Arrived at this place we found it so miserably dirty and stinking that we resolved to continue our journey during the night. We ordered horses and went on 25 versts to Torma, where we arrived about 11 oclock next day.

Sunday 30.—We were detained some time for horses but as they were procured and we had taken some refreshment we proceed[ed] in our route 23 versts to Iggafor traveling along the lake Pipous.[4] The snow was very deep. Our carriages we frequently stopped and [it] was difficult to start the horses when that happened. There was but one tract, and when you went out of it the horses went up to their bellies in snow. We frequently met trains of loaded Kibitkas drawn by one horses of 25, 50 and 100 in succession. Some times we stopt and let them pass us, but if the number was small the postillion with a thundering voice ordered them out of the road, which was always obeyed, tho the horse sometimes disappeared in the snow and the Kibitka and he were overturned together. We left Iggafor about 10 o'clock and pursued our [journey] with a view of reaching Dorpat where we were informed comfortable lodgings were to be had, but we did not arrive at this place till 6 oclock in the morning, altho only 23 verts. We went to bed at 7 oclock and rose at 10. Having a letter from the Minister of the Interior to the Head of the police of

[1] Vaivari.
[2] Ieroa.
[3] Nennale.
[4] Peipus.

this Town, he called upon us and offered all the services he could render and in which we stood in need. The Podoroshince[1] which we obtained at St. P. was for only 12 horses which we there thought enough but on the road we were obliged to augment the number to 20 and the snow had now become so extremely deep, that we requested a new podoroshince for 12 additional horses, which gave us 24, eight for each carriage. For the number of horses which the traveller takes not included in his order for horses he pays double, and this we had been obliged to do for 8 of our horses.

Monday 31.—It had ceased snowing yesterday, but on rising this morning we found the snow falling in great abundance. Dorpat is a small Town containing about 12,000 Inhabitants, including the environs, situate[d] 324 versts from S. P. We determined to rest ourselves here till the afternoon. At four oclock we proceeded on our journey and arrived at Addern[2] a distance of 25 versts at 10. We remained here 2 hours to procure fresh horses and set out at 12 with 8 horses in each carriage to prosecute our route. This was a frightful stage. It snowed very hard. The tract of the road was scarcely to be discovered. The horses were bad and the Drivers worse. After proceeding about 10 versts the horses failed and it was with great difficulty they could be forced on at the rate of a mile an hour. In the course of the stage they stalled 30 times and with the aid of 8 men it was difficult to start them each time. At the end of 13 hours we reached Kukatz[3] a distance of 24 versts.

Tuesday, 1st of Feby.—We remained at Kukatz till half past three and resumed our journey with better horses and Drivers and arrived at Tielhetz[4] 22 versts at 8, where we took refreshment and started again at ten and arrived at 12 at Gulben a distance of 18 versts. Thence we set out at 2 and reached Stakeln 24 versts at 4, remained till 5, and proceeded to Wolmar 18 versts where we arrived at 7.

Wednesday, 2 Feby.—At 9 oclock we left Wolmar and arrived at Lenzenhoff at 12. 18 versts. From thence we proceeded at 1, and made 22 versts to Roop by 5. Having taken our dinner we went on to Engilhardshof 21 versts where we found ourselves at 11. The distance from thence to Hilkensfer 19 versts was accomplished by 5 oclock. We were refreshed here by a dish of coffee and proceeded to Neuenmuhlen 15 where we arrived at 8.

Thursday 3.—From the last station to Riga is but 11 versts which we performed by 11 oclock. We determined to remain at Riga to rest ourselves and to arrange our pecuniary affairs for the immediate part of the journey which was to follow. The money we had used from St. P. was the paper Ruble, which was not current beyond Riga. We had brought a letter of introduction from Mr. Harris to the

[1] Order for post horses.
[2] Uderne.
[3] Kuhikatz.
[4] Tiplitz.

Marquis Paulocci[1] Governor General of the Provinces of Livonia and Courland. He is by birth an Italian and has been in the Russian service about 6 years and has risen very rapidly in the esteem and confidence of the Emperor. He is a man of polished manners and extremely civil in his conduct. In the afternoon the Marquis sent his aid de camp to Mr. G. and myself with an offer of any service in his power and with an invitation to accompany him and to take a seat in his box at the theatre. And in the meantime he would be happy to see us. In an hour after the Aid returned with a message that the Governors coach would call for us at 5 oclock. Accordingly at that hour the coach was at the door and conducted us to the palace where we were led thro a long train of Apartments to that in which we found the Marquis and his wife. They received us with great curtesy and after sitting about an hour we proceeded with the Marquis and his Lady to the theatre.

The house was of common size, not very brilliant in its decorations, but had an excellent orchestre. It was extremely crouded. Three small piece were performed. The last a ballad. The performances ended at 8 oclock. And the Governor conveyed us in his coach to the Hotel de St. Petersburg where we had taken lodgings. Before we left his house he had invited us to dine with him the ensuing day. We endeavoured to excuse ourselves.[2]

1814. Feby. 21.[3]—Arrived at Berlin. Snow had been falling all day and the weather very cold—put up at the Hotel de Russie.

Tuesday 22.—Called upon our Bankers Messrs. Schinckler and Brothers to arrange funds for the journey to Amsterdam. These men were destitute of every form of civility, requested to call next day. In the evening went to the Theatre. The Scenery very superb.

Wednesday 23.—Yesterday and to day we ran over the town to take a view of streets and houses—visitted the church of St. Marie built 500 years ago. Shewn in the vault the body of a child dead 480 years.

Thursday 24.—We had a visit yesterday from the Baron Alopeus,[4] who requests to be rememberd to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney. Today we made our arrangements with our Bankers and got our money for our journey, recd. a letter from Mr. Bourne[5] our consul

[1] The Marquis Paulucci had been chief of the general staff in 1812.

[2] In a small note-book among the Bayard Papers there is a record of Bayard's journey from Dorpat through Riga, Mittau, Memel, Königsberg, Marienwerder, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, to Berlin. The travellers left Dorpat Jan. 31 and arrived at Berlin Feb. 21. The entries are the briefest jottings and it suffices to note that the journey was a very hard one through heavy storms and over deep snows. The Vistula was crossed on the ice.

[3] The diary from Feb. 21, 1814, to Apr. 3, was kept in a small green note-book, and, as will be seen, in much more incomplete form than the preceding diary (see preface, p. 8).

[4] Maxim Maximovitch Alopaeus (1748–1822), whose diplomatic service began in 1789, had been in London in 1807 and had probably met Monroe and Pinkney there.

[5] Sylvanus Bourne.

at Amsterdam stating that he had advice from Mr. Beasly[1] in London that the Brit Govt. had proposed a direct negociation at Gottenberg which had been accepted by the President and that we were appointed Comrs. We determined to proceed immediately to Amsterdam by the shortest route and accordingly set out at 6 in the evening on the road to Potsdam. Arrived at Potsdam at 10 where we remained during the night. Yesterday there were 18 degs. of cold and the weather is equally rigorous to day.

Friday 25.—The cold continues with a clear sky and seems to have increased. Took a carriage and went to see the old and new palace of Sans Souci. It was [here] the old Fredk. the G. died.[2] We were shewn the room and spot where he breathed his last. He died without a struggle in an arm chair. The valet de chamber who was present at his death shewed us the palace. The old pal. is a mile and the new two miles from Potsdam. The new extremely magnificent, cost 10 millions Thalers. At the old pal. are the tomb stones of 11 dogs of Fred., their names inscribed. Shewn a clock which run down at the time Fred. died. The hands have not been changed since 20 min after in morng. Were shewn the gallery of paintings at old pal. A great many fine paintings at new pal. Saw the bed room and bed of the Queen[3] several portraits and busts of her, the room in which Alexander and Napoleon slept in succession. Visitted the pal. of Potsdam. Many fine paintings and magnificent halls. In the new pal. was a hall called the grotto. It was 100 ft. by 60, ceiling 50 high, incrusted with shells. The Exp. of the mornings excursion was 20. 12. Potsdam a neat and pretty Town, population 15,000. Houses chiefly built by the King, uniform, some very handsome, many not occupied—given to Individuals who will inhabit them.

[Then follow brief jottings of a journey through Prussian, Hanoverian, and Dutch territory to Amsterdam.]

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Saturday 5 [*Mar.*]—At Amsterdam. Being much fatigued remaind at home—recd. visits from Mr. Willinck and son.[4] In the eveng. recd. the despatch by Mr. Strong of the Secretary of State of the 31 Jany.

Sunday 6.—Wrote to Mr. Adams sending a copy of despatch and the original documents, viz. Presidents message of 6 Jany. and Letters of Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Monroe, and Ld. Cathcart.[5] Went out to see the town port and navy yard.

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[1] R. G. Beasley.

[2] Frederick the Great died here Aug. 17, 1786.

[3] Queen Louise, probably.

[4] The firm of Willink and van Staphorst had long been bankers for the American government.

[5] "Am. St. P., For. Rel.", III., 621–623.

Monday 7.—Remained at home on acct. of bad weather dined at 5 with Mr. Willinck the father.

Tuesday 8.—Snowing all day, remained at home. In evening visitted the french Theatre.

Wednesday 9.—Bad weather snow and cold—saw different parts of the Town. Went to the evening to dutch Theatre—house crowded. French very thin. House spacious and handsomely finished, scenery fine, dancing good.

Thursday 10.—Mr. Harris arrived at Amsterdam to day[1] and brot despatches from Mr. Adams for Secy. of State and also a letter for Mr. G. and myself. Snowing during day—weather said to be as cold as any time during the winter—recd. a visit from Mr. Barensfeld of the house of Van Stophorst. Invited to dine on 16. Great number of importunate beggars. Number of Canals. Expence of living great.

. . . . . .

Monday 14.—Went with Mr. Bourne our Consul to view the State House. This building which is very spacious still contains the Bank of Amsterdam. It formerly was appropriated to the public uses of the Country but King Louis[2] erected it into a palace and had it furnished for his personal residence. There are several magnificent Halls, ceilings of great altitude (one 120 feet)—walls marble. It is now fitting for the Prince of Orange.[3] We were shewn a collection of fine paintings of the Dutch and flemish school.

Tuesday 15.—Visitted different parts of the Town and in the evening the french Theatre.

Wednesday 16.—Dined with Mr. Barensfeld, partner of Van Staphorst and Co. The dinner served partly in the Russian and partly English fashion. The name of each guest written and laid on his plate. Ladies and Gentlemen leave the table at the same time. The hour of dinner ½ past 4 and 5 o clock.

Thursday 17.—The morning spent in traversing the Town viewing the canals, quays, Bridges, houses, and shops. Went to the evening to the dutch Theatre.

Friday, 18.—Went to visit the navy yard, several ships of 74 and 80 guns on the Stocks, besides frigates. Shewn the model room which contains a great number of beautiful models—one very large one of adml. De Ruyters[4] ship. Saw his sword. One model so constructed as to open and shew all the interior distribution of a 74.

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[1] Harris had left St. Petersburg Feb. 9.

[2] Louis Bonaparte, king of Holland since 1806, had abdicated in 1810. The old Stadhuis (town-house) of Amsterdam is now the royal palace.

[3] William I (1772–1844), see p. 248, note 6.

[4] Michael Adriaanszoon de Ruyter (1607–1675), admiral-in-chief of the Dutch fleet and commander in the war with England, 1665–1667.

Saturday, 19.—Walked out about 5 miles on the Naarden road. The Town, about 10 miles from Amsterdam, in possession of the French and blockaded by the dutch. Heard many canon. Some dead and wounded, brought into Am'm. from beseiging camp. Passed over the march and a large sheet of ice to the dike which defends the Country from the Zuyder sea. Had a full view of the sea which is frozen for miles out. Dined with Mr. John Willink (Jansen) John's son.

Sunday, 20.—Mr. Harris left Am. this morning to pass by the Hague and Rotterdam to Helvoetsluys, where he embarks for Harwich.

Saturday, 26.—Mr. G. and myself and the Consul Mr. Bourne were presented to the Prince of Orange and recd. with great courtesey.

Sunday, 27.—In the morng we recd. an invitation to dine with the Prince at 4 and at that hour we repaired to the palace. At the table Prince, Princess[1] (sister of the King of Prussia), the hereditary Prince,[2] a younger brother,[3] a Prince of Nassau and about 30 persons partly in civil and in military dresses. Table plain—many attendants—dinner one hour. Remained in drawing room till 8. Prince and Princess withdrew and compy. dispersed.

Tuesday, 29.—Prince of Orange came from the Hague to Amm. on the 25 incog. The Princess on the 26 made a public entry escorted etc. Princess Mother on the 28 escorted etc.

Left Amsterdam at 12 and arrived at the Hague at 7. This day the Notables met to receive the constitution;[4] an Invitation was given to attend the ceremony. Expected that convention will not continue more than 3 days.

30.—Spent the day in vistg different parts of the Town. U. S still hold a house called the Amern. house bought for their ministers 30 yrs ago. I went to see it and found it in a miserable condition, floors rotten, walls and ceilings delapidating, occupied by some old women.[5] A handsome painting tho much injured over fire place—a naked venus and cupid etc.

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[1] Frederica Wilhelmina.

[2] William, who ruled as William II from 1840 to 1849.

[3] Prince Frederik (1797–1881).

[4] The constitution of 1814 for the kingdom of the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium) had been framed by a commission, Dec. 21, 1813. Feb. 14, 1814, a convention of six hundred notables ratified it.

[5] The Hôtel des États Unis was originally a house which the two towns of Alkmaar and Enkhuysen had maintained for their representatives in the States General of the old Republic. In 1782 John Adams bought it for the United States (Wharton, V, 207, 243), and Congress ratified the purchase ("Secret Journals, Foreign Affairs", III, 266). Vans Murray in 1798 reported it to be "large and even handsome, but it is a perfect cave in dampness and cold!" ("Annual Report of A. H. A.", 1912, 471, 472), and rented a house in the Voorhout. Later the Hôtel des États Unis reverted to Dutch possession and to its old name of Hôtel des Deux Villes (De Twee Steden), and a hotel of that name, on the old site, is familiar to many American tourists.

The palace a handsome building, tho not spacious, formerly the house of Count de Rhone and bot for 80,000 florins. The ancient palace is larger but of mean appearance. Several handsome streets and many splendid houses.

The Prince of O makes his entry here as sovereign Prince on 2 April. Preparations made to receive him.

Most streets have canals and are called grafs[1]—if no canal, straad. The water stagnant and the canals filthy. I am told they are cleaned in the summer. The travelling in the Schuyts[2] is at rate of 3 miles an hour, drawn by a horse, who precedes the boat 100 yards and is attached by a small cord, moves some times in a slow trot, arrived at Rotterdam in the evening. . . .

[*Apr.*] *3.*—Mr. Irving[3] a M. P. sent his compliments to me this morng and would wait upon me if not engaged. I recd. him and found him a moderate intelligent and sensible man. He expressed much desire for peace between England and Ama. He introduced me soon after to Mr. Douglass[4] also M. P. They lodged in the same house. He gave me an invitation to dine with him which I accepted and dined with him and Mr. D. and Mr. Ferrier the British Consul. The afternoon spent in entire harmony tho we touched on the subject of dispute between the nations. In the afternoon arrived Mrs. Gore the widow of Genl. Gore killed a few days before at the assault upon Bergen op Zoom.[5] Her situation was interesting. She had with her an infant about 6 wks. old and was attended by a Mrs. McMickle the widow of a Capt.[6] killed the same day.

4.—Mr. Gallatin, his son, and Mess Dallas, Milligan, and Tod arrived at Rotterdam and informed me of their intention of proceeding next day to Helvs.

5.—This morning I left Rotm. and proceed[ed] by Delf-Masesluys and Bril to Helvoetsluys[7] where I arrived at 4. Distance about 28 miles. The other Gentn. arrived in the evening at about 9. I engaged a passage in the packet for ensuing day for England.

* * * * * * *

1814. Wednesday, 6 April.[8]—Left Helvoetsluys in the evening, could not pass the sands during the night. Lay at anchor in the mouth of the Meuse.

8.—Arrived at Harwich, 100 miles.

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[1] Gracht.

[2] Packet boats.

[3] John Irving, M. P. for Bramber.

[4] There were three Douglasses in this Parliament: Frederic S. N., for Banbury, William for Plympton Earl, and William R. K. for Dumfries Burghs.

[5] See p. 351.

[6] Capt. McNicol.

[7] Delfshaven, Maaslandsluis, Brielle, Hellevoetsluis.

[8] From Apr. 6, 1814, to Sept. 10 the diary items were made in a small red notebook (see preface, p. 8).

10.—Arrived in London, 72. Do. Took lodgings at Blenheim Hotel.

11, Monday.—Removed to York Hotel, Albemarle St. London illuminated 11, 12, 15, for abdication of Buonaparte.

12.—Visited St. James and Hyde Park and returned visits.

13.—Visited Westminster Abbey, Hall, and Bridge.

14.—Was presented to Count Leevin the Russian Ambassador and dined with him. A detailed conversation on the question of Impressment.

15, Friday.—Engaged a chariot and pair at 30 guineas a month all expences included except incursions into the Country. In the evening attended a route at Madame de Staels[1] by invitation. Obliged to retire very early owing to a severe pain in the face.

16.—Recd. a note from Count Leevin appointing ½ past six to present us to the Grand Duchess Catherine.[2] We attended at the hour and were presented. The Count and Countess in Waiting, the Gr. Duchess abt. 24 handsome, affable, and intelligent.

17.—Visited different parts of the city—Westminster Bridge, Bl[ack] friars, The Inns of Court, Temple garden etc.

18.—Visitted different parts of the Town.

19.—The House of Commons met and I attended in the evening. Heard Mr. Steven,[3] Whitebread,[4] Sir S. Romilie,[5] Sir J. Mackintosh,[6] Mr. Marriot,[7] Mr. Bathurst,[8] etc. Qu. on the analogy of an interest in an office and a vested interest.[9]

20.—This day the King of France Louis 18 made his solemn entry into London accompanied by the Prince of Wales, escorted by detachments of horse and attended by a vast cavalcade—carriages, horses, etc. He descended at Gillons Hotel, Albemarle Street, a few doors from Albermarle Hl. where I lodged. We passed thro Hyde Park where the concourse of people was immense.

21.—The King of France dined to day with the Prince Regent and proceed[ed] from his Hotel in the Princes coach in great pomp and splendour. Dined to day with Mr. Mansfield, in company with Mr.

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[1] Madame de Staël, exiled from France, lived during 1813 and 1814 in England.

[2] Fourth sister of Alexander. See above, p. 364.

[3] James Stephen, M. P. for East Grinstead, author of "War in Disguise".

[4] Samuel Whitbread, M. P. for Bedford.

[5] Sir Samuel Romilly (1757–1818), M. P. for Arundel.

[6] Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), M. P. for Nairn-shire.

[7] Joseph Marryat, M. P. for Sandwich.

[8] There were three Bathursts in this Parliament: Charles, M. P. for Bodmin; Henry George, Lord Apsley, M. P. for Cirencester, and William L., M. P. for Weobley. The speaker to whom Bayard refers was probably William L.

[9] Both the Commons "Journal" and Hansard's "Parliamentary History" report no debate on the 19th, but an extended one on the 18th in which all the speakers to whom Bayard refers took part. The bill under discussion was "An act to prevent the granting in future of any patent office to be exercised in any colony or plantation, now or at any time hereafter belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, for any longer term than during such time as the grantee thereof or person appointed thereto shall discharge the duty thereof in person and behave well therein." Hansard, first series, XXVII, 434–438.

Whitebread, Mr. Broughm,[1] Mr. Creevy,[2] Serjeant Lens,[3] etc. In the evening (Thursday) removed my lodgings to 37 Albemarle St. In the course of the day we heard of the arrival of Mess. Clay and Russel at Gotg.

22.—The Lord Mayor in his state coach waited on the King of F. and immense number of the nobility in their robes. The street has been choaked with carriages the whole day. The number countless. Wrote to Mess. C. and R. at Gotg. by Mr. Milligan employed as spl. messenger.[4]

23.—Mr. M. sailed for Gotg.

24.—Visitted Windsor—went thro the Castle.

25.—Visitted different parts of London.

26.—Attended House of Commons.

27.—Visitted the Court of Chancery, vice Chancellor Mr. Romer[5] sitting. Court of Common Pleas, Sir Vicy Gibbs,[6] Ch. Just. Heath,[7] Dallas,[8] and Chambré,[9] on the Bench. Kings Bench in Session, Lord Ellenborough[10] C. J., Sir Simon Le Blanch,[11] Dampier,[12] and Bailey,[13] on the Bench.[14] House of Lords in Session, an appeal from Scotland[15]—Mr. Horner[16] Counsel—present Ld. Chancellor[17] and two other Lords. Dined at Hamstead with Mr. Thomas Wilson.

May 23.—Left London at 7 oclock and arrived at Dover.

Tuesday 24.—At 3 oclock. Tide not suiting to go out of the harbour remained during the night.

Wednesday 25.—Left Dover ½ past 1 oclock—strong wind and heavy sea—150 Passengers—sloop 80 tons—raining and cold. ⅔ pas-

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[1] Henry Peter Brougham, Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778–1868).

[2] Thomas Creevey (1768–1838), M. P. for Thetford.

[3] John Lens (1756–1825), noted for the number of offices he had declined. "Sergeant Lens and the independence of the bar" was a frequent toast of the time.

[4] See pp. 285–287.

[5] The office of vice-chancellor was instituted this year, 1813. The first vice-chancellor was Sir Thomas Plumer.

[6] Sir Vicary Gibbs (1751–1820), chief justice of the court of common pleas 1814–1818.

[7] John Heath (1736–1816), justice of the court of common pleas 1780–1816.

[8] Sir Robert Dallas (1756–1824), chief justice of the court of common pleas 1818–1823.

[9] Sir Alan Chambré (1739–1823), justice of the court of common pleas 1800–1815.

[10] Edward Law, first Baron Ellenborough (1750–1818), lord chief justice 1802–1818.

[11] Sir Simon le Blanc (d. 1816), justice of the court of king's bench 1799.

[12] Sir Henry Dampier (1758–1816), justice of the court of king's bench 1813.

[13] Sir John Bayley (1763–1841), justice of the court of king's bench 1808.

[14] In a letter to Rodney of May 1, 1814, Bayard says: I have seen also the Courts of Chancery, Kings Bench, and Common Pleas in session. The halls in which they sit are miserable boxes. The whole of them put together would not contain half the number of the court-room at New Castle. Their appearance was not wonderfully impressive and I think their long wigs excite rather a ludicrous than a solemn feeling." "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 243–244.

[15] The case was a private one concerning usury, appealed from the Scottish Court of Sessions. "English Reports, House of Lords", III, 856–859.

[16] Francis Horner (1778–1817).

[17] Lord Eldon.

sengers sick and puking in all parts of the vessel. Made our passage in 2 hours and 50 minutes, harbour can only be entered when tide is up—and then difficult. Town crowded with persons retg. from Paris. Custom house officers strict in search. Seized many artls. of Mr. Beasly. My trunk escaped by accident. Sudden change—language, dress, and manners. Got an indifft. lodging for the night.

The English Govt. had behaved at Dover very civilly having given an order to ship our goods without search—passage money one guinea. Exchange agt. England 25 P cent. lost by Travellers going into france for Louis we paid 26 6 stg.

26.—Fine day after much bad weather—went to look at Town and harbour. Tide rises 20 ft. It was out and breakers across the channel which not more than 50 ft. wide. Town strongly fortified. Left Calais at one oclock, and arrived in Paris *Saturday 28.*—Distance 32 posts and half—each post two leagues.

Payments to servants—

	fr.	s.	
Boots		10	each person.
Chamber maid	1		
Waiter	1		

Nothing could exceed the rich cultivation and beauty of the Country from Calais to Paris. A perpetual wave, and the lofty hills cultivated to their summits. No forests nor woods. The road partly turnpiked and partly paved with square stones. The Inns indifferent. Some plantations of vines as we approached Paris. The coast of England plainly to be seen from Calais and about 12 Miles on the road, the channel does not appear to the eye more than 10 miles wide.

We entered Paris by the gate of St. Denis. Passed thro several considera[ble] Town[s], Boulogne, Montreuil sur Mere, Abbeville, Beauvais, St. Denis.

The Exp. of the posts considerable, each horse and each postillion one franc 10 sous. A Calesh with 4 persons obliged to take 6 horses, but allowed to pass with 4 upon paying for 5. Price to be augmented after 1 June to 35 sous for each horse, etc. No app. of gaiety among the people. They do not consider France as conquered but sold. Few white cockades. The King not very secure upon his throne.[1]

Sunday 29.—Visitted the Palais Royal, the Thuilleries, the gardens and champs élesé. The gardens of Thuls. magnificent. The shops in general open, being a féte day, theatres shut.

[1] For an additional account of Bayard's sightseeing in Paris see his letter to Rodney of Aug. 5. "Bulletin" N. Y. Pub. Lib., IV, 246.

Monday 30.—Attended a review of the Russian troops by the Emperor. Number sd to be 40,000. Fine body of men well equipd. Said they leave Paris immediately. In the evening went to theatre francais, comedy Tartufe.[1]

Tuesday 31.—Had a conference with Mr. C.[2] our Minister, upon state of political affairs. Went in his carriage to visit the Jardin des plants and to the Luxemberg. Both extensive and superb—many fine statues in L.

Wednesday, 1 June.—Went with Mr. Cd. to visit the subterranean caverns beneath Paris. Descended 60 ft. and upwards. Passage narrow at first—entered a depository containing the bones of two millions four hundred thousand persons. The bones piled so as to form a wall, interspersed with sculls. Obliged strictly to follow the guide. Many diverging passages—persons frequently lose themselves and perish. No. counted upon descending and ascending. Each person carried a candle. Emerged at the distance of a mile and half from place of descent.

Thursday 2.—Visitted the Louvre and saw the most celebrated statues and pictures of Europe. They have not been disturbed by the Allies. Accompanied by Mr. C.

Friday 3.—The Emperor of Russia left Paris the 2d June and the King of Prussia[3] the 3d for London. The Allied troops are quitting the city daily.

I rode into the Country to day to view the ground upon which the last battle was fought previously to the entry of the Allies into Paris.[4] No vestiges remain except the marks of cannon and musquet shots which are innumerable.

Saturday 4.—Visited Mont Matre[5] Telegraph. View of Paris. Battle of Montmatre. View of the Seine.

Sunday 5.—Visitted with Mr C. Versailles, water works, orangerie, grounds extensive and magnificent. Palace—exterior handsome, but interior unfurnished and dirty and decaying.

Monday 6.—Visittd the Prince of Benevento.[6] Introduced by Mr. C. and politely recd. and treated. He spoke of the interest which Louis 16 had taken in the affairs of America and said that L. 18 partook of the same Sentiments. That the members of the August House of Bourbon would always give proofs of friendship for the U. S.

He said the negociation for peace was confined to the Continent. The affairs of the U. S. not introduced.

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[1] Molière's "Tartuffe".
[2] Crawford.
[3] Frederic William IV.
[4] March 30, 1814; Belleville and the Buttes Chaumont.
[5] Montmartre.
[6] Talleyrand.

He could not say whether new pretensions would be brought forward by G. B. Upon taking leave he invited us to dine with him the ensuing day.

Tuesday 7.—Dined with Prince of Benevente.

Wednesday 8.—Visited Marquiss de Sassenay,[1] Madame St. Marie, Mad. Desbros, etc.

Thursday 9.—Dined with Mr. C. in company with Marquiss La Fayette, Count Marbois,[2] Count La Foret,[3] etc. etc.

Friday 10.—The Marquiss La Fayette informed me yesterday that he had called three times, when I was from home and appointed to meet me to day at 12 oclock. He called at the hour, and gave me the abstract of a note he had procured the means to be delivered to the Emperor of Russia. He stated the Substance of a conversation he had had at Mad. de Staals with the Emperor, who told him he had made two efforts without success to interpose his mediation to settle disputes between England and Ama. The Marq. told him [he] shd. make a third. He sd. he was going to England and would employ the oppor[tunit]y to do so. That he had given peace to France which he ought to extend to Am.[4]

The Marquiss spoke of several french officers willing to go over to Ama. and serve in the war. He asked me how they wd. be recd. I ansd. that nothing coud. be sd. on the subj. till the event of the negotiations were known. If the war contd. I thought they wod. be well recd. Especially Engeneers, officers of Artillery, and such as would serve with the Indians. Marq. took leave at ½ past two promising to seek me again.

Wednesday 15.—Left Paris at 5 P. M. accompanied by G. M. in a Calesh with three horses and came to Senlis, 5½ posts, and remd. during the night.

16.—Left Senlis at 10 A. M. and arrived at Roye at 7. Roye formerly fortified—a deep ditch and high wall, population 3000. Spoke well of the conduct of the cossacks. In favor of recent change—especially the women who complained of having lost leur Amoureux.

Friday 17.—Left Roye at 6, a fortified town—fortifications in decay, population 6000, proceeded to Valenciennes by Perone, Cambray, etc. and arrived at 9 oclock, 12¼ posts—and remained the night. Peronne and Cambray fortified but fortifications decayed and neglected.

Saturday 18.—Visited the different parts of Valenciennes—went round the ramparts. Town strongly fortified—wall of brick, 20 ft.

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[1] See p. 329, note 1.

[2] François de Barbé, Marquis de Marbois (1745–1837), 1780–1785 chargé d'affaires and consul-general to the United States; minister of the treasury 1801–1806, and negotiator of the Louisiana treaty; at this time president of the chamber of accounts.

[3] Count René de la Forest (1756–1846), attached to French legation in the United States in 1779, and for fifteen years vice-consul in Savannah and consul in Charleston, had returned to Paris from the Spanish court in 1813.

[4] See p. 299, note 4.

high, ditch 80 ft. wide. The number of beggars on the road and at every post Town, perseverance. Invitation of the boys employed by Courtisans. About 2 posts from Valenciennes we crossed the line separating France from Flanders and we found all the villages occupied by Prussian troops. Querain [1] was the last Town in France open without fortifications, Bossu [2] the first in Flanders. Arrived at Mons at 7 oclock and while dinner was preparing went to view the Town. Built on a hill fortified, but fortifications had been in part demolished by the french. From the ra[m]parts you have a view of the village and heights of Jemmappo where the battle was fought.[3] Mons was entered by the cossacs after a slight resistance on the heights out side of the Town.

Sunday 19.—Before Breakfast we went round the ramparts and thro the Town. Many bells—Procession—Priests, boys, girls, candles, canopy, streets covd. with fresh sand, flowers, singing, People uncovered kneeling. Child dressed in lambs skin. The Town occupied by Prussian and Russian troops. Tho Sunday shops all open. The same amusements and occupations as on other days. Population 20,000. They do not know what govts. they are under. Left Mons at 11 oclock and arrived at Bruxelles at 7, dist. 7 Posts. Drove to the Hotel de Flandre, where we procured lodging on the 2d floor.

Monday 20.—Upon rising in the morning, found the square fronting the Hotel [4] filled with British troops, who were on parade and marching to the music of a fine and full band. The square full with a palace and a number of superb houses uniformly built. The gardens and public walks magnificent. Visited theatre in the evening which was thinly attended. Peices in french which was common language. The weather cold and rainy.

Tuesday 21.—Very cold and raining all day. M. left me about 12 for Ghent. Made the acquaintance of Capt. Humphries [5] of the *Leopard* in the affair with the *Chesapeake.* A polite and interesting man. Also with a Mr. Hamilton who had been Prisoner in france 11 years and absent from England 15.

Wednesday 22.—Visited different parts of Bruxells [6] part of which stands on a hill said to have an elavation of 300 feet. The descent to the lower parts of the town very rapid—population 70,000—sd. to have been before revolution 100,000. Walk out in the morning to the Chateau du lac about a league from Brux. This palace was built and inhabited formerly by [7] the sister of the Emp. and Governante

[1] Quaregnon.
[2] Boussu.
[3] The battle of Jemmappes, Nov. 6, 1792. The village is three miles from Mons.
[4] The Hôtel de Flandre stood and still stands in the Place Royale.
[5] Capt. S. P. Humphreys.
[6] Brussels.
[7] Blank in the manuscript.

of Brabant.[1] It is a handsome and spacious building standing on a lofty hill and commanding a fine view of B. At the bottom of a long descent is a lac from which it takes its name. Statues, a temple, and a grotto add to its beauty. I went thro the grounds and the Chateau. It is without furniture and inhabitants but in good condn. and taken care of by servants. Returned by a difft. and private road in the afternoon about 4 and delighted with the verdure and luxuriant crops which covered the country. The day occasionally clear, cloudy, and rainy. Arrived at the Hotel at 6 after a Walk of 3 leagues. Recd. a letter from M,[2] at Ghent. No commissioners arrived.

Thursday 23.—Spent the day visitting difft. parts of the Town, canal to Ghent and Anvers,[3] Hotel de Ville, singular gothic building.

24.—Left Bruxells at 11 oclock for Antwerp having hired a private coach to take me to Antwerp. Stopt to feed the horses at Malines a handsome small Town formerly fortified, the ancient rampart and ditch being in ruins—remarkably fine old gothic Cathedral church—the tower 150 ft. high rising piramidically.

Arrived at Antwerp at 6 and drove to the Hotel du Grand Laboureur where I found lodgings.[4] Dined and went to look at the Town. . . .

Saturday 25.—Upon enquiring of the master of the Hotel with respect to the Congress at Ghent and the Am. Ministers, he told me that the day before yesterday two Gent. had passed thro the Town, one he supposed to be an Am. Min. His description answd. to Mr. Adams. The other I could not recognize.[5] He had not heard of any one of the Cong. being at G. In the course of the day I met a German Gent. immy[6] from G. who confirmed this acct. Intending however to set out for G. tomorrow I have endeavoured to procure horses but they are not to be had. Horses for G. are engaged on the other side the Scheldt. I went down to the river and found every horse sent off to meet the Emp. of Russ. who is expected from Ostend by the way of G. In the morng. I visited the works abt. the Town—the citidal or fortress. Made an acquaint[ance] with Major Anderson and Col. Crawford who commands a brigade in the citidl. Col. accompand. me thro all the works which he considers impregnable. Deep wet ditch—high brick wall—140 pieces cann. The whole Town requiring 800 and 14,000 men. The french Genl. Carnot[7] had demolished every house and tree in the range of gun shot from the fort and

[1] The Château of Laeken was built by Prince Albert of Saxe-Teschen and his wife the Archduchess Maria Christina, sister of the emperors Joseph II and Leopold II. They were joint governors of the Austrian Netherlands from 1781 to 1793.

[2] Col. Milligan.

[3] Antwerp.

[4] The Hôtel du Grand Laboureur stood and still stands on the Place de Meir. Adams and Russell passed through Antwerp June 23. Adams, "Memoirs", III, 650.

[6] Immediately.

[7] Carnot, governor of Antwerp under Napoleon in 1814; see p. 345, note 5.

strengthened the works and conducted himself with humanity. He was ordered to send out of the Town all useless people. He did so but suffered them to return. The french occupy still the arsenal where a number of ships of the line are upon the Stocks. They are surrounded by Eng. troops—ill will between. An Eng. sold. offered his hand to a french sold. on guard and was run thro the body with bayt. Col.'s boat fired upon. Eng. troops restrained with dify. from puttg. french to death. Number of Engl. troops 7000, french 1500, includg. Marines. Engl. troops under Arms from 4 P. M. till 10 to receive the Emperor, who has not arrived.

Sunday 26.—Nothing heard this morning of the Emp. For 10 days, sun scarcely visible and the weather as cold as in Novr. in U. S., rain every day, not violent.

Emperor has not arrived tho expected all the day. The troops on parade all day. Crossed the Scheldt in a small boat to engage horses for Gand, which I had the good fortune to do. Walk down the left bank of the river 3 miles, till in sight of fort Lillo.[1] Counted 13 ships of the line at anchor in the stream, 14 on the stocks. Returned at 4. Singular double boat which passes by force of the tide and helm, capable of carrying 1000 men and of transporting 50,000 in a day. Went to the theatre in the evening, comedy—performances very fine by Madam Sacklin on tight rope concluded by pantomine indifferent. La tour of the Cathedral very lofty 200 ft. and a fine piece of gothic architecture. Population, 60,000, formerly 80,000. The river very deep, but navigable no great distance above Ant. Less than half a mile wide. Passed the head of it on a bridge not 15 miles from Ant.

Monday 27.—Left Ant. at 10 in a hired curricle du pays for which I was to pay 36 fr. to Ghent. The Emp. expected and the whole line of the road covered with the population. Green boughs erected in the ground and hung from windows and doors. Cavalry stationed on the road. Arrived at Ghent at 5 and took up my Lodgings at the Hotel du pays bas,[2] where I found Mr. Adams and Mr. Russel who had arrived the preceding friday. Also G. M. who had returned from Lille.

Tuesday 28.—Rain during the day. In the evening Mr. Clay arrived.

Wednesday 29.—Visited different parts of the Town—population 58,000. Prussian garrison of 7000 men, billeted on the Inhabitants rich and poor, who Complain much of the burthen. The Emperor of Russia passed thro the Town on his way to the Hague.

Thursday 30.—The chief part of the Prussian troops left the Town to the great joy of the Inhabitants.

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[1] Fort Lillo, on the right bank of the Scheldt, some 15 miles below Antwerp.
[2] It stood in the Place d'Armes, or Kouter.

Friday, 1 July.—The Town entirely evacuated by the Prussians and guard mounted by Bel[gian] troops in Austrian uniform.

Saturday 2.—Visited the environs of the Town. Handsome public walks but not much frequented. The app. of ease, but not of affluence in Ghent. Canals to Bruges and Ostend and to Anvers. Delegence between same places.

Sunday 3.—Went to see the Cathedral—ancient building—founded in 800. The decorations modern. Numerous and beautiful statues in marble. Building spacious.

Monday 4.—Remaind at home during morning, walk[ed] into the Country afternoon. Eveng visited theatre and saw performance of Madame Sacqui on rope. She is lately from Antwerp and attracts what is here considered good houses, tho empty compared with London. Decoration of theatre indift.

Tuesday 5.—In Expectation of Mr. G. and the Engl. Comrs. but heard nothing of them.

Wednesday 6.—This evening at ½ past 6 Mr. Gallatin arrived with his son.

Friday 8.—Mr. Hughes Secy of legn. and Mr. Dallas arrived.

Saturday 9.—Visited the Maison de force, 1200 Prisoners from 3 Departmts, and population of 4 millions—equal number of males and females—separate.

Sunday 10.—Capt. Jones and my servant George[1] arrived from Antwerp.

Monday 11.—Invited Capt. Jones and Angus[2] and American Gent in Ghent to dine with us.

July 31.—Removed from Hotel des pays bas to the Hotel of Baron ,[3] furnished. Terms are 1200 francs for the first month, 1000 afterwards, Breakfast, dinner 4 fr.

August 4.—Mr. Russel left Ghent for Dunkirk.

6.—This evening the British Comrs. arrived at Ghent.

7.—B. Comrs. notified their arrival and requested a meeting next day.

8.—Comrs. on both sides met at the Hotel des pays bas.

9.—Comrs. met. Mr. Russel returned this evening.

10.—Comrs. met to compare Protocols.

Augt. 21.—Mr. Dallas left Ghent for Helder to embark for Ama.

22.—At night Mr. Milligan left Ghent for Scotland.

25.—This day was appointed for the sailing of the *John Adams* from the Helder to U S. with despatches.

John Adams sailed from the Helder the 28th.

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[1] George Shorter.

[2] Samuel Angus, captain of the *John Adams*.

[3] Lavendeghem; blank in the manuscript. See p. 332, note 3.

Sept. 9.—I recd. a note from Lady Affleck this morning requesting to see me at the Leon D'Orr.[1] Waited on her Ladyship. She was attended by her grandson Mr. Webster, son of Sir Godfrey Webster by the present wife of Lord Holland. Lady Affleck is the mother of Lady Holland. She was born in New York—her name was Vassel.[1] Sister of Bishop Moore of N. Y.[3] Expressed her Attachment for Ama. and gave me a letter for C. C. Moore her nephew.

10.—Prince of Orange arrived at Ghent—lodged at Intendants, few doors from our Hotel—great Parade of Military Music, etc.

Wednesday, 19 Sept.[4]—Went to Antwp., compy Mr. H. Mr. G. and Son. Dist 7 posts. Went on board the *Nep.* to arrange things on board. Ship ordered to Brest by Mr. G. Went round the fortifcns with Dr. Laughton, visitted inner and outer bason contg several ships of the line. Spent eveng. at the Grand Labouruers where we put up.

Thursday 20.—Remd. at Ant.

Friday 21.—Mr. H. and myself set out for Bergen op Zoom—7 leagus., first two leagues paved, rest a heavy sand. A great part of the country barren sand hills. B. op. Z. situate on sea, contns 5 or 6000 Inhabts., no commerce or manufactures—live on the garrison and Country. Arrived in the night.

Saturday 22.—Obtained an order to visit the ramparts. Went round with a guide who pointed out the places where British entered on the 8 Mar in their attempt to storm[5]—places where battle was chiefly fot where Col. Carlton[6] fell and Genl. Cooke was made Prisoner. Where Genls Skerrett[7] and Gore were killed. There are 14 bastions—Brit. were in possn of 11. Garrison 2300, they introduced 2800. Killed on both sides 600. Brit. Pris. 1800. Returned at 10 at Breakft., fine oysters. Left at 11, and returnd to Antwp., strongly fortifd.

Sunday 23.—Mr. —— very politely carried to see several collections of paintings. His Dr. Mrs. These pictures of Reubens one exquisite of his wife. Collection of Mr. His own collection.

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[1] See p. 332, note 4.

[2] Lady Mary Affleck, the oldest daughter of Maj. Thomas Clarke, a British officer who had settled in New York, had married Richard Vassall. After his death in 1795 she married Sir Gilbert Affleck. Her daughter Elizabeth, the child of her first husband, married first Sir Godfrey Webster, later Henry Fox, the third Lord Holland.

[3] Benjamin Moore (1748–1816), bishop of New York from 1801 to 1816, and president of Columbia College from 1801 to 1811. His wife was Charity Clarke, a sister of Lady Affleck. His son Clement Clarke Moore, afterward professor in the General Theological Seminary, was the nephew referred to.

[4] The notes which follow are written on loose sheets and in all probability were to have been copied somewhat more fully into Bayard's diary. This excursion, according to Adams's "Memoirs", took place Oct. 20–23, Bayard being present in Ghent Sept. 20–23. Also Sept. 19 was not Wednesday in 1814, while Oct. 19 was. "Memoirs," III, 37–39.

[5] See p. 351.

[6] Lieut.-Col. George Carleton.

[7] Maj.-Gen. John Byrne Skerrett.

Occurrence at St. Nicholas as to shutting shops. On Sunday, wife of post Master. Celebration of mass for soul of a young lady dead more than year—great number Priests, expence 500 guilders.

Returned to Ghent.

Left Ghent Sunday 13, 1/2 past 12, Nov. Passed thro villages Waerschoot—pote host chair le plu bon Marché—vous ne payerai rien. Handsome. Ecloo—changed horses and carriage.

2¾ posts, paid	fr 20
Two small village[s] before and arrived at Bruge[s] at ½ past 5; distance from Ecloo 3 posts, pd	22
Bill at Bruges	15
Umbrella	25

Population, 45,000. Churches spacious and splendid. Place de Prefecteur, handsome. Town ancient and many apps of ruins. Women celebrated for beauty. Remained at till 2 oclock on Monday the 14. Hired a limonier for 30 fran[c]s for Ostend, distance 4 posts and ¾. Demand of postiln. arrived at Ostend at 6. Drove to Hotel de La Cour Imperial but cod. get no lodgings, then went to Hotel L Angleterre. Lodged in a private house. Made an acquaintance with Am. Capt. Reuben Jones, who was seeking a french to engage in skins trade. Remai[ne]d at Ostend Tuesday 15. Went round the fortifications—very strong—population 13,000, garrison english and hanoverians. Exp., fr. 30.

Wednesday 16.—Left Ostend in the diligence for Dunkirk at 4 in morning—passed in view of Nieuport—thro furnes—baggage visitted on leaving flanders and upon entering France. Had to pass nine miles upon the Strand—violent storm rain and wind—horses gave out. Driver drunk—tide came upon us—got out of Diligence. Which drove off and left 4 passengers behind, one a young english lady Miss Payne—her mother alone in carriage—poor girl half frantic for fear her mother would be drowned. Had to walk 7 miles to Dunkirk where we arrived at 5. Diligence did not get in till dark, had remained for us but we had passed within sand hills. Harbour same as Calais and Dunkirk, abt. 150 yards. Distance 13 posts.

Thursday 17.—Spent day at Dunkirk. Hotel cheval volant. Strongly fortified. Harbour good 17 ft. Water at high tide rises 15 ft. Capt. Moore—basin. Popn. 20,000.

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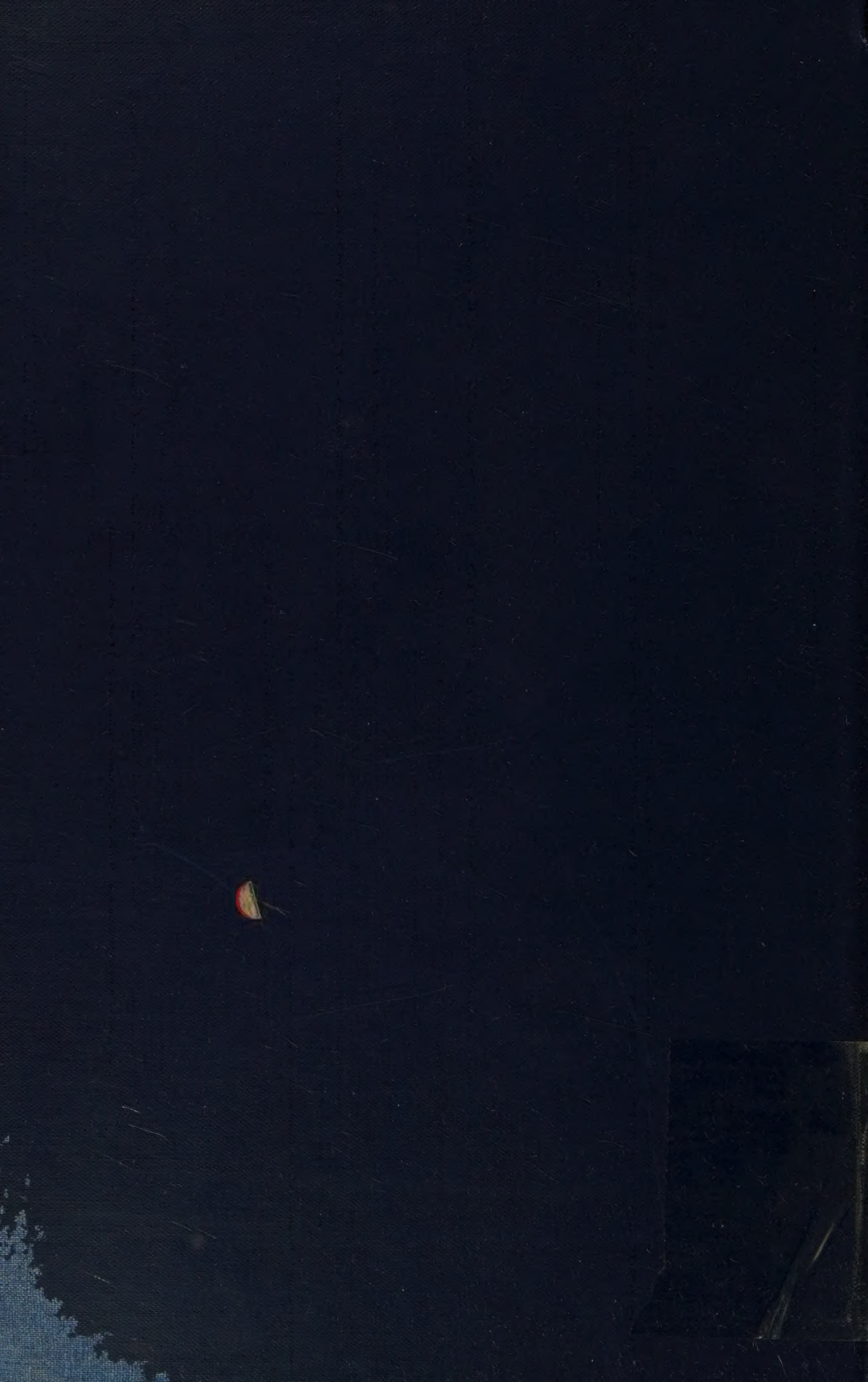
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